LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY IN INDIA

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PREFACE

The present Volume of the Transactions of the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, contains the papers presented at and the proceedings of our eighth Seminar, the one on "Language and Society in India", held at the Institute beginning Monday, October 16 through to Friday, October 27, 1967.

In India the question of language has become overlaid with such pride, passion and prejudice as to cloud all our thinking, vision and imagination. In recent years it has assumed serious proportions and is now threatening our national solidarity itself. We therefore thought that it would not be a bad idea to have a closer look at the problem with some amount of intellectual objectivity.

The fifty-seven papers that go into this volume, deal with six specific topics : Linguistic Demography of India ; Problems of the Languages of the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution ; Problems of the Unrecognised Local Contact Languages ; Languages as Medium of Instruction, Administration, etc., Opportunities and Restrictions ; Language, Regionalism, Nationalism and Culture ; and, Technical Aspects of Language Planning. The Volume also contains a summary of recommendations arrived at the Seminar.

The Volume has been edited by Dr. Arabinda Poddar, one of our esteemed Fellows to whom our grateful thanks are due. We appreciate very much the trouble he has taken in this regard.

Simla, January 30, 1969. NIHARRANJAN RAY

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NIHARRANJAN RAY

Introductory Address

ESTEEMED Professor Chatterji, distinguished Participants, Ladies and Gentlemen :

May I on behalf of the Governing Body of our Institute and as planner and organiser of this Seminar extend to you all a most hearty welcome? It has been very gracious of you to agree to come here to stay with us and participate in the discussions. We are indeed looking forward to an exciting confrontation of minds in a field of study and investigation which is not only very inviting intellectually, but also very important from the point of view of our contemporary social, cultural, and political life. The totality of the implications and the topicality of the subject are such as to affect each one of us, including scholars and intellectuals, and we can afford to ignore it only at our own peril, especially when we know that in India this question of language has become overlaid with and pervaded by such prides, passions and prejudices as to cloud all our thinking, vision and imagination. In recent years they have assumed serious proportions and are now threatening our national solidarity itself. A question which should have been discussed, thrashed out and decided upon by socially conscious linguisticians, historians, social and political scientists, and creative and critical writers, has so far been left to the politicians and publicists, not only to be pronounced upon by them authoritatively but also to be legislated upon. Quite a few of such decisions, we have seen in course of the last more than one decade, because of their utter disregard of lessons of history in our own country as of elsewhere, and of elementary facts relating to the role of language in individual and social life, have led us to grievous situations in our contemporary political, adminis-

trative, educational and cultural life, sometimes with disastrous consequences. It, therefore, seems unfortunate that except one knowledgeable seminar on 'Linguistics and Language Planning in India', organised and conducted by the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics of the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, no other institution of higher learning and research including our universities, has, to my knowledge, yet attempted to go deeply into the problem, which is so urgently and imperatively called for, not only from the point of linguistics alone but also from those of history and sociology, politics and administration, and education and culture. This being the case, we make no apology for our planning and organising a full scale Seminar on Language and Society in India, at which we have invited for active participation more than fifty scholars, intellectuals and creative writers, drawn from various walks and disciplines of life. This Institute encourages and adopts a multi-disciplinary approach to all intellectual undertaking, and this Seminar will be no exception.

Language has long been recognised as an important social phenomenon. Long before the modern intellectual discipline of linguistics was taken up by the modern universities of the world, it had also been recognised that language could be planned and given direction to according to the changing social situations of given times and spaces. In a word, language planning is not such a new-fangled idea as it sounds to many. The Tamil Sangams in India of the ancient past, and the French and the German Academies in the West of later days, are but two examples of attempts made in the past in the planning of the written forms of live speech in the respective areas by a knowledgeable and recognised body of scholars and experts. In recent times we have before us the examples of Norway and Indonesia, where attempts have been made to plan their respective languages with varying amounts of success or failure. There can, therefore, be no theoretical objection to the planning of languages in response to the demands of social change, especially at a time when independent sovereign nation states and planned social economy are recognised to be the major social objectives of vast numbers of men and women. But several questions arise. How is this planning to be done? What are the considerations involved? Who are the people who are supposed to have the competence to do it? And what are the agencies through which such planning is to be executed? These are some of the questions that this Seminar proposes to discuss and, if possible, to find answers to, and this in the context of the language situation in India.

The interaction of language and society has been a subject of particular interest to scholars, intellectuals and public men in India for about the last one hundred years. But there has not been much of an effort to provide a systematic organisation of the facts and ideas which this problem comprises. India today is committed to linguistic states as well as to language-medium

education, the effects of which are already making themselves felt. Major reforms of our social structure in this context have been in part already effected, in part taken in hand, and in part seriously considered by various linguistic groups. It is not so much a matter of individuals thinking out in isolation of their personal responsibilities, as of the entire nation reflecting on its experiences and experiments. It seems necessary, therefore, that our scholars and intellectuals should be given another opportunity to participate in the process of reorganisation of the nation in this particular context. Admittedly it is a difficult field, which is all the more reason why our linguisticians, educationists, social scientists, historians, creative and critical writers should all apply themselves to an understanding of this very complex problem of Indian languages and Indian society, a problem which, speaking both qualitatively and quantitatively, is of the depth and dimension of that of a continent. This obviously has to be done in the context of the linguistic and social situations of the wide world, keeping especially in mind the role of such world languages as English, French, Spanish, German, and Russian which in modern times, have moved far beyond the boundaries of the respective nation-language states.

Keeping in our view the objective that I have just outlined, we have planned the Seminar in several broad sections, allotting to each one or more sessions according to the importance of the topic and the number of working papers received.

Any study of the language situation in India calls for an understanding of the linguistic demography of the country, at any rate of the recent decades, and a background knowledge of what language and linguistics stand for, and of the correlation of language and culture areas in general. The very first session of the Seminar will, therefore, be given to this demographic, theoretical, and historical background. This will be followed by a session devoted to the discussion of the problems of the languages of the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India, to be followed by a similar session on the problems of the Unrecognised Local Contact languages, the number, complexity and importance of which are such as one cannot afford to ignore.

Once we have acquired some idea of the nature and character of the problems of our recognised and unrecognised languages, we may proceed to discuss as to how and to what extent we can use them as media of instruction at various levels, aspects and segments of our educational structure; of administration at the levels of the village, the *panchayat*, the district, the State and the Union; of legislation at the State and Union levels; and of justice and judiciary at the District, High and Supreme Court levels. I feel very happy that we have received a number of working papers on this very important topic, on which we would devote two full sessions. I am no linguistician myself, but as a student of history and sociology, I cannot but help feeling

that our politicians and publicists have not given the slightest consideration to this question of levels, aspects and segments in various spheres of our life and activities. Personally, I must confess, that this is what has disappointed me most.

But the largest number of working papers have been received on the theme of Language, Regionalism, Nationalism and Culture, and to this very important topic we would devote as many as three consecutive sessions. The reason is perfectly understandable. Any sensitive and knowledgeable person in India must have noticed, *first*, that the growth of nationalism in India has been very intimately associated with the growth of a consciousness of the role of our languages in our national, political, and cultural life; *secondly*, that the phenomenon of national independence led inevitably to the formation of linguistic States; *thirdly*, that national independence and formation of linguistic States released certain social forces culminating in the growing assertion of the unrecognised local contact languages for recognition of their rights, and *lastly*, that all these factors together fostered a consciousness and assertion of linguistic regionalism, a factor the germs of which were already there in India's past history, ecology, and culture. Indeed, India's history and culture have always oscillated between an ideal of pan-Indianness and that of regional self-assertion, and what we have been witnessing today is but a repetition of the same tendency. But the tragedy of the situation lies in the fact that the socio-political situation that withstood this tension with but little loss, is not the same today, inasmuch as the State of today is all but coterminous with the society itself. For some reason or other, we have not yet been able to apprehend the implications of this change, not at any rate in our thinking about and handling of the language situation in India. This perhaps explains why we have received the largest number of papers on this theme of language, regionalism, nationalism and culture in India. This theme we propose to discuss not in the context of India alone, but in that of other nation-states also, where similar or near-similar problems have presented themselves in recent times, giving to this consideration one more full session.

A final but full session we intended to devote to a discussion of the problems connected (*a*) with the development of reference works like language and terminological dictionaries, etc.; (*b*) with office-machines like type-writers, office-techniques like short-hand; (*c*) with printing machines for lino and monotype composition and for foundering types; and (*d*) with the question of reforming of our language-scripts for these purposes. In an age of democracy and socialism, and hence of mass literacy, written languages can no longer be the preserve of an intellectual élite; we have to take into consideration and find out ways and means of communication with vast numbers of people spread over wide areas. I feel sorry, I must confess, that we have not

received any working paper that has dealt with this aspect of language planning in India except one on 'A Telegraph Code for Marathi' and another on 'Common Script for India'. I am sorry, but I am not surprised, knowing that despite loud and insistent cries for immediate adoption of regional languages and an official language for purpose respectively of instruction and administration, neither the Union Government nor the State Governments have initiated any active step in this direction, except perhaps organising the publication of certain indifferent terminological dictionaries. It is a pity that even our industrial and commercial firms have not taken much interest in the matter. We invited half-a-dozen of their representatives who have the necessary technical competence, but unfortunately not one of them could make himself available to the Seminar. Here and there sporadic attempts have been made by talented individuals, with varying amount of success, towards reforming our scripts for purposes of quick and symbolical or mechanical reproduction, but they have been neither systematic nor popular. I would most fervently plead that this matter be given immediate consideration by our governments, universities and other institutes of higher learning and research as well as by manufacturers of office machines, printing machines, teaching materials etc., if at all we are to fulfill our commitments to the official and regional languages. I am sorry that because of lack of working papers we have been obliged to cancel this session altogether.

Having outlined the aim and scope of this Seminar, I may now beg to be allowed to provide, very briefly, a historical background of the language situation in India as we find it to-day.

The Federal Republic of India consists, as we all know, of about a dozen and a half of States demarcated on the basis of language, which have therefore come to be known as linguistic States, an arrangement which the Indian National Congress had been striving for at least a quarter of a century if not more, before Independence. Historically speaking, this was nothing but a recognition of a strong tendency in our history, that had been taking shape from at least about the tenth-eleventh century of the Christian era, when the major regional languages with their own scripts were slowly but surely emerging into recognisable forms, along with regional patterns of culture as manifested in art and several other facets of life. This was not accidental by any means, since recent researches in India's proto-history on the one hand, and in social and cultural anthropology on the other, have shown that even from proto-historic times India had been slowly developing certain more or less well-defined ecological regions. Hence one may assume with some amount of certainty that a common human ecology tended to develop common interests among the people of a given region leading to the development of a common language of communication, which together came roughly to

demarcate one cultural region from another. Linguistic States are not, therefore, anything that has been against the historical evolution of the community of the Indian people; in fact, the same process had been at work amongst the community of European peoples as well, and is at work in Africa to-day. But troubles arise when linguistic considerations take the shape of linguistic chauvinism that throws all other considerations, ecological, cultural and political, to the winds, a phenomenon that we have been witnessing in India today in more regions than one. Indeed, personally speaking, I feel that the formation of linguistic States after Independence has been a step in the right direction, since the two together have released new social forces that would have otherwise remained pent up and acted like smouldering fire. Even the fact of unrecognised local contact languages seeking to find a recognised place under the Indian sun and on the map of India, to my mind, is not anything to make us feel unduly perturbed and disturbed about. I would rather take it as but another creative aspect of our Independence, and as the symptom of a proto-nationalism which, when it finds the fullest expression, is likely to contribute towards the fulfilment of Indian nationalism. But we have of course to understand the nature and character of Indian nationalism and not confound it with the notion that one common language, call it "official" language if you like, is an absolute and invariable pre-requisite for national unity and integrity. If a common official language was enough to bring about national unity and integration, then the Palas of Bengal and Bihar would not have come into deadly conflict with the Gurjara-Pratiharas of the Ganga-Yamuna valley, or the latter with the Rashtrakutas of the Deccan, for example, since all these dynasties used Sanskrit as their official as well as link language. The same is true of the medieval Muslim dynasties whose official language was Persian. German was not only the official but also the link language of the various units of what is today West and East Germany as well as of the sprawling Austro-Hungarian Empire; yet any student of European history knows that this one common language did not only fail to bring unity among all the German-speaking peoples but that these peoples were for centuries involved in deadly combats with one another. The peoples of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of the United States of America speak and write a common language, English, but that did not stop them from fighting one another, nor has it brought the two nation-states closer than they are with other different language-speaking peoples of the world. Let us not, therefore, make a fetish of a common official language and consider it as a specific for curing us of our lack of consciousness of national unity. To my mind, national unity and integrity can be brought about and fostered by a common economic and political system backed and propped by a common pattern of administration, percolating to the lowest strata of society and affording equal opportunities for all. A common official

language may be somewhat of a help, but it is neither an absolute nor an invariable pre-condition of national unity and integrity, though I readily recognise that in a federal structure of government and administration, a common official language is, for practical reasons, absolutely necessary, but let us be clear that such a language is for official purposes only, and that too, at the higher levels of government and administration alone.

The question of a link language is however a different one. A link language, in a vast country like ours, has to be a language for use by the common people for purposes of easy communication. The various Prakrit and Apabrhamsa languages, then in vogue, must have served in ancient and early medieval India the purpose of link languages; they were indeed the languages of the common people, while Sanskrit seems to have served the purpose of official language and that of the literary and intellectual élite. In later medieval times there grew a language that Gandhi-ji came to call 'Hindusthani', and professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji prefers to call 'bazar Hindi'. Any student of medieval India knows of the very popular institution of pilgrimages which meant for a Hindu believer going around as many of our sacred *tirthas* as possible, at least once in one's life time, and of the institution of all-India fairs and festivals. An old illiterate woman or a young illiterate village peasant from one corner of India could be found visiting these *tīrthas* and fairs in another distant corner, often unaccompanied. How did they carry on with their religious observances and commercial transactions, or go about their daily rounds? Here amongst us there may be many whose grandfathers and grandmothers must have done these pilgrimages, and who must have been told by them of the engaging stories of their travels, and of the language which they have been using. I have never heard that they had any difficulty any where. What was this language? The answer is very simple indeed; it must have been a language that everybody understood and could even speak, may be in a broken manner, a language that ever was in a process of evolution, a very easy, mobile and flexible language. This was indeed the link language of medieval India; one may call it 'Hindusthani', or 'bazar Hindi' if one likes the term, but it was not certainly Hindi as we know it today, the language which is being sought to be passed on and made current as our link language. If it is proposed that this Hindi should be the official language of India, let it be, if it can cope with the problems of government and administration and with the challenges of modern science, technology, and industry on the one hand, and with those of advanced study and investigation in various branches of human knowledge on the other. But I am afraid I cannot call it a link language.

These are but some of the questions and comments which I am placing before this Seminar in all humility, for the consideration of the participants who are all experts in their respective fields of study and investigation. There

will be many other questions and considerations besides, and I have not the slightest doubt that in course of the next ten days we would be going through the entire gamut of the contemporary language situation in India and the problems that face us in this context. I hope that this Seminar would raise this important question above the prides, passions and prejudices of our politicians, and give it a fresh and objective orientation that may afford us a new vision and a new line of action.

May I once more extend to you all a most sincere welcome? We are very very thankful to you for your giving us the pleasure of your presence on this occasion. To Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji, the doyen of linguistic studies in India, I feel particularly grateful for his kindly agreeing to act as the Chairman of this Inaugural Session and for taking the trouble of a long journey from Calcutta to Simla just to give us the benefit of his participation at this Seminar. He has always been very kind and affectionate towards me, and for this occasion I took the fullest advantage of his indulgence. I hope he will forgive me.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

Inaugural Address

FROM the first year of its inception, this Institute has, under the able direction of Dr. Niharranjan Ray started with the co-operation of scholars from both India and abroad, among other things, an annual series of Autumn Seminars, which are making significant contributions in taking stock of our ideas and notions as well as in noting what are considered to be the desiderata in our life and thought, and in making our suggestions in the domain of practical implementation of our views. For the first year, 1965, the subject chosen for discussion in this Seminar was 'Religion and Society,' and the basic papers and discourses by some 39 participants, each eminent in his own sphere of studies and academic preoccupations, which have been compiled in a convenient volume, give us some of the best and most useful thought available on the matter with special reference to the Indian scene. The second year's Seminar in the Institute, in 1966, was on 'Modernity and Contemporary Indian Literature,' and we had in it a series of illuminating talks and discussions led by some of the leading writers in the different languages of India and by specialists in literature, culture and history.

For this year, a subject of great national importance has been proposed, namely 'Language and Society', which, apart from its permanent value even in a perpetually changing scene, has acquired a very great topical interest. This, because of the strong emotional and political implications, obscuring purely academical and educational realities, will continue to agitate certain sections of the Indian body-politic at least for some time. We can see that, inspite of some of the most vital and fundamental and urgent problems of our national life still remaining unsolved and even getting more and more

complicated with the passing of days and weeks and months, the question of language in India is exercising our politicians, party-leaders, administrators, and also some of our educationists and literary men. Vital and urgent problems are there, which require the greatest attention, like, for instance, famine-like conditions in many parts of the country through inadequacy of our food resources; alarming growth of population threatening to destroy the very fabric of our corporate civilised existence; continuous attacks and threats of attack on our frontiers, leading to a state of perpetual emergency; the dislocation of our economic and social structure owing to the uncompromisingly militant attitude of some political groups making no secret of their will to dominate Indian life by force if they could do it; the demoralisation of our younger generation through their being made victims of political parties, whether of the right or the left, strengthened by their own sense of frustration after years at school and college, with undesirable influences from abroad giving them a questionable sense of 'progress' which it is now fashionable to eulogise; and an ever-growing corruption and nepotism and attendant inefficiency in all the departments of administration, whether in the State or the Civic Bodies. All these are there; and with this background, the zeal that we find displayed in the matter of language reform and language policy, which has become so very prominent among certain sections after Independence, seems to be rather artificial and unrealistic. Such zeal is distracting our energies from constructive nation-building in education and integration, and is becoming another potent force for disrupting the educational solidarity and scientific progress as well as the political and cultural unity of India as a single entity.

I could not help giving an expression to my sense of uneasiness and despair, which is the result of long observation and experience, on the matter of the announcement made from the most exalted administrative and political quarters about the need, as it is given out, for an immediate change in our language set-up in our all-India life and society, including education. The matter is being thrashed out for over a decade, since the appointment by the Government of India of the Official Language Commission (1955-1956), and even earlier than that. There were other committees and commissions after this, educational, administrative and otherwise, in which the question was raised of language in a Free India, in education, administration and pan-Indian affairs and inter-state relations. In the light of suggestions or proposals made by some of the committees, immediate implementation has been sought to be given to some new linguistic policies. The question has become linked up with the financial interests of certain groups, speaking in the name of Indian unity and integration. It has not remained any longer a subject of disinterested and dispassionate academic or scientific interest only. Emotionalism, sometimes violent because not understood, has taken the place of

a rational approach in some cases. A growing acerbity is a very distressing feature of this newly raised Frankenstein of Indian integration through one particular language, forgetting that such an integration has already been achieved, and that we have to make it stronger by bringing all the forces that were and still are helpful in this matter.

Unfortunately, the apologists for language change generally put in a mass of platitudes and worn out *clichés* which make the reading of their oracular statements quite a distressing business. High sounding ideals are stated with the air of bringing light to the benighted, but there is little of practical suggestions which would be helpful. In this Seminar at least, let us study the matter realistically, and, as it would only be proper for the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, from a purely academical approach. Such an approach, being conceived of and undertaken only in the dry light of science and reason, and taking note of the objective forces that are working (not forgetting the far too common subjective interference with these forces), can alone give us a right perspective and the correct interpretation of the situation, on which the proper solution of the problems depend.

The place and importance of language in human society we all understand. It is language which, in the first instance, along with his two hands with the ten fingers, has given man the power to translate the thought in his brain into action, and this has enabled him to become supreme in mundane creation. And yet, although language in the abstract has become one of the primal physical and psychological characteristics of man evolved as *homo sapiens*, language in the concrete, language as used first in a particular speech and then in the writing of it, is not something primal—it is but a secondary trait. To express one's ideas by means of gestures and speech-sounds—the latter combined into words and sentences—is now something fundamental in the complex make-up of man. But the conventions in the use of gestures and in the articulation of particular sounds, and their uses and combination in words and sentences, are not a final and irrevocable physical attribute of man. We can conceive ideally of language in the abstract. But in practice, there are languages and languages. These differ in their sounds, in their structures, and in their reflecting the thought-processes of different groups of men. Taking these differences into note, languages in their structure and their history have been classed into groups or families. The structure of Arabic differs in certain basic matters from that of Greek; and in India, languages of the Aryan group show differences of a remarkable type in both structure and the *Sprachgut* or the speech-commodity of roots and words from those of the Austric (Munda and Khasi) and the Dravidian families. Physically, a Black African, a Negro, is very different from an Englishman. Physical traits—the formation of the skull, the character of the hair, the pigmentation of the skin etc.—cannot be shaken off. But the Negro, whose native African language as he spoke in

Sudan or in Central or Southern Africa was quite different structurally and in vocables from the Englishman's, did not find it in the least difficult to change his speech from an African dialect to English. With long association and training, an American Negro is as good a speaker of English as any white American of English descent.

We all love the language within the orbit of which we have grown up. It is our mother-tongue, or the language we use in our home, having acquired it from babyhood, that claims our first homage. Our emotional fulfilment is through the mother-tongue or the childhood's tongue. Then come other languages for those persons whose mental and vocational activities take them outside the intimate family circle. For such people, there are one or more other languages which become in life almost as important as the mother-tongue or the home-language. We have seen highly intelligent and cultured people, who know and love their mother-tongues, assert with conviction that in helping them to obtain the fullest extension of their mental horizon and in making them intellectually and spiritually attain to a higher calibre, one or more other languages have been of much greater value and significance than the mother-tongue. In a stable and organised society, with its own special form of culture and *Weltanschauung* which have grown out of the economic life around, the local language, the mother-tongue, has of course the greatest formative value. But still, it is not uncommon to see the mother-tongue, without physical or mental or spiritual pressure of any sort, acquiring through historical reasons a subsidiary or secondary position in its own terrain. With political and cultural pressure becoming stronger, people may and often do abandon their original mother-tongue for another language which has become their new mother-tongue and language of the home, without their feeling the difference and without their retaining any memory of the process if it were operative generations beyond living memory. Thus, in prehistoric times, the Sumerians of Lower Mesopotamia gradually changed their own speech and took up the Semitic Akkadian, which became the great Babylonian speech. The descendants of the ancient Egyptians have all become Arabic speakers, and with their new language brought in by the bearers of the new religion of Islam and its scripture in Arabic, the descendants of the Pharoahs now glory in the Arab names. Sudanese and some other Black African peoples too have similarly adopted Arabic, although they keep up many of their old ways. The pre-Aryan masses of the North Indian plains have gradually given up their Austric (Kol, Munda and Mon-Khmer) and Dravidian as well as Tibeto-Burman dialects, and have become Aryan speakers. This process of 'Aryanisation' in language and culture has also been quite properly described as their 'Sanskritisation'. This process of changing over to some other language is still continuing in full in many parts of the world, including India. In recent centuries, masses of the pre-Columbian Amerindian

people of the two Americas have become English, Spanish or Portuguese speaking, and the old native speeches of America, although still current among a few millions, are slowly on the way to extinction. The Celtic-speaking Gauls in France and Britons in England have lost their speech and now are French and English speaking, excepting in the case of a handful of Welsh people in North Wales who still hold on to the ancient Celtic speech of the Britons, and of a few thousands of Britons in North-Western France who came from Wales and were established there with their language. Extensive monographs or books have come out on this fairly common though remarkable phenomenon in languages.

We should therefore take an objective view of this matter when speaking about the sacredness and inviolable character of the mother-tongue or even of some other dialect or language than the home-speech which has taken place of the mother-tongue. But nevertheless, the mother-tongue has its own importance which at times takes up a supreme value. Whenever a people feel helpless before foreign domination, or are unable to cope with the economic, political or ideological aggression, the mother-tongue becomes a great rallying point; and a passionate allegiance to it becomes one of the pivots of a national struggle for freedom and rehabilitation. We remember our student days at the time of leaving school, in 1905 and 1906, over sixty years ago, when the anti-Partition Movement was at its height against the division of Bengal by Lord Curzon—the Movement which was transformed into the *Swadeshi* and *Swaraj* Movement for the economic rehabilitation of India and for ushering in, first, Self-Government and then Full Freedom for India. The economic policy of the British and their political and cultural domination of India were disliked and even hated, and with the *animus* against British imperialism, antipathy to the English language came into evidence. But even in the midst of this national conflict against British colonialism and imperialism, it was quite realistically acknowledged that there was a silver lining to the dark cloud of British rule. It was to be found in the British political institutions with their democratic background and in the help we obtained from English literature in modernising our mind, although the desire for spiritual domination through various agencies was resented. As a measure of self-defence, even as school boys, we followed our elders in trying to taboo English words from our every-day Bengali, for we wanted to keep our mother-tongue, the emotional importance of which we re-discovered during the storm and stress of our political conflict with the British, free and pure from the contamination of English words, just as we wanted to abjure goods of English make, textiles and everything else. But we quickly got over that, particularly after revocation of the Partition in 1911. Then there was a period of nationalistic fervour and revival, when following Bengal other provinces in India also re-discovered the value of their mother-tongues as aids to the establishment of national self-

respect. This was a great positive asset which came to help us in our national struggle. The *animus* against English continued to a slight extent among some of our leaders, particularly when we brooded over the wrongs of British rule. But there was no help for us, the flood-gates for the inrush of English words in all our Indian languages had become wide open, through the advance in India of industry and technology, of political and administrative machinery, of education in both arts and science, particularly after Independence. In a sentimental and nationalistic sort of way, and professing concern for the unlettered masses and school-children, we are now decrying English. Yet we are forced to adopt, without let or hindrance, newer and newer English words by the hundred and the thousand!

The British had taken over after the end of the Mughal and Maratha rule in India quite gradually. Side by side with Sanskrit, during pre-British times, Persian was the second pan-Indian language for political linking up of the different states, except in the deep South. The beginning of British rule really started after Eastern India (Bengal with Bihar and Orissa) came under the British, *de facto* in 1757 and *de jure* in 1765. But the linguistic situation was not disturbed. Persian remained, as a legacy from Mughal rule, the language of higher administration and law and justice till 1838 when English and Bengali—English in the district and High Court levels—took its place. The English were in no hurry to impose their language upon their Indian subjects. The first school for Indian boys to be started by the English was Governor Warren Hastings' School for Persian in 1784. It was the need for English felt by Indians themselves that in Calcutta a number of Hindu gentlemen established in 1817 the Hindu School—still functioning as the Presidency College of Calcutta. It was after 1840 that the British Government in India, finally accepting the advice of Thomas Babington Macaulay in his famous despatch of 1835, began to open High English Schools in district towns. Before that, the Christian Missionaries had, at first with the avowed aims at proselytisation, opened schools to teach English to Indian boys. But Hindu gentlemen too, who understood the value of English in present-day India, were opening English schools of a secular nature, merely to teach the English language and the modern learning of the west. We need not go into all that past history. The establishment of the first three universities by the British at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857 gave the greatest impetus to the educational and intellectual advancement of India with the help of English. These first universities based their curriculum on the model of the University of London; and, for the special needs of the time, this curriculum was exceedingly well-conceived, and helped modern India to build up her mentality and her modern culture. The aim of this new mentality and new culture was to take the best things from the west in Science and Technology as well as in the Humanities, which were necessary for our mental development, through the English

language, and to conserve the permanent and universal elements of our own culture through a classical language like Sanskrit, which was also made compulsory side by side with English. The keynote of modern Indian culture has been—to give the two significant Sanskrit expressions—*Yoga* or addition, and *Kshema* or conservation. English was for *yoga*, and Sanskrit (or an equivalent classical language) was for *kshema*.

In our social and national life, this system of education has been of inestimable good, inspite of certain defects and drawbacks which would be inevitable in any situation. The London University Scheme of Studies which was adopted by the Indian Universities made English a compulsory subject—and Indian teachers in their zeal for the new learning made it the medium of examination, and largely also of teaching. There were, in addition to English as a literary as well as a 'tool' subject (to quote the modern educational jargon which is now fashionable as it is thought to be 'progressive'), Mathematics (Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometry), History (both of India and England), Geography and a modicum of Science. As a counter-balance to English, there was a classical language like Sanskrit. The English School under the umbrage of the University gave, by making Sanskrit a compulsory subject side by side with English, to the Indian intelligentsia (as well as to the masses who joined an English school, to whom access to Sanskrit was denied both through usage and through their not coming to school) some contact with the great heritage of its national culture. It enabled the more intelligent among them to form a just and proper idea of the values of their own culture *vis-a-vis* that of the West which English brought to them. The success of this system we see in the general mass of Indian leaders who fought for the freedom of their people, inspired by both the worlds, of English and of Sanskrit. We have every reason to bless this system, as we are proud of the achievements of Michael Madhusudan Datta, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Kashinath Trimbak Telang, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Haraprasad Sastri, Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Anundoram Barooah, Rabindranath Tagore, Swami Vivekananda, Swami Ram Tirath, Lala Lajpat Rai, Sir Syed Ahmed, Syed Amir Ali, A. Chandu Menon, Ramesh Chandra Dutt, Lakshminath Bez-Barua, K. Viresalingam Pantulu, G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu, S. Kuppuswami Sastri, K.S. Krishnan, Masti Venkatesa Ayyangar, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Girish Chandra Ghose, Bipin Chandra Pal, Vishnu Sastri Chiplunkar, Anand-Shankar B. Dhruva, Birbal Sahni, Meghnad Saha, Kanhaiyalal Manaklal Munshi, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, Subrahmanya Bharati, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, and a whole host of them, living and dead. With the help of these intellectual leaders, most of whom had a good knowledge of English, and had a regular university or college or high school education through English, or learnt English themselves, the Indian mind has largely been modernised (though

medieval obscurantism is not wholly gone, and is raising its evil head in a new way to retard India's progress), and the permanent things of our own culture have come to have a new meaning in a modern world.

This system has so far been very good for us. But there is always the restless spirit of change for its own sake, which has taken the poet's sentiment— 'the old order changeth yielding place to the new' literally, without caring to see whether or not the good old custom had really corrupted the world and so had to be removed.

What we have received in India from the English language and it literature is too well known, and it need not be rubbed in here at this gatherings of scholars. English has been the neutral language, and it was impartial in its service to all sections of the Indian people. Unlike any of the modern Indian languages, it did not bring any special and undue privileges to any section of the people, which Hindi is certainly doing and wants to continue to do. Jawaharlal Nehru declared that owing to 'the compulsion of events in History,' English had acquired a position in India which had not been attained by any one among the modern languages of the country. The language set-up, as it has developed during the last few decades in our school and undergraduate colleges, has so far been eminently reasonable and practical: mother-tongue (we need not break our heart because at one time there was not too much of it), English, some other language (a classical language like Sanskrit, Arabic, Latin, Avestan-pahlavi, Persian, or in its place a full course of the mother-tongue, or as a substitute some modern European language like French or German, for those who would go in for higher studies in science), besides of course such fundamental subjects like Mathematics, History, Geography and a little Science. On this basis, our vehicle of pan-Indian education was going on smoothly enough, giving a uniform and interlinked system of training without any dislocation anywhere. Greater and greater attention came to be given to the mother-tongue, and rightly enough, and we were gradually coming to have in most of the universities instruction (and now examination too) through the mother-tongue in the high school and in the under-graduate stage. All the subjects, languages and the other ones also, had a primary utility-value from the point of view of education.

But a great upheaval has set in, and this is bringing chaos in our education. This is the intrusion of Hindi as a compulsory subject for those students who do not speak it as a mother-tongue or as a language used as a substitute for the mother-tongue, and who have, educationally, no use for Hindi. In the last analysis, it is politics which is interfering with the educational set up. There are a number of reasons put forward in support of Hindi as a compulsory subject. We know the arguments, and these are being eternally drummed into our ears with a kind of patriotic and even pietistic unction. Doubtless, most of the supporters of Hindi believe in what they say. But they do not seem to have taken

any serious note of what is happening in our society in the matter of language, in India as a whole. Compulsory Hindi has not the slightest educational or cultural value for non-Hindi students. It is an absolute waste of time, energy, money, and temper. It may please the sentiment of some that we are having an Indian language as our 'national' or at least 'official' language, but it has so far proved a failure in integrating the multi-lingual, multi-religious and multi-racial people of India. Compulsory Hindi in education for the whole of India would have some clear and definite financial aspects also, and these are for the benefit of the people in the Hindi-using areas, and one can only be deliberately blind about them, if not wilfully ignorant.

The value of English in present-day India would appear to be supreme, and about this there is no ground for doubt or scepticism. Our Seminar should clearly and categorically give its opinion. If English really has a value, we should find out what it is, and whether or not it will be in our interests to retain it in our education. Will it be proper to eliminate it right now? We cannot fix a programme or policy for all time, but let the matter be left open for the future, the needs of the time deciding upon our future policy. Generally, the learning of one foreign language is not a hardship or a handicap in secondary and higher as well as university education. The learning of an additional language over and *above* the mother-tongue has been quite common since the earliest times. The Akkadians in ancient Babylon used to study the earlier Sumerian language in which the religion and the culture they adopted were enshrined, and their priests and learned men had to be bilingual. The Babylonian language was studied by the Mitannian, Hittite, and other peoples of Asia Minor. The Romans in the hey-day of their imperial power would take pains to study Greek, and Roman poets and writers from the 2nd century B. C. onward were accomplished Greek scholars. Two or three languages other than the mother-tongue are quite common in European education both in Great Britain and the Continent. In China and Japan too, advanced scholars are able to read English or some other European language, although they do not pay much attention (unless necessary) to acquire the habit of speaking it. What Rabindranath Tagore had always insisted upon should have been the best thing to follow in our education. Give a sound education in the school through the mother-tongue to all and sundry, but keep English for those who would like to do advanced studies. It is generally being made too much of that English is a handicap in education. To be able to use English in reading and understanding (and not necessarily speaking with the correct accent and idiom of an Englishman), would be a responsible ideal, although, unfortunately, many of our Indian educationists in the 19th and early 20th centuries did not understand it. Proper attention to the teaching of English, after fixing for those who were weak in English the limit to which they were to study it, would have been a practical proposition. Two parallel systems as suggested by Rabindranath

and others should have been quite feasible. One, as far as practicable, through the mother-tongue, for those who would not care to learn English; and the other, with English, for those who would aim to go in for higher studies. For certain categories of employment in the state and other services, those who would qualify only in the mother-tongue should have preference and that would solve the economic question involved.

What is the present *malaise* in Indian education as well as in Indian politics brought about by the language question? To get to the heart of the matter: it is due to the proposal to replace English by Hindi, immediately if possible, and with the help of various mother-tongues or regional languages other than Hindi. *Kantakenaiva Kantakam* : remove one thorn by another; and quite a good number of people look upon the removal of English (ultimately to make place for Hindi) by the regional languages in this light. The prescription is that the official language for the whole of India, *pari passu* the language of inter-state linking and ultimately for university and other higher education in all the States, should be Hindi. This proposal was made in the hope of national unity and integration, as it was believed that for this purpose an Indian langauge, and the Hindi alone, is the *sine qua non*. Opinion is sharply divided. The controversy started when, in 1947, at a special meeting of the Constituent Assembly called for the purpose, (this Constituent Assembly was not a body elected by popular franchise, it was decided, in an atmosphere of hurry and without any vote being taken on the subject (on the basis of a decision taken previously at a meeting of Congress members only where there was a majority of only one vote for this momentous decision, and that single majority vote too was due to the casting vote of the Late Sri Rajendra Prasad), it was arbitrarily taken that this was the consensus of Constituent Assembly opinion which was binding upon the whole nation, that Hindi was to be the official language of the Union of India and, English was ultimately to be removed, this removal being phased at five year's intervals. Strong protests remained unheeded. In 1955-56, a 21-man Commission for consideration of the question of the official language, appointed by the new Government of Independent India, thoroughly thrashed out the question, and the members (who were specially selected) gave a Majority Report in favour of the removal of English, and that too as early as possible, according to a phased plan. Two members, P. Subbarayan from Madras and S. K. Chatterji from West Bengal lodged strong Notes of Dissent, putting in a plea for the retention of English. The arguments *pro* and *con* are given in these two Notes of Dissent.

In S. K. Chatterji's Note of Dissent, full reasons and arguments (pp. 281ff. of the Report) have been put forward for keeping English and not forcing in Hindi in its place. This Seminar should now go into the matter *de novo*, and consider to what extent English will be necessary, academically, and also politically, for the maintenance of Indian unity and integration, and, apart from the

sentiment and material interests of the speakers or users of Hindi and some of their supporters, whether Hindi will be of any use for this purpose. In this Note of Dissent, caution had been sounded over 10 years ago about linguistic intolerance and linguism, which have become a new menace for the unity of India. We cannot afford to brush aside the grave warning of Sri M. C. Chagla about the danger ahead, both for Indian education and Indian administration as well as Indian unity if English is sought to be removed. Surely the views of eminent educationists like Dr. Gajendragadkar, Dr. C. V. Raman, Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar and quite a host of the most outstanding scholars of India, are entitled to respect, and are not to be brushed aside unceremoniously.

The position of English in the educational set-up of the free and advanced countries with languages of their own is also to be seriously taken note of, in giving our considered opinion as educationists, who do not primarily belong to any political party. Here we are in a hurry to cut off English, which has sent its roots deep into the soil of Indian education, and has virtually become one of the languages of India, while in independent Turkey they are running for the last ten years a specialized University for higher technical education (in Medicine, in Science, in Engineering and other branches of Technology), which has become an International one, attended by students from 18 countries, mostly from the Middle East—the *Middle East Technical University* (METU), in Turkish *Orta Dogu Teknik Universitesi* (ODTU), where the medium of instruction adopted is English, and *not* Turkish. Students joining this University, both Turkish and foreign, are first given a thorough training in English before they are allowed to attend lectures which are given in English by Turkish and foreign teachers. It has been said in the prospectus of this University, which is in both Turkish and English in parallel columns, that: 'for the purpose of enabling the Turkish students as well, to pursue the scientific research and intellectual developments in the West, English has been accepted as the language of instruction. The University has provided for them every possible means of establishing a sound foundation of spoken and written English, in order that they may follow their lectures intelligently and imbibe the knowledge they require'. How they are doing it is also clearly indicated there.

I need not take more of your time. This vital matter of 'Language and Society', particularly in the present situation, will be discussed under the various heads proposed in the programme. We have to give our views with the ideal of maintaining Indian unity and fostering full integration of India, together with true advancement of education along all-India lines as far as possible. Let us not be misled by fetishes which parade under the authority of great names and with the cover of political slogans and catch-words, but let us keep our mind open and be guided by science as well as equity. The programme before the Seminar is quite an elaborate one, and it takes note of most of the trends and

problems in the domain of language with special reference to the situation as we actually find it in India. There have been included some topics which are generally ignored in our language discussions, like, for example, the problems of unrecognised contact languages, the difficulties of linguistic minorities, language and regionalism both in India and in other countries. There is another very serious problem for our primitive or aboriginal peoples, the *Adivasis* living in contiguity to their more advanced fellow citizens. The former are being forced by economic circumstances to learn the latters' languages, and have no hope for even having for themselves what was declared to be the birth-right of all Indian citizens, viz. to get at least primary education in their mother-tongue. In a paper on which I spoke and which was discussed at the 9th International Congress of Linguists at Harvard in 1962, a paper which has been already published in India under the caption "At Home and Outside in Language", I tried to present the case of an *Adivasi* Santal as representing our primitive and backward peoples and their sense of frustration in life consequent upon their education through their mother-tongue being denied to them. The tyranny of bigger linguistic groups on smaller ones which is actually taking place in some of the states of the Indian Union was also presented, as a case needing justice and immediate equitable action for preserving the unity and integration of India.

Our administrators are talking glibly about the integration of India by driving out or restricting the only language which, as historians will tell us, has helped us, in spite of its deficiencies and drawbacks of being a foreign language to start with, to foster our national, cultural as well as political unity. Apart from the politicians and framers of policies, who are without any clear cut educational ideas and without a sense of realities and who are constantly dinning into the ears of the body-politic about the urgent and immediate need for change, and why and how it should be effected, the people do not have any clear ideas themselves or convincing notions about others. There are some who stand to gain in both pelf and power with the dislocation of the present system, and these have created a vested financial interest in the matter, combining patriotism with monetary and other advantages. But the solid body of the intellectual *élite* in India have been crying for caution. Our Seminar should take it up as its duty to give its pronouncement on the following vital topics, which can be retrieved from the morass of banalities and half-truths within which these are being perpetually dragged:

1. Has English been harmful for Indian education and Indian unity? If so, how? And how can this be remedied?
2. Has there been a real estrangement between the English-knowing élite and the masses? Are the interests of the latter made subservient to those of the former?
3. The place of an important foreign language which is a language of science and culture in the general system of education in any country,

and particularly in a country like India, which has no modern language of sufficient advancement to meet the requirements of all classes in higher education, and whose modern languages show diverse stages of progress.

4. How can the integration of a multi-lingual country like India be effected without a neutral link language in education and administration? To what extent can Hindi serve this purpose? Is the continuous assertion of the supporters of Hindi quoting the authority of Mahatma Gandhi admissible in the light of present-day linguism in India?

5. Should we not revise our attitude to Hindi which is proposed to be set up as the sole official language of India and the link language for all the states? What are the *pros* and *cons*, studied from all aspects, in this matter?

6. We are always being told about the need to maintain English in our education, particularly in higher collegiate and post-graduate education. How can this be reconciled with the move (in the Hindi using states particularly) to remove English or restrict its study at school? Failure to pass in optional English is to be condoned, and at the same time high standards in English are to be maintained—how to achieve this?

7. A dispassionate study of the move to force Hindi on the united nations of India as the sole official language in the long run, taking note of the (*i*) advantages of the Hindi-using people, and (*ii*) the disadvantages of the non-Hindi using people.

8. Which is more vital—compulsory Hindi and discontent in India, or English as now and before without jeopardising Indian unity and progress in Indian education?

PART TWO

PAPERS

Linguistic Demography of India

KHWAJA AHMAD ABBAS

A Link Language for the Common Man

In such a distinguished gathering of scholars, savants, philologists, linguists, and lexicographers, it is presumptuous of a mere journalist and dabbler in films to intrude. My only justification is that, with all the expert knowledge of the specialists, it may also be useful to consider the view-point of the common man. After all it is for *his* use that languages exist—though, sometimes, our linguists are apt to ignore him altogether while formulating their theories! It may also be remembered that the common people, even the most unlettered and ignorant of them, have their own *natural* processes and methods to evolve a vocabulary for their daily use.

For their practical needs, they coin new words, borrow words from other languages, adapt and distort them, give them new meanings far removed from the original intent, invest them with musical overtones and meaningful undertones. History, Geography, Politics, Economics, the impact of Science, the mutual influence of different cultures on each other, the give-and-take of the market place, the gossip of the bazars, the magic of music which gives currency to unfamiliar words and phrases—all factors are involved in the process. But the process itself is unconscious, spontaneous, natural, and there is no deliberate and artificial striving to *create* a language. The growth of a language, like the growth of the jungle, is wild, wilful and unpredictable. The laws of its development are formed only later.

The linguists lay down, for instance, that Sanskrit being the most ancient mother language of India, the new words and phrases that are coined to convey new concepts should be derived from Sanskrit. And so *Vande Mataram*—Glory Be To The Mother—was the battle cry of our early nationalists of the period

of the Partition of Bengal. But soon after a new word was required to convey a new concept—the voluntary exile of thousands of Indian patriots, Hindus and Muslims, who left enslaved India for free Afghanistan and Iran, and even crossed over into the new state of the Soviet Union. They called the movement *Hijrat*, an Arabic word which is associated with the self-exile of the Prophet Mohammed from Mecca. But *Hijrat*, in the new context, had no religious connotation—it was *Hijrat* for everyone who left India, whether he was Maulana Obaidullah or Rana Mahendra Pratap, whether his destination was *Muslim* Afghanistan or *Godless* Russia!

Who coined the phrase *Inquilab Zindabad*—Long Live the Revolution? It was an unusual phrase, for *Inquilab* is Arabic, *Zindabad* is Persian. *Inquilab* was, indeed, in the air—there had been the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution, the Irish Revolution. The terrorist revolutionaries of Punjab, Hindus and Sikhs and Muslims, all of whom had read Urdu and Persian, hit upon the phrase which had a dynamic ring, and they used it at the end of their posters and manifestos. But the phrase would have remained a literary flourish, but for the historic fact that Bhagat Singh and B. K. Dutt raised this slogan—*Inquilab Zindabad*—after throwing the bomb in the Assembly Chamber. Not only was the impact of the bomb felt all over India, but the new battle-cry was echoed and re-echoed from all corners of the country. In the course of the freedom struggle, millions raised the slogan—from Kashmir to Kerala, thus identifying themselves with the cause of the revolutionaries; and no one stopped to enquire the genesis of the words, of their Arabic and Persian parentage. It was sufficient that they expressed, in a ringing phrase, the innermost political feelings and aspirations of the people. The word *Inquilab* is now understood and used in *all* the languages of India.

Political and economic struggles are, indeed, the great melting-pot of languages. *Bundh* is a Hindi word, but it has now become a part of the economic struggle in every state—and in every language! When they declare an *Assam Bundh* or a *Kerala Bundh* or a *Bengal Bundh*, the language patriots and purists don't sit down to analyse the origin of the word. *Ghera Dalo* was a Hindi phrase which originated in Maharashtra—there was a *Sachivalaya Ghera Dalo*, on the Mysore-Maharashtra border dispute, but the Bengalis Bengalised it by telescoping the two words into one—*gherao*! Today, within two years, the word *gherao* is a part of the vocabulary in every single Indian language. The Akalis of Punjab, during the Suba agitation, contributed the word *dharna*. Today there is *dharna* in Bengali and in Malayalam—the M. P's of Bengal and Kerala have practised *dharna* in front of the Prime Minister's residence.

And so it has gone on, from the beginnings of our national movement to the economic struggles of today—the people have adopted words, whatever their origin, to express the concepts that stirred them at the moment.

No Dravidian patriot objected to the Sanskrit *satyagraha*; no Hindi purist

took exception to *Inquilab Zindabad* or tried to translate it into *Jai Kranti*; no *Angrezi Hatao* enthusiast condemned the slogan, *Simon Go Back*, that tens of thousands shouted in chorus, or *Quit India* that echoed from one end of the country to the other. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose gave the slogan *Chalo Dilli*, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru coined the phrase *Araam Haraam Hai*—a ringing phrase composed of Persian, Arabic and Hindi words. English words like *Congress*, *League*, *Conference*, *Committee*, had already entered the vocabulary of every Indian language. Meanwhile the functioning of parliamentary democracy brought in words like *Assembly*, *Council*, *Parliament*, *Vote*, *Election*, *Republic Day*; the common system of railways, post and radio has given words like *rail*, *engine*, *signal*, *station*, *platform*, *ticket*, *postcard*, *inland letter*, *money order*, *form*, *radio*, *transistor*, *wireless*, *programme* to all the various Indian languages; while the projects of the successive Five Year Plans made even our non-English knowing millions familiar with words like *dam*, *tractor*, *tube-well* (called *boring* in Bihar), *bulldozer*. The movement for population control has given English words like *family planning* and *birth control* and *loop* to the Indian languages, and indigenous word makers are also busy. Not out of dictionaries but out of popular usage, midwives and nurses have coined such picturesque words and phrases as *bachha bandh* (for birth control) and *dhaga* for Loop.

The composite multi-lingual character of our defence forces has provided another linguistic melting-pot for which we get such Indianized English words like *army*, *navy*, *air force*, *rifle*, *aeroplane*, *regiment*, as well as such Hindustani substitutes as *topkhana* (for artillery), *hoshiyar* (caution), *savadhan* (attention), *salami* (salute). The Sikhs, Marathas, Malyalees and Tamilians using these words never bother to confirm that *topkhana* is Persian in origin; *regiment* English; and *savadhan* Hindi.

In the darkened cinema halls, the sub-conscious is most receptive to assimilate what is seen and heard. The Hindi films, whatever their aesthetic and artistic quality, are veritable schools for the propagation of the national language of the future. It would be more correct to call them *Hindustani* films for they deliberately use a simple idiom, which will have a chance of being understood all over India—from Kashmir to Cape Comorin. To make themselves understood and liked by the multi-lingual inter-state audience, they deliberately sacrifice realism by creating an unreal and artificial (though not necessarily false) cultural atmosphere in which (for instance) a girl habitually shown wearing Punjabi Shalwar-qameez also performs the Tamil Bharat Natyam, and sings a hybrid song based on the folk songs of U. P. and Latin American rhythms! The language the characters in these films speak is spoken nowhere in India—not even in Delhi, Lucknow or Banaras—but it is helping to evolve the future link language of India. It is an odd, but oddly satisfying, mixture of mythological allusions of the Sanskrit scriptures, the romantic phrases of Persian and Urdu poetry, the earthy philosophy of folk songs and folk proverbs, and the

Anglicised expressions of the city middle class. It is a hotch-potch, if you wish to describe it as such, but there is a method in this madness, and a sound business sense in appealing to the common denominator of acceptability by a vast multi-lingual, multi-regional, multi-class and multi-faith audience. In the same film, for instance, you will find allusions to *Bhagwan* and *Khuda*; *dil* and *hirday* will both be there; the hero and heroine will simultaneously suffer from *mohabbat*, *preet*, *prem* and even *love*. People will be heard greeting each other with *pranam*, *namastay*, *adab arz*—and, occasionally, with *good morning* and *good night*. In filmic songs phrases like *Chashm-e-bad door* and *Allah re Qayamat* will be heard as well as *Ooper Gagan Vishal*, *Neechay Gehra Patal*, *Main Kya Karoon*, *Ram*, *mujhe budha milgaya*, and *Gori mohe Ganga ke paar milna!*

This linguistic potpourri is not to be sneered at snobbishly or dismissed with contempt. For, however, unrealistic and commercially-motivated, it represents a social phenomenon of our times—the rise of our industrial cities, with their mixed, multi-lingual populations, obliged to converse in some sort of hybrid Hindustani, their children playing together far from their original cultural and linguistic roots, and using either English learnt in schools, or the Hindustani learnt in cinemas, to speak to each other. This is a phenomenon involving millions of people—in Bombay alone there are more Malyalees than in any other city of Kerala except Trivandrum; more Tamilians than in any city of Tamilnad except Madras; there are whole streets and suburbs full of Gujaratis; there are lakhs of Andhras, Bengalis, Punjabis, Uttar Bharatis. There are 7,00,000 Maharashtrians in the state of Madras, many of them in the city of Madras. There are thousands of Bengalis domiciled in Lucknow, and lakhs of U.P. people in Calcutta. There are Rajasthanis and Marwaris all over India, while Punjabi farmers are settling down in the desert along the banks of the Rajasthan Canal. Festivals of Karnatik music and Tamil and Malyalam plays are held before large audiences in Bombay, while Urdu *mushairas* are held in Madras and Calcutta. In the Poona Club lounge a dozen languages are heard, and three Mahapujas have to be arranged for the Bengalis domiciled in the cultural capital of Maharashtra.

The typical common man of India 1967 is no longer the conservative, rooted-in-the-soil, cringing and servile peasant of our novels and films of the nineteen thirtees, speaking and understanding only the dialect of his district or his tribe. The common man of today is on the march—in more than one sense of the word! He is a great traveller, he seeks his living where he can find it, across the boundaries of his state (or even of his country). By the millions he is migrating to the cities—often the industrial metropolises of other states. While it is true he takes his language and culture with him wherever he goes, it is also true that necessity compels him to learn other languages, eat other people's food, accept other cultural influences. These vast masses of people on the move, intermixing, working together, living together, sometimes marrying in other castes, subject

to the influence of the same radio and cinema programmes, learning new techniques and imbibing new ideas, are in the process of becoming a *new* people. Old formulas of social and cultural behaviour or linguistics can no longer apply to them. The new life demands new answers to old questions.

The process is inexorable, its dimensions are vast and varied. I have seen thousands of uprooted peasants from Andhra working on the Rihand dam in northern U. P. Engineers and technicians from the Punjab, the U. P., Bengal, Tamilnad, Kerala and Assam have built the great Bhakra-Nangal dam. There are a dozen languages, not to mention a score of dialects, spoken in the Bhilai Steel Plant in the heart of Madhya Pradesh. Punjabi Sikhs are driving trucks and operating cranes in the construction of the Nagarjunasagar dam in Andhra. Punjabi hoteliers are introducing *tandoori* chicken to the gourmands of Madras, while people in Bombay and Delhi are learning to relish *idlee* and *sambhar* and *dosa* in the South Indian restaurants and coffee houses.

This inter-mingling of the people of different regions at different levels—in political conferences of all-India parties like the Congress, the Communists, the Socialists; in industrialized and commercial cities with a mixed but organised working class; in the construction of the big projects like dams and steel mills; in the all-India research laboratories situated all over the country; in colleges, and universities; in the Army, Navy and Air Force; in N. C. C. Camps, Scout Camps and in Youth Festivals—was having its decisive impact on the language problem. A common vocabulary of political and technical terms, derived mainly from English but also from other languages, was becoming a useful *common factor* in all the Indian languages. The Hindi cinema, with the tremendous popularity of its films even in the non-Hindi speaking regions, was becoming a cementing force between peoples. Its simple, colloquial Hindustani language was more or less understood by audiences everywhere—even when people did not understand all the words, they enjoyed the musical rendering of its songs! And enjoyment led eventually to understanding. The popularity of film records in the radio programmes, first of Radio Ceylon, then of Vividh Bharati, was another factor in making Hindustani understandable and acceptable to the people. These subtle attractions and indirect inducements were added to the social and economic compulsions of living and working with people of other linguistic groups who could be communicated only through a common, neutral, language. For the upper class intelligentsia, it was English. For the growing proletariat it was simple or 'cinema Hindustani', which also was regarded as a neutral, common language, not necessarily the literary language of any particular region. It was the 'English' of the common man with the help of which he could converse with the common man from another part of the country.

The Hindi *pracharaks*, meanwhile, were zealously working in the non-Hindi areas, and scoring notable successes with their Hindi classes. Thanks

to the Hindi films the language did not sound entirely strange and unfamiliar to 'non-Hindi' ears. More and more South Indians were learning Hindi—a passport to the understanding and full enjoyment of Hindi films, a useful additional qualification for getting a job in another state, a social and cultural, convenience. In most High Schools in Madras, Hindi was a favourite optional subject. All the factors were working for the ultimate elevation and acceptance of this Hindustani as the new link language of India, which in course of time would replace English. It was in that sense that the provisions of Hindi, as the eventual official language of the Central Government, was not objected to in the Constitution of India.

Then something happened. The over-zealous, impatient, protagonists of Hindi from the north, demanded the immediate, at least speedy, substitution of Hindi for English as the language of the Centre and of inter-state communication. As a first step they got hold of the All-India Radio and started using a literary and artificial Hindi, discarding thousands of commonly understood Urdu, English and simple Hindustani words and putting in their place newly minted words derived from Sanskrit. Symbolically enough, the universally-understood *Radio* became *Akashvani*—the Voice of Heaven—a sanskrit phrase with mythological associations. But the common man, even in the Hindi-speaking region, still calls it *Radio*. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Hindustani speeches were seldom directly broadcast to the nation—they had to be first 'translated' into "Radio Hindi". He himself had occasion to remark that he could not understand half of what was broadcast in his name!

Vested interests came to be associated with the move to hurriedly introduce Hindi as the official language of the Central Government—and with the resistance to this move! It was obviously to the advantage of the intelligentsia of the Hindi-speaking region to have *their* language quickly accepted as the official language. In all competitive examinations they would score over the candidates from the non-Hindi speaking regions. Likewise, the intelligentsia of the non-Hindi regions found in this move to abolish English and to put Hindi in its place, a distinct handicap for them, while giving their Hindi-region competitors an unfair advantage. So, on both sides, the easily inflammable educated youth took the lead in this controversy which soon developed into violent political conflict. The establishment of linguistic states, in the meantime, had given impetus to linguism and regionalism. The protagonists of Hindi were as fanatical as their antagonists in the southern states, specially Tamilnad. This atmosphere was naturally conducive to the spread of regional and linguistic chauvinism. In their anxiety to instal their language in the seat of power, the Hindi enthusiasts even rode rough-shod over the claims of Urdu which was a sister language of Hindi, having a common origin and a vast common vocabulary, in addition to being a symbol of cultural synthesis and integration of vast masses of Hindus and Muslims of northern India. The *Angrezi Hatao* (remove

English) and *Urdu Bhulao* (forget Urdu) of the Hindi enthusiasts was countered with the cry of "Boycott Hindi" in non-Hindi states, specially of the south.

Regional languages came into their own, with a vengeance! Hindi films, once so popular a factor for emotional integration and the evolution of a common language, were ousted by Tamil films in Madras, by Telugu films in Andhra, by Malyalam films in Kerala, even by Assamese films in Assam, and by Oriya films in Orissa. Bengali films, which had already achieved a high technical and artistic standard, specially after the international acclaim won by Satyajit Ray's creations, now began to push the Hindi films from the cinemas in Bengal. This upsurge of regional languages and cultures, as evidenced by the popularity of their films, was all to the good. It meant a healthy development of languages, literatures and cultures of the different regions, which were closer to the life of the common man. This flowering of the arts and literatures was one of the happy outcomes of the establishment of linguistic states, and among its major manifestations may be counted the renaissance of the Bengali cinema, the Marathi stage, the Malyalam novel, film and drama, the Tamil magazines and newspapers. But with all this constructive achievement (which could be possible without the tumult, the shouting and the violence of the linguistic controversy), the process of national integration was retarded, and the natural, unhurried and inevitable evolution of a national link language was slowed down.

Today Tamil taxi-drivers in Madras only smile uncomprehendingly if a north Indian speaks to them in Hindi. English has already been abolished by the Tamil patriots. They do not know that they are only hurting themselves by cutting off the lines of communications with the rest of the country.

For, as the linguistic controversy, for and against Hindi, raged in the country, the common people were also sucked into it. Battle-lines were formed along, and in defence of the fifteen Constitutionally-recognized 'national' languages—even if in the process the common people's own dialects and sub-languages were ignored and pushed aside. The 'Hindi-speaking' region of Bihar, Delhi, U. P., Haryana, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, after all, is composed of people speaking more than a dozen spoken languages, which are akin to Hindi but have a distinct personality of their own, some quite developed and with literatures of their own, like Brij Bhasha, Avadhi, Purbi, Haryanvi, and Rajasthani, the last of which is now claiming Constitutional recognition. There are Santal tribes in Bihar and Bengal who speak neither Bengali nor Hindi but Santali. There are Bhil and Gond tribes of Madhya Pradesh who speak their own dialects, which, with proper care and attention, could be developed into written languages. Likewise there are dozens of dialects and sub-languages in the whole country.

When we speak of the child receiving education in the mother tongue, why do we presume there are only fifteen mother-tongues in the country? The

child's mother (and father) may not be speaking any of them—they may be conversant with one of the many sub-languages or dialects which should be the natural medium of instruction for a primary student. But then when we think of education, are we really thinking of the common people, or only the 20 to 25 per cent who are lucky enough today to be receiving the benefits of education? For a substantial percentage of our population any of the regional (or national) languages is today as strange and incomprehensible a Hindi. When we begin to think of educating hundred per cent people of our country, we will have to think of using a hundred languages, sub-languages and dialects for the initial education of our children, as is already being done in the Soviet Union.

This diversification of the media of education need not alarm us. It may even restore a balance and sense of perspective in our language zealots of Hindi as well as of non-Hindi regions. That our people speak not fifteen 'giant-sized' self-sufficient, well-developed languages, with clearly-demarcated regions, but may be a hundred languages, sub-languages and dialects, may provide a corrective to excessive linguism and regionalism and induce in our people a greater appreciation of the need and importance of developing a link language which, in course of time, may develop into a national or supra-national language, for all inter-state intellectual, administrative and commercial purposes.

Such a language, because of the compulsions of history, will have to be some form of Hindi, not the jaw-breaking Sanskritized Radio-Hindi, but a more liberal and catholic Hindustani, embracing within it not only the Hindi vocabulary with Sanskrit origin, but the popular Urdu vocabulary derived from Brij Bhasha, the *tat-bhāv* adaptation of Sanskrit words, or Indianized variants of Persian, Arabic or Turkish words; the heritage of thousands of English words or their popular distortions which have gained currency in Indian languages, and an increasing number of words from the regional languages like Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, Malyalam etc. which the mingling of the peoples in the city slums, mills and factories and projects have introduced into Hindustani or in the other regional languages.

Such a language, when it comes about by a process of natural evolution, helped by conscious use of popular media of mass communication like radio, cinema, television, and by the common strivings of our people in thousands of inter-state enterprises, may be known as Hindi or Hindustani or simply Bharati —but it is destined to be the new link language of the common people of India, born out of the people's need, and shaped by the people themselves.

ASHISH BOSE

Some Aspects of the Linguistic Demography of India

We propose to discuss briefly four aspects of the linguistic demography[1] of India, namely, (*i*) the phenomenon of 'displacement' of one language by another revealed in successive censuses; (*ii*) language and religion; (*iii*) language and literacy; and (*iv*) language and migration.

Before we do so, we shall briefly comment on the census data on mother tongue. The collection, classification, tabulation and presentation of data on language returns in successive Indian censuses pose numerous problems in methodology which have yet to be resolved satisfactorily. An added difficulty is the periodic reorganisation of States which necessitates elaborate adjustments of the census data to take account of territorial changes. No wonder the demographers find analyses of language returns a tedious exercise though language continues to be an explosive issue in India.

The 1951 Census was particularly unsatisfactory from the point of view of tabulation, classification and presentation of data. The 1961 Census Commissioner, Mr. Asok Mitra, implicitly admits this when he says : "In 1951 it was decided to present language data exactly as returned in consequence of which the great worth of the 1951 data lay hidden under a bushel".[2] He took special care to avoid the pitfalls of the 1951 Census. He realised that "it was clear that the success of the 1961 presentation, if it was to avoid the woodenness of approach of a mere alphabetical ordering or the absurdities arising from computing all mother tongues merely and exactly as they were returned, would largely depend, first, on the extent to which certain mother tongues could be traced to their ultimate origin (the house, the village, the taluka, the district), and secondly, the efficiency, of the machinery which would undertake a quick-

spot survey and if necessary collect speech specimens and lay on spot investigation by experts".[3]

Undoubtedly, the 1961 Census language tables are an improvement on the 1951 Census tables. Nevertheless, these do not meet adequately the requirements of linguistic demography. For example, there are no cross-tabulations of mother tongue data by religion, literacy or migration status—cross-tabulations which would have given us a valuable picture of language and society in India. We hope in the 1971 Census, the tabulation scheme for mother tongue data will be more comprehensive. We are not competent to comment on the classification scheme evolved in the 1961 Census but it does appear to us that census analysts and specialists in linguistics must jointly consider afresh the whole problem of collection, classification, tabulation and presentation of language data. A lone census 'Linguist', no matter how competent he is, cannot handle this task. In fact, Mr. Asok Mitra in his introductory Note to the 534-page volume on All India Language Tables mentions that "this volume really stands for work in progress and is no more than a tentative presentation.... But this tentative presentation, despite its obvious deficiencies, was decided upon not with the intent of prematurely publicising unfinished work but with the object of sharpening the areas of uncertainty and inviting the comments and suggestions of scholars".[4]

LINGUISTIC DISPLACEMENT

While explaining the increase (or decrease) in the number of persons claiming a particular language as mother tongue in the country as a whole or in any State or district, it is necessary not only to account for natural increase in population (births minus deaths) and net migration (immigration minus emigration) but also to consider the 'displacement' of one language by another. Such displacement may be the result of deliberate mis-statement; it may also be due to a change in the attitude towards a particular language or dialect depending on the social and political climate of the country. We shall give examples of both these types of displacement from Census data.

The 1951 Census of Assam recorded an abnormal increase in the Assamese-speaking population and an abnormally low rate of increase in the Bengali-speaking population. We give the figures below:

Table 1 : Linguistic Displacement in Assam

	Per cent increase in population of linguistic groups in Assam*	
	Assamese	Bengali
1911-21	12.6	22.0
1921-31	15.6	19.4
1931-51	149.5	1.1
1951-61	36.5	20.0

*The figures are adjusted for the present territory of Assam.

The two components of population growth, namely, natural increase and migration cannot explain the growth rate of the Assamese speaking population during 1931-51. The main cause seems to be the 'linguistic displacement' of Bengali by Assamese. It is worthwhile to quote here extracts from the comments on the language returns for Assam by the 1961 Census Commissioner :

> "In the last fifty years Assam has received large accretions of population of Hindus as well as Muslims, but clearly more Muslims in all decades except 1941-51—from what is now East Pakistan. It is but natural and correct to assume that the mother tongue of all immigrants from East Pakistan should have been Bengali. The growth rates of Hindus and Muslims and those of Bengali and Assamese speaking populations were worked out for several decades district by district and thana by thana. It seems incontrovertible that a large number of Muslim immigrants into Assam from East Bengal in the period 1931-51 returned their mother tongue as Assamese instead of Bengali. It also seems fairly established that a section of other non-Assamese speaking population settled in Assam in 1931 returned their mother tongue as Assamese in 1951. The growth rates in 1951-61 indicate that a certain proportion of the estimated 225,000 Muslim population which came from East Pakistan into Assam during 1951-61 returned their mother tongue variously : in the Brahmaputra valley they tended to return Assamese as their mother tongue : in the Surma valley (Cachar) Bengali. ....It would be idle to deny that there was, even in 1961, some displacement of minority languages in Assam, including Bengali, though not on the scale experienced in 1931-51".[5]

We shall now give an example of the second type of linguistic displacement which we mentioned earlier.

In the 1931 Census in several states, the figures for Hindi and Urdu were merged under Hindustani and it is therefore not possible to give a comparative picture of Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani for the period 1931-61. In 1951, due to the language controversy in Punjab, the language returns were defective and at the tabulation stage it was decided to group under one head "Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu, Pahari—unspecified and Hindustani." So it is not possible to give a comparative picture of Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani for India as a whole even for the 1951-61 decade. But perhaps the best example of linguistic displacement of the second type is provided by Uttar Pradesh where Hindustani has almost been completely wiped out and its place taken by Hindi and Urdu, especially Urdu.

Table 2 : Linguistic Displacement in Uttar Pradesh

		(Number of Persons) 1951	1961
Hindustani :	Rural	6,011,260	100,530
	Urban	731,677	nil.
	Total	6,742,937	100,530
Urdu :	Rural	2,117,363	5,344,216
	Urban	2,183,062	2,547,498
	Total	4,300,425	7,791,714
Hindi :	Rural	45,252,457	56,086,160
	Urban	5,201,760	6,356,561
	Total	50,454,217	62,442,721

It is significant that whereas over seven lakh persons in urban areas of U. P. returned Hindustani as their mother tongue in 1951, not a single person did so in 1961. Further, in the rural areas of U. P. Urdu recorded an increase of over 152 per cent in one decade. Here again, neither natural increase nor migration can explain such an abnormal growth. The answer lies in linguistic displacement. The motive behind such a drastic switch-over to Urdu needs investigation which can be done better by political scientists than demographers.

Table 3 : Rate of growth of Hindi-speaking and Urdu-speaking population in Uttar Pradesh, 1951-61

	Per cent increase Hindi	Urdu
Rural	23.9	152.4
Urban	22.2	16.7
Total	23.8	83.5

In Table 4 we give the all India (excluding Punjab, J & K) picture of the relative growth of the Hindi-speaking and Urdu-speaking population during 1951-61. It will be seen that *without any exception, the proportion of persons speaking Urdu has gone up in all the States whereas with two or three exceptions, the proportion of Hindi-speaking population has gone down in all the States.*

Table 4. Per cent distribution of Hindi-speaking and Urdu-speaking population, 1951-61

State	Per cent of total population in each state speaking Hindi			Per cent of total population in each state speaking Urdu		
	1951	1961	Variation	1951	1961	Variation
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
India*	30.1	27.5	−2.6	3.8	5.2	+1.4
Andhra Pradesh ..	0.3	0.4	+0.1	5.1	7.1	+2.0
Assam	3.8	4.3	+0.5	0.1	0.1	—
Bihar	81.0	44.3	−36.7	6.8	8.9	+2.1
Gujarat ..	0.6	0.9	+0.3	2.4	2.9	+0.5
Kerala	Neg.	Neg.	—	Nil.	Neg.	—
M.P.	76.2	67.0	−9.2	1.4	2.3	+0.9
Madras ..	0.2	0.1	−0.1	1.4	1.8	+0.4
Maharashtra ..	2.8	2.7	−0.1	6.5	6.9	+0.4
Mysore	0.4	0.4	—	4.5	8.6	+4.1
Orissa	0.9	1.0	+0.1	1.1	1.2	+0.1
Rajasthan ..	19.6	3.2	−16.4	1.0	2.5	+1.5
U.P.	79.8	84.7	+4.9	6.8	10.7	+3.9
West Bengal ..	8.1	5.4	−2.7	2.1	2.4	+0.3

*Excluding Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Delhi and Himachal Pradesh (comparable data for 1951 and 1961 not available).

Neg=negligible.

The most important reason for the 'decline' of Hindi is the proliferation of Hindi and the strong tendency in 1961 to record languages and dialects of the Hindi group as separate languages. Bihar is the best example of this as will be seen from Table 5.

Table 5 : Abnormal increase in Hindi group dialects and languages in Bihar, 1951-61

	1951	1961	Per cent variation 1951-61
Bhojpuri	1,902	7,842,722	412,341
Khotha	1,744	232,267	13,318
Magadhi, Magahi	3,728	2,818,492	75,603
Maithili	97,685	4,982,615	5,101

It is interesting to note that the 1951 Census Superintendent of Bihar commenting on the language returns said :

"The small numbers shown against Maithili, Magahi, Bhojpuri.... should not be understood to mean that these dialects or languages have gone out of vogue. In actual fact, the vast majority of the population still use them, but they preferred to return their mother tongue simply as Hindi".[6]

Here, again, the pertinent question is, why people who preferred to return their mother tongue as Hindi made such a drastic switch-over to languages and dialects belonging to the Hindi group, and this in a decade of intensive advocacy of Hindi as the link language of India. The demographer cannot answer this question. But one is certainly struck by the growing consolidation of Urdu and the proliferation of Hindi in the 1951-61 decade. It may also be noted that the 1961 language returns revealed only 9 sub-types of Urdu but 97 sub-types of Hindi, 34 sub-types of Bihari and 73 sub-types of Rajasthani. What will be the fate of Hindi if these 204 sub-types compete with each other for recognition as separate languages? It does appear that *the greatest threat to Hindi is from the Hindi family of languages.*

LANGUAGE AND RELIGION

The association of language with religion is very intimate. For example, Urdu is predominantly a language of the Muslims. But not all the Muslims speak Urdu. We have computed an index—*the language-religion index*, to measure (in terms of percentage) the proportion of Urdu speaking persons out of the total number of Muslims in each State. In the absence of cross-tabulation of language data by religion, we had to ignore the small number of non-Muslims who might have recorded Urdu as their mother tongue. Table 6 shows that the LR Index (for Urdu) has gone up in all States, without any exception in 1961 compared to 1951. That there is no consistency between the rate of increase in

the Muslim population and that of the Urdu-speaking population during 1951-61 will be seen from Table 7. No doubt, migration has affected to some extent these figures (e.g. in Rajasthan), but how can all the States of India record net immigration of Urdu-speaking population? Such migration should surely be reflected in the figures for religion but they are not.

Table 6 : Muslim population and Urdu-speaking population, 1951 and 1961

States		Population in thousands					
		1951			1961		
		Muslims	Urdu-speaking Pop.	L.R. Index*	Muslims	Urdu-speaking Pop.	L.R. Index*
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
India**	..	35,414	13,565	38	46,939	22,886	49
A. P.	..	2,410	1,600	66	2,715	2,554	94
Assam	..	1,996	7	Neg.	2,766	11	Neg.
Bihar	..	4,373	2,646	61	5,786	4,149	72
Gujarat	..	1,451	369	25	1,745	595	34
Kerala	..	2,375	Nil.	—	3,028	9	Neg.
M. P.	..	1,050	368	35	1,317	740	56
Madras	..	1,443	427	30	1,560	616	39
Maharashtra	..	2,436	2,081	85	3,034	2,726	90
Mysore	..	1,950	877	45	2,328	2,034	87
Orissa	..	176	159	90	215	213	99
Punjab	..	285	N.A.	—	393	256	65
Rajasthan	..	991	156	16	1,315	510	39
U. P.	..	9,029	4,300	48	10,788	7,892	73
West Bengal	..	5,118	548	11	6,985	833	12

*Language Religion Index $\frac{\text{Col (3)}}{\text{Col (2)}} \times 100$; also $\frac{\text{col (6)}}{\text{col (5)}} \times 100$

**Excluding Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Delhi and Himachal Pradesh (comparable data for 1951 and 1961 not available).

Neg=negligible.

Table 7 : Comparative increase in Muslim population and Urdu-speaking population, 1951-61

States	Increase in Muslim Pop. 1951-61	Increase in Urdu-speaking Pop. 1951-61	L.R.I.* Ratio
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
India** ..	25.6	68.7	2.68
A. P. ..	12.6	59.6	4.73
Assam ..	38.6	65.0	1.68
Bihar ..	32.3	56.8	1.76
Gujarat ..	20.3	50.1	2.47
Kerala ..	27.5	—	—
M. P. ..	25.5	101.0	3.96
Madras ..	8.1	44.2	5.46
Maharashtra ..	24.5	31.0	1.26
Mysore ..	19.4	131.9	6.30
Orissa ..	22.1	33.9	1.53
Rajasthan ..	32.6	226.4	6.94
U. P. ..	19.5	83.5	4.28
West Bengal ..	36.5	52.0	1.42

*Language Religion Incremental Ratio : $\frac{\text{Col (3)}}{\text{Col (2)}}$

**Excluding Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Delhi and Himachal Pradesh (comparable data for 1951 and 1961 not available).

During 1951-61 the Muslim population increased by 25.6 per cent but the Urdu-speaking population increased by 68.7 per cent. It does seem likely that in States like Mysore, Muslims who returned Kannada as mother tongue in 1951 and Urdu as subsidiary language might have returned Urdu as mother tongue in 1961 and Kannada as the subsidiary language. It is significant that in India, the incidence of bilingualism is the highest for persons who claimed Urdu and Kannada as mother tongue (Table 8).

Table 8 : Bilingualism, 1961

Mother tongue					Per cent bilingual
Assamese	..	..	..	..	9.0
Bengali ..	..	..	..	..	8.7
Gujarati	..	..	..	..	7.3
Hindi ..	..	..	..	..	5.1
Kannada	..	..	..	..	14.4
Kashmiri	..	..	..	..	10.7
Malayalam	..	..	..	..	7.1
Marathi	..	..	..	..	10.5
Oriya ..	..	..	..	..	5.8
Punjabi	..	..	..	..	14.2
Tamil ..	..	..	..	..	8.1
Telugu	..	..	..	..	14.0
Urdu ..	..	..	..	..	22.1

The 1951 Census language tables do not give the rural/urban breakdown except in Uttar Pradesh whereas the 1961 Census gives the rural/urban breakdown for all the States. The comparable figures for U. P. reveal that during 1951-61 there was a big increase in the proportion of Muslims recording Urdu as the mother tongue in the rural areas (Table 9).

Table 9 : Proportion of Muslims returning Urdu as their mother tongue in Uttar Pradesh, 1951-61

				1951	1961
Rural	..	..	..	33.5	66.6
Urban	..	..	..	80.9	92.1
Total	..	..	..	47.6	73.2

It is well-known that Urdu is the language of the educated classes who are mostly confined to the urban areas. Our analysis of the 1961 Census data reveal that Urdu is the most 'urban' language in India—it claims among the all languages of India the highest percentage (40.3 per cent) of persons residing in urban areas.[7] The 'invasion' by Urdu of the rural areas of U. P. is a phenomenon which needs investigation.

Table 10—Literacy rates and linguistic groups in India, 1961

Zone/State	1961 Pop. (millions)	Literacy rate	Per cent of India's total population	Per cent of India's total literate pop.	Population literacy disparity	Literacy Deficiency Ratio $\frac{\text{Col (6)}}{\text{Col (4)}}$x100
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
I. *Hindi Group*						
A. 1. U. P. ..	73.75	17.6	16.8	12.4	−4.4	−26.2
2. Bihar ..	46.46	18.4	10.6	8.1	−2.5	−23.6
3. M. P. ..	32.37	17.1	7.4	5.3	−2.1	−28.4
4. Rajasthan ..	20.16	15.2	4.6	2.9	−1.7	−37.0
Total ..	172.74	17.5	39.4	28.7	−10.7	−27.2
B. 1. Punjab ..	20.31	24.2	4.6	4.7	0.1	2.2
2. J. & K. ..	3.56	11.0	0.8	0.4	−0.4	−50.0
Total	23.87	22.2	5.4	5.1	−0.3	−5.6
Grand Total (A+B)	196.61	18.0	44.8	33.8	−11.0	−25.0
II. *Dravidian Group*						
1. Andhra Pradesh	35.98	21.2	8.2	7.2	−1.0	−12.2
2. Madras ..	33.69	31.4	7.7	10.0	2.3	29.9
3. Mysore ..	23.59	25.4	5.4	5.7	0.3	5.6
4. Kerala ..	16.90	46.8	3.8	7.5	3.7	97.4
Total ..	110.16	29.2	25.1	30.4	+5.3	21.1

III. *Eastern Group*							
1. West Bengal		34.93	29.3	8.0	9.7	1.7	21.3
2. Orissa	..	17.55	21.7	4.0	3.6	−0.4	−10.0
3. Assam	..	11.87	27.4	2.7	3.1	0.4	14.8
Total	..	64.35	26.9	14.7	16.4	+1.7	11.6
IV. *Western Group*							
1. Maharashtra	..	39.55	29.8	9.0	11.2	2.2	24.4
2. Gujarat	..	20.63	30.5	4.7	6.0	1.3	27.7
Total	..	60.18	30.0	13.7	17.2	+3.5	25.5

LANGUAGE AND LITERACY

Under conditions of mass illiteracy (the literacy rate was only 24 per cent in 1961) it is the regional dialect rather than an all-India language which is important. It is worth noting that in 1961 the educated persons in India (matriculates and above) constituted less than 2 per cent of India's population. It is this élite group which is primarily affected by the linguistic controversy. But with the spread of literacy and the attainment of universal literacy by the new generation, it will be language and not the local dialect which will play an important role. It is important, therefore, to consider the relationship between language and literacy.

In the absence of cross-tabulation of mother tongue data by literacy, we have considered the different States in India (and these were reorganised on a linguistic basis) and worked out the *literacy deficiency ratio* which indicates (in percentage terms) the relationship between the total population and the total *literate* population. For example, U. P. accounts for 16.8 per cent of India's population but only 12.4 per cent of India's total *literate* population. On the other hand, Kerala with only 3.8 per cent of India's population accounts for 7.5 per cent of India's total *literate* population. Even in terms of absolute numbers, the contrast is disquieting. The Hindi-speaking States of U. P., Bihar, M. P. and Rajasthan contain 173 million persons compared to 110 million persons residing in Andhra Pradesh, Madras, Mysore and Kerala and yet the total literate population (32 million) of the four southern States exceeds the total literate population (30 million) of the four big Hindi-speaking States. All the Hindi-speaking States in India are well below the all-India average in terms of literacy (Table 10).

We are led to the conclusion that in view of the strong tendency towards proliferation of Hindi in the Hindi-speaking States and the low levels of literacy in these States, prior attention must be given to the *introduction of Hindi as a 'link' language in the Hindi-speaking States before we think of Hindi as an all-India link language.* A literacy rate of 17.5 per cent and sub-types adding up to 204 dialects do not certainly strengthen the case for Hindi. It may also be noted that the Hindi-speaking persons are the least bilingual in India (Table 8).

LANGUAGE AND MIGRATION

In the absence of cross-tabulation of data on mother tongue by migration status, we have made rough adjustments in the available census data and calculated the *linguistic dispersal ratio* (Table 11) to indicate the relationship between linguistic groups and migration streams in India. To give an example, there were 6.8 million persons speaking Assamese in the whole of India. Of these only 19 thousand were enumerated outside Assam. Thus the linguistic dispersal ratio was 0.3. In contrast, 2.6 million Punjabi-speaking persons were enumerated outside Punjab. The highest linguistic dispersal ratio in India is

Table 11 : Linguistic dispersal in India, 1961

S. No.	Language	Home state	Total number of speakers in India	Total number of speakers in the home state	Total number of speakers outside the home state	Ratio of linguistic dispersal $\frac{\text{Col (6)}}{\text{Col. (4)}} \times 100$	Adjusted* ratio
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1.	Assamese ..	Assam ..	6,803,465	6,784,271	19,194	0.3	0.3
2.	Bengali	West Bengal ..	33,888,939	29,435,928	4,453,011	13.1	7.0
3.	Gujarati ..	Gujarat ..	20,304,464	18,672,722	1,631,742	8.0	4.1
4.	Hindi ..	U. P., Bihar, M. P., Rajasthan, Punjab ..	133,435,360	126,840,814	6,594,546	4.9	5.1
5.	Kannada ..	Mysore ..	17,415,827	15,371,753	2,044,074	11.7	7.3
6.	Kashmiri ..	Jammu and Kashmir ..	1,956,115	1,937,817	18,298	0.1	0.1
7.	Malayalam ..	Kerala ..	17,015,782	16,065,740	950,042	5.6	5.6
8.	Marathi ..	Maharashtra	33,286,771	30,278,913	3,007,858	9.0	7.6
9.	Oriya ..	Orissa ..	15,719,398	14,443,598	1,275,800	8.1	8.1
10.	Punjabi ..	Punjab ..	10,950,826	8,343,264	2,607,562	23.8	10.5
11.	Tamil ..	Madras ..	30,562,706	28,016,147	2,546,559	8.3	8.3
12.	Telugu ..	Andhra Pradesh	37,668,132	30,934,898	6,733,234	17.9	8.9

*Adjusted figures keeping in mind the bilingual nature of some states (technical details not included here).

for the Punjabis (23.8 per cent). These figures, however, are subject to several statistical limitations. We have worked out the adjusted ratios but the conclusion remains the same : among the major linguistic groups, the Assamese are the least mobile while the Punjabis (especially the Sikhs) are the most mobile. Of course, it must not be forgotten that much of this mobility has been enforced by the Partition of India. The Punjabi migrants in India are not all from the present territory of Punjab State.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Linguistic demography is virtually an unexplored field of study. In spite of the improvements in the 1961 Census, there are only two simple language tables: one for mother tongue and the other for bilingualism. The cross-tabulations are restricted to sex and rural/urban breakdown. It would have been useful, however, if further cross-tabulations of mother tongue data were available by literacy, religion and migration status. In the absence of these, we improvised a few simple statistical measures like the literacy deficiency ratio, the linguistic dispersal ratio, the language-religion index and the language-religion incremental ratio. We have also discussed the phenomenon of 'linguistic displacement'.

The other aspects of linguistic demography we have briefly discussed in this paper are the inter-relations between language and religion, language and literacy, and language and migration.

Our broad conclusions are as follows :

(1) As regards trend studies for the period 1931-61, it may be noted that there was no tabulation of language data in 1941 (except for a few States) and on account of the strong linguistic controversy, the data for Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, etc. were merged under one head in Punjab in the 1951 Census tables. It may also be noted that in the 1931 Census, in several States, Hindi and Urdu were grouped under Hindustani. Thus comparability of language data for the period 1931-61 has severe limitations.

(2) A detailed analysis of the language data reveals the phenomenon of displacement of one language by another in successive censuses. Two outstanding examples of such linguistic displacement are the abnormal increase in the Assamese-speaking population in Assam during 1931-51, and the virtual extinction of Hindustani in U. P. during 1951-61.

(3) Turning to religion, we find that the growth of Urdu-speaking population is far in excess of the growth of Muslim population in India during 1951-61. This has occurred so consistently throughout India that it cannot be called a statistical accident.

(4) Hindi, on the other hand, presents a dismal picture. Its proliferation into numerous sub-types contains a potential threat of disintegration.

(5) Thus the 1951-61 decade is marked by the virtual extinction of Hin-

dustani, the uncanny consolidation of Urdu, and the pointless proliferation of Hindi.

(6) Next we turn to literacy. The Hindi-speaking States have the lowest literacy rates in India. Even in absolute terms, their literate population is smaller than that of the literate population in the Southern States which are much smaller in total population size than the Hindi-speaking States. The Hindi-speaking persons are also the least bilingual in India.

(7) Finally, we consider linguistic groups and migration. The Punjabis are the most mobile people in India and, in the context of increasing industrialization, their mobility is bound to increase.

If the trend revealed by the 1951-61 Census decade persists, the chances of the consolidation of Hindi seem rather remote. Under conditions of mass illiteracy it is the local language rather than a formal all-India language which has relevance for the people. It does seem to us that the "Hindi (including Bihari, Rajasthani, etc.)-Urdu-Punjabi-Pahari" amalgam, or in other words, a broad-based *Hindustani* as a link language for the masses has at least, statistically speaking, a better claim than pure Hindi. (This group of languages claimed over 45 per cent of India's population in 1961.)

Hindustani can serve as a link language not only for the masses but also between the educated classes and the masses. But it can hardly satisfy the demands of a language which can serve as a link *between* the educated classes whom probably only a world language can satisfy.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The statistical tables presented here are computed from data given in the following Census publications : *Census of India 1951, Paper No. 1 (1954)*, Languages—1951 Census; *Census of India 1961, Vol. I, Part II-C(ii)*, India : Language Tables; *Census of India 1961, Vol. XV, Part II-C(ii)*, Uttar Pradesh—Cultural and Migration Tables; *Census of India Paper No. 1* (1963), 1961 Census—Religion.
2. *Census of India 1961, Vol.I, Part II-C(ii)* India : Language Tables, Delhi (1964), p.1.
3. *Ibid.*, p. ii.
4. *Ibid.*, p. v.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. vii-viii.
6. *Census of India 1951, Paper No. 1 (1954)*, Languages—1951 Census, Bihar Language Tables, p. 2.
7. Ashish Bose, *Studies in India's Urbanization* (mimeographed), Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi, 1966, p. 295.

MANMOHAN CHOWDHURY

A Perspective for our Language Policy

Any serviceable language policy for this country will have to take into account two inexorable processes of the modern world. The world is becoming one community with increasing rapidity, and the common people are waking up and coming rapidly to play a more and more active role in the conduct of the world affairs.

Means of increasingly rapid communication have made next door neighbours of peoples geographically farthest apart on the globe. The economics of nations are already irrevocably linked to a world economic structure. Political decisions at the national levels have to take into account happenings in far away lands that were not even heard of a bare couple of centuries ago. The pursuit of knowledge in its multifarious branches has already become a cooperative venture on an international scale. This situation makes it imperative that India, as also every other country, remain in constant and instantaneous contact with the world flow of information. This calls for full and unrestricted access to the media and channels of this flow.

This is one dimension of the problem. At the other end, we have the aspirations and stirrings of the common people that seek expression through the ideals and institution of democracy and socialism. Great revolutions have broken down the barriers that divided society into water-tight compartments of the rulers and the ruled, and kept the seats of power out of reach of the common people. This process generates the demand that the channels of information be fully accessible to the people. And this is the second dimension of the issue.

These two processes make contradictory demands on education and the

intellectual life of India and the shape of our future lies in the way in which these demands are reconciled.

Due to historical causes English has become our gateway of access to the outer world. It has helped to create a new all-India élite that has a common vehicle of thought and communication and has its links with the élite of the world. So it seems very commonsensical to let English continue to play its dominant role in our cultural life. It will continue to provide a common channel of communication for the all-India élite which also at the same time give us access to the channels of world information. What more is needed?

The only snag is that we leave the people out of the picture. In failing to take into account the second process, of coming into his own of the common man, we fail to recognize the twin challenges that face us. Standing as we are at the threshold of an age of revolutionary changes we are as yet slow to realise its full implications. Further, I submit that certain significant features of our past history have negatively conditioned our perception in this respect.

In India we had for centuries a feudal order that was reinforced by the caste system. The social strata were rigidly defined and strictly segregated. Administration and learning were in the care of well-defined castes. The prohibition on the *śudras* debarring them from studying the Vedas was an index of the cultural milieu. The common people had no say in public affairs beyond their caste councils or the village council (if the latter did not happen to be the seat of the upper castes) and perhaps would not have known what to say if they had to say. The material circumstances of a static economy coupled with the rigid social pattern effectively limited the aspirations and mental horizon of the masses.

Of course there were rebels mostly in the persons of saints like Chaitanya, Tulsidas, Jnanadev, or Kabir who had different ideas. They wrote and taught in the languages of the people and translated the epics and sacred texts into them. Their impact resulted in the formation of non-conformist subcultures, but the main Brahmanic pattern continued to be dominant. We were habituated to a system in which a language to which the common people had no access, Sanskrit, was the repository of all learning and the virtual monopoly of an élite.

The Englishman burst upon this scene as the harbinger of a new and dynamic age. He was instrumental in creating an administrative and cultural élite that was sharply differentiated from the common people. The English language was the tool that both held the élite together and segregated it from the masses. The stratification created by British Imperialism was not exactly coterminous with the traditional one, but the pattern was similar. English took the place of Sanskrit and was the vehicle of a culture that did not care to reach out to the common people.

Thus the imperialist experience reinforced the outlook inherited from

tradition. Independence has brought many changes but has yet to fully dislodge the strata-bound outlook. That is why many intelligent and responsible people fail to see why things cannot go on as they are going on now. For the last twenty years the people who controlled the administration and the educational policies of the nation have by and large failed to realise the fundamental nature of the problem with tragic and potentially dangerous consequences.

The most tragic consequence has been the segregation of the intellectual élite from the common people. While English has knit together the élite of the different linguistic regions it has at the same time formed an effective barrier against the emotional integration of the country. The regional cultures have remained virtually isolated from each other, there being an impervious layer between them and the élite that should have served as their channel of communication. To see the point one has only to consider the number of books in regional languages translated into others.

The second damage that has resulted is that it has helped to perpetuate the antiquated outlook of the people. English medium in education and administration has effectively prevented modern ideas from percolating down to the common people in any appreciable measure.

Let us take a concrete example. There are half-a-dozen socialist parties in India. These parties stand for the masses and aspire to have roots in them. But does any party have any among its top echelons who have risen from the working classes? There are perhaps thousands of brilliant persons at the lowest leadership levels but they can never aspire to rise to the top. It will be a Herculean task for any one to acquire the necessary intellectual equipment. Except for the enterprising International Publishing House of Moscow turning out Indian translations of Communist classics, nobody else has bothered to translate the basic socialist works that are essential for providing an adequate conceptual framework. Is there a translation in any Indian language of Laski's Grammar of Politics, or of the works of the Webbs, of G.D.H. Cole, of Bertrand Russell? Mark's *Das Capital* is not available in even the most advanced regional languages. It will be too much to expect renditions in Indian languages of *The Origin of Species* by Darwin or of the *Psychopathology of Every-day Life* by Freud. Yet these and such other works provide the basis of a modern outlook on life. In his own langauge none of these and such other works would be beyond the grasp of an average intelligent literature, but the need has not yet been felt to put these within his reach because the intelligentsia live in a world in which the common man does not figure in any meaningful way.

The use of English as a medium for the teaching of science is considered essential by many. The Indian languages are considered inadequate for the task. There is no doubt that today they are. But no language has been born full-blown from Brahma's head. They are tools that have to be constantly

sharpned and refurnished for ever new uses. A language grows with its use and the languages that have been used as vehicles of modern science have continued to grow with it. Here also the social context is relevant. It is one thing to visualise the pursuit of science as a cloistered virtue limited to a few ivory towers; but quite another to allow it to take root in the life of the people. That means active and intelligent cooperation at all levels, from, say, the farmer participating in the testing of a new hybrid seed to the mechinist fashioning a new piece of precision instrument. Fruitful discovery and invention prosper on free exchange of ideas between the practical worker and the academician. Sociologists of science have noted that science languished in societies that erected social barriers between the working classes and the intellectuals.

There is a naive belief that while English may be used as the medium of instruction for science, law, etc., literature will continue to flourish in the regional languages. But nothing like this is going to happen. Even poetry and fiction are no longer limited to the roses, nightingales, moonlight and kisses. A few random pages of the volume *Island* by Aldous Huxley, for example, yield the following words and phrases: exparte judgement, amputation, categorical imperatives, mass consumption, meprobamate, transcendental unity, actualisation, visualiser, conceptual level, non-verbal experience, chronic deficiency, hypnotic subjects, somnambulist, ecology, steatopygously, mendelism, hypodermic, over-responsive and introvert children, logic and structure, statistical averages.

The upshot is that just as modern society cannot be divided into different levels of culture with different languages as their vehicles so also the intellectual life of a community cannot be divided into sectors with indifferent media of expression. A language will, to keep alive, have to be of use at all levels of life's activities and experiences. Somebody must find it useful for expressing the most abstruse ideas of existential philosophy or astrophysics while another uses it for singing to her lover. If it falls into desuetude at one end or the other it ceases to live, and leaves the society crippled into the bargain.

The non-use of a language for modern scientific purposes is bound to stunt it. Such a language is sure to lose its vitality and wither away. This is happening and sure to happen to many local dialects and non-literate tribal tongues spoken by relatively small groups of people. In many of these cases the groups have found or will find new identities as members of larger linguistic communities and the demise of their dialects has not or will not leave a perceptible scar. But such a future cannot be predicted of the fourteen major languages of India that have rich historical heritages and attract fierce loyalties. These will have to stand up and face the challenge of the modern world.

So these are the dimensions of the dilemma we face. It would have been simple if there had been no modern world with its explosion of knowledge and only the Indian languages with their rich historical heritages. Again it would

have been no problem if these languages had been at the level of the Koya and Toda tongues. Then English could have easily been allowed to swamp them out of existence. Since these two simple alternatives do not exist, a more complicated solution will have to be found.

We may take as a starting point the decision to make the regional languages media of instruction and administration. This decision of course immediately raises a host of questions. The first is about access to the world stream of information. Here, due to an understandable efflux of motion, many well-meaning people tend to lose sight of the difference between a medium of instruction and a subject of study. I would unhesitatingly vote for English as a compulsory subject for all intending to go to a university, though I may add that to ensure a quicker access to the latest developments in science we will have to cultivate a wider acquaintance with other languages as well.

Today a veritable avalanche of papers is being published in any single discipline in a multitude of languages. The volume has grown so enormous that it is becoming physically impossible for any scientific worker to keep track by conventional methods of all new ideas even in his own limited field. Years ago Bernal had originally mooted the idea of a rationalised system of collecting, storing and serving out this deluge of information. The deluge has vastly increased since the suggestion was made, and the advent of the computer has also made the idea more feasible. The relevance of this in the present context is that to achieve outstanding merit as a nation in the field of scientific research we will have to evolve a rationalised system of our own to collect, store, and make available this ever growing body of information. The concentrated information can then be made available in all Indian languages. This will require direct access to the originals in all modern languages. Dependence on English alone will keep us tied to the apron strings of the English speaking countries. It will be difficult for us to make an independent get away and attune our scientific research to the needs of our society.

A fierce controversy rages today over the effect of the abolition of English medium on Indian unity. There is an apprehension that the intelligentsia of the different states would not be able to communicate with each other, that movement of teachers and students outside their states will cease, and that every state would become a cultural island unto itself.

The fears are no doubt very real. Today English serves us a medium of inter-state communication, and it has been made clear at the outset that nothing short of constant communication with the entire world will do in the present age. I feel that retention of English as an essential subject of study will enable it to serve this purpose till an Indian language rises to take its place. Here also the confusion in respect of a medium of instruction and a subject of study needs to be guarded against. And it has also to be kept in mind, as pointed out earlier, that English has hindered Indian unity by insulating the

masses from the intelligentsia. It may also be noted parenthetically that even common allegiance to English has not been able to prevent the Assamese from breaking the heads of Bengalis and the Marathas from flying at the throats of the South Indians. An out-of-date economic system, muddled policies and an absurdly unsuitable educational system have made the educated youth the market victims of the steadily spreading canker of unemployment. This is leading to demands of special considerations for 'sons of the soil' in every state. No amount of emotional hankypanky or intellectual dialogue will check this disruptive tendency unless the major causes are tackled at the root.

But this does not solve the problem of inter-state movement of teachers and students. Here I feel that some concessions are in order. English (or the Indian language that may take its place in future) should have a place as an associate medium. Teachers of outstanding merit unacquainted with the state language may be allowed to use English (or the Indian substitute). As has already been decided, all-India institutes and important institutes in the larger cities where people from different states are congregated in large numbers may continue to use English till replaced by the Indian substitute. It is not beyond human ingenuity to devise other measures to get over these and similar difficulties.

Another point needs to be made. As in the respect of food so also in the realm of science and technology we are today mostly at the receiving end of the communication link. The regional cultures lack in vigorous creativity in those realms of knowledge that count. One feels that everything that is new, that counts, comes from across the seas. We do not expect much from our sister states except some such things as their traditional dances, music and visual arts and in some cases—rice. The upsurge of creativity that is bound to take place in the regional languages when they get their rightful place of honour in the universities will help to create more interest in the intellectuals in the activities of their counterparts in other states and thus promote greater mutual acquaintance and understanding.

So far as the media of administration and the law courts are concerned the issue is much more simple. Here touch with the flow of world information is needed on a much restricted scale, and adequate provisions can easily be made for the necessary international and national links. On the other hand, the continuation of English in these spheres has become as tool in the hands of a vast ramification of vested interests for the purpose of swindling the people. English as a medium of instruction has some very cogent arguments in its favour, as the medium of administration and the judiciary it has none.

In this paper it has not been my purpose to suggest solutions, though a few have been touched upon, but to present a perspective. As has been emphasised at the beginning, two irresistible processes are at work in the world today. And in these is centered the greatest hope for the future of the inhabitants of this

globe as also the potentiality for the greatest disaster. The world is fast becoming a single community, and the lowliest and the lost are clamouring for a rightful and meaningful place in it. The outcome may be a peaceful and prosperous world community of truly free men if the merging forces are correctly guided or their blind groupings may lead to a catastrophe that will wipe out human civilization. Do we as a nation want to contribute to the first happy consummation? Do we want to set free and harness the creative energies of our people to that end? A language policy will have to find its meaning in this context.

For thousands of years the bulk of our people have not counted. The only aspect of them that has counted is their output of physical energy as machines of production. Their discontents and stirrings have been looked upon with suspicion and misgiving. Do we want to change all this?

Do we want a dynamic society to replace the tradition-bound static one? Do we want people who will take their destiny by the horns rather than meekly submit to fate? Do we desire to see our people cease to live a virtually vegetative life and self-confidently face and solve the problems of modern existence as they come along?

If so, then we will have to set free the tremendous psychological energies of the people locked up by the traditional socio-economic set-up. They will have to be provided access to the ever expanding world reservoir of concepts and skills. They will have to be made to feel equal to the rest of the world in the joyous task of give and take of material and cultural products. A truely creative language policy must be able to provide this link between the great wide world and the common man. That will be the acid test of its utility.

P. B. DESAI

Language Returns of the 1961 Census relating to Gujarati and Languages spoken in Gujarat

THE purpose of this note is to direct attention to the language returns of the Census of India 1961, as presented in the census volume No. I, Part II-C(ii). The question regarding mother tongue has been included in the census questionnaire from the very beginning of the system of decennial census counts in India. These are usually presented in a classified form. The classification system had been evolved by Dr. G. A. Grierson over a period extending from 1895 to 1927. In the course of this period Grierson was also in charge of the Linguistic Survey of India whose report forms a series of volumes, the last of which was published in 1927. Since then, the 1961 Census presentation of language data is the first attempt to review the new developments in philology and revise the scheme of classification adopted by the Linguistic Survey. In presenting the language data the Registrar-General has made an express appeal to all knowledgeable persons to consider the tentative classification adopted by the census 'linguist' for the purpose of tabulating language returns and suggest its improvement. The introductory note to the language tables indicates the magnitude of the task before the Census Linguist, who was called upon to classify for presentation responses in respect of over four hundred million persons. The number of languages that have been returned was 1652, and it is obvious that errors may creep in at any stage in the process of collection, transliteration, classification, tabulation and presentation of the language data. The Census Linguist, therefore, has invited appraisal of his presentation of the data in the volume quoted above.

Before we present briefly the broad results of these returns for Gujarati and for the languages spoken in Gujarat, it may be useful to indicate how the data

were in fact collected. The information was solicited from the respondent, usually the head of the household, in respect of each member of the household by asking a direct question about the mother tongue of the person in question. The mother tongue was defined as a language spoken in childhood by the person's mother to the person or mainly spoken in the household. The interviewers were not required to probe the responses. They took down the answers as given. It is true that, on account of this manner of collecting the information, odd and unclassifiable or unidentifiable responses were obtained in a few cases. Madrasi was, for example, reported by some persons in place of either Tamil or Telugu. There were instances also where the respondent claimed that his mother tongue was 'Bharati' or 'Indian'. These entries, however, constituted an extremely insignificant proportion of the total responses.

After due editing of the responses a total of 1652 mother tongue names were obtained. Of these, 103 were foreign languages. Out of the total of 1549 Indian mother tongues, 622 were traced to the Linguistic Survey of India. 572 of these were classified according to Grierson's classification; the total number of speakers of these languages accounted for 99.38 per cent of the enumerated population. Fifty other tongues were tentatively reclassified within the same scheme of classification. Further scrutiny of the remaining languages enabled the Census Linguist to tentatively classify 400 mother tongues according to the Grierson classification. The remaining 527 mother tongues could not be dealt with in this manner, because no corresponding language could be traced in the Grierson classification. But it is notable that they relate to a tiny proportion of the population.

On the basis of these classified language returns, we will indicate relative status of Gujarati among the languages of India, consider briefly the distribution of Gujarati speaking population within India, and further see the distribution of Gujarat's population according to mother tongue. These data are given in the appended tables. The first table gives a distribution of India's population according to mother tongue; it covers all the 15 languages, including Sanskrit and Sindhi, which are now listed in the VIII Schedule of our Constitution; together these 15 languages account for some 385 mother tongues and nearly 87.5 per cent of the population. The largest group among these obviously speaks Hindi; they form a proportion of only 30.4 per cent. However, if we bracket Behari and Rajasthani, which are the closest to Hindi, this group forms 37.6 per cent of the population. The smallest number is reported, again for obvious reasons in respect of Sanskrit; the total number of persons claiming Sanskrit to be their mother tongue was 2544, 1849 males and 695 females. Gujarati is spoken in the country as a whole by a slightly more than 20 million persons forming a proportion of 4.6 per cent of the total population. If we arrange these languages according to their proportionate share, Gujarati

occupies the seventh position. It is preceded by Hindi, Telugu, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil and Urdu.

Of a total of 20,304,464 persons reporting Gujarati to be the mother tongue, 90.5 per cent were enumerated in Gujarat. Another group of 45 thousand or 0.2 per cent were living in Dadra, Nagar Haveli, Daman and Diu. Thus, the total number of persons with Gujarati as their mother tongue living outside Gujarat was around 16 lakhs only. But it is notable that the Gujarati mother tongue is represented in all the different States and Union territories. Among them the number of Gujarati speakers is nominal for six union territories including Himachal Pradesh, Lacadive and Minicoy Islands, Tripura, NEFA, Nagaland and Manipur. The smallest number among the States is reported for Jammu and Kashmir, where there were only 79 Gujarati speakers at the time of the 1961 Census. If we arrange the other States according to the strength of the Gujarati speaking population, Maharashtra occupies the first position with over 11 lakhs of Gujaratis. The second place, after a great gap, is occupied by Madras, with 174 thousand Gujaratis and the third by Madhya Pradesh, with 130 thousand.

A more detailed district-wise distribution of Gujarati speaking population outside Gujarat shows that Gujarati language is represented in as many as 301 out of a total of 316 districts of the rest of India (excluding 17 districts of Gujarat, Dadra, Nagar Haveli, Diu and Daman). Greater Bombay with a Gujarati population of nearly 8 lakhs tops the list. There are 3 other districts, where there were more than 50,000 Gujaratis; these are Madurai in Madras, Thana and Dhulia in Maharashtra. Then follows Poona in Maharashtra, West Nimar in Madhya Pradesh, Calcutta in West Bengal, and Thanjavur, Salem and the Madras district in Madras. In considering these data, there are several surprises; the numerical strength of Gujaratis in several districts is supposed to be much greater than indicated by the census count. For Calcutta, the Census enumerated only about 21,000 persons, whereas estimates by local residents would produce a figure nearly ten times as large. In Delhi the Census reports less than 7 thousand Gujaratis, while a similar estimate would indicate the total strength to be around 20 thousand. In this connection it is partinent to note that in 1951 the Census count of Gujarati speaking population of Delhi was around 14 thousand. Similar is the case of Bangalore and perhaps of many other places. These under-estimations of Gujarati speaking population could have arisen on account of either faulty enumeration or faulty responses of the respondents. In the light of this, it seems necessary that due precautions are taken at the time of enumeration to ensure that the mother tongue responses are correctly made and properly recorded.

It is interesting to add that, of the total number of Gujarati speakers noted above, around two lakhs only gave some 11 dialects, bracketed here with Gujarati, as their mother tongue. The largest group among them comprised

157,570 persons who reported 'Saurashtra' as their mother tongue; bulk of them are from the Madurai district of Madras. Almost all of them were enumerated in the Madurai city itself. Here they dominate the silk and cotton textile industries. It is said that they are the descendants of the group of people, who came out of Saurashtra at the time of the destruction of the Somnath temple by Mohmed of Gazni. Another group of 24,577 were speaking 'Gujaru' in Maharashtra, while the third largest group was constituted of 5,088 'Parsi' speakers, of whom as many as 4,303 were living in Maharashtra. Among the more important of the remaining dialects were 'Khathiawari' with 2,989; Kshatri-Saurashtra with 1,790; Ghisadi with 1,776; Patkari with 1,287; Jaini with 1,026 and Kolchi with 1,004 speakers.

For an idea further of change in the numerical strength of Gujarati speaking population in the country as a whole, we may refer to the two preceding censuses of 1951 and 1931. The total number of Gujarati speakers was 10.8 million in 1931 and 16.3 million in 1951. Thus, it will be seen that the proportion of Gujaratis in the total population of the country increased from 3.87 per cent in 1931 to 4.52 per cent in 1951 and further to 4.62 per cent in 1961. It may be added that the proportion formed by the Gujarati speakers living in Gujarat state (as reorganised in 1960) in the country fell from 92.1 per cent in 1931 to 90.9 per cent in 1951 but rose again to 92.0 per cent in 1961. Alternatively, it may be said that those living outside the State of Gujarat formed 7.9 per cent of the total Gujarati speaking population of India in 1931, 9.1 per cent in 1951, and 8.0 per cent in 1961. The variation in this proportion, it is feared, is due partly to the predilections on the part of some Gujaratis residing outside the State to return other languages as their mother tongues.

With regard to the languages spoken in the State of Gujarat itself, the census found that a total of 138 languages and dialects were spoken amongst its population of 20.6 million. Among these only 5,326 persons had reported 33 foreign language as their mother tongues; English was claimed by 2,043; Pusto or the languages of the Pathans, by 761; Baluchi by, 689; Arbi by, 529; and Persian by, 354 persons. This wide range of foreign mother tongues include, apart from English, 7 languages of Western Europe; 5 languages of Eastern Europe, including Russian; 8 languages of the Middle East; 4 languages of Africa and 8 languages spoken in other Asian countries.

This leaves us with 105 Indian languages. 18 of these are taken to form 3 major language groups. The largest of this group is evidently formed by Gujarati, which accounts for 90.5 per cent of the State's population. Only 11 dialects are grouped with Gujarati and only one among them—Kolchi, spoken in the Surat district, claims more than a thousand persons. It may be pointed out in this connection that the number of dialects which have been grouped with Gujarati at the all-India level is much larger, indicative perhaps of the preference exhibited by Gujaratis living in other States towards their home

dialects as against Gujarati proper.

The second group accounting for nearly 6 lakhs of people is formed by those speaking Urdu. The two dialects bracketed with Urdu are 'Islami' and 'Dakni Musalmani', together accounting for 132 persons only.

The third group is constituted under Sindhi. Kachchhi here accounts for nearly 70 per cent of the total number of speakers, while Jadeji, spoken mainly in the Rajkot district, is returned by less than one per cent of the total number of speakers in this group. It is clear that Kachchhi is a transition tongue between Sindhi and Gujarati. Initially, Grierson had taken Kachchhi to be a dialect of Gujarati, but in his final classification for the Linguistic Survey of India, he chose to bracket it with Sindhi. Since then, many developments have taken place in the field of linguistics and it is time that a definitive position was scientifically reached in this connection. The Census Linguist notes that investigations on Kachchhi have been undertaken, but "for want of any accepted decision, Kachchhi has been classified here under Sindhi".

Apart from the above three groups, we have 87 other Indian languages, with a large range of variation in the number of speakers from a maximum of 192,279 reporting Hindi to a minimum of one person each reported in respect of some 10 dialects. Marathi here occupies the next position after Hindi, with a total of 191,260 speakers. It is followed by three languages each with around 60 thousand speakers—namely, Dangi, Chodhari and Bhilodi.

We might consider how some of these other Indian languages are classified at the all-India level. Sixteen of them are classified under Bhili, more important among them being Chodhari with 59,274, Bhilodi with 59,243, Kokni/Kokna/Kukna with 39,890, Dhodia with 26,459, Mawchi with 13,353, Vasava with 12,679, Kotwali with 2,694 and Naikadi with 1,182 speakers. All the above languages are spoken mainly in the Surat district. Only Bhilodi is shared partially by the Broach district.

Eight other languages are classified under Rajasthani. The two principal of these languages, namely, Marwari and Rajasthani, account respectively for 45,238 and 11,212 speakers. More than half of the Marwaris are concentrated in the Ahmedabad district, while the bulk of Rajasthanis are spread over the three districts of Ahmedabad, Mehsana and Banaskantha.

A reference may be made also to Dangi. The total number of speakers of Dangi is 60,580, of which only 9 were enumerated outside the district of Dangs. Dangi at the all-India level is surprisingly included in the Khandeshi group, together with Ahirani, Chitodi and Dhedgujari. The inclusion of Dangi in the larger group of Khandeshi follows the practice of the Linguistic Survey of India. In this connection, the association of Khandeshi as well as of Dangi with Gujarati calls for intensive investigation. Grierson, as early as 1901, was of the view that "Bhili and Khandeshi, together form one group of dialects all based on Gujarati, but intermediate between it and Rajasthani, forming,

in fact, a connecting link between the two languages...The Bhil dialects appear under many names... but they are all, with Khandeshi and its connected dialects, essentially the same form of speech which may be described as an Eastern Gujarati". The suggested investigation might investigate the case for inclusion of Dangi, if not Khandeshi and Ahirani, into the broader Gujarati group of languages and dialects.

We may also indicate relative proportions of persons returning Gujarati as their mother tongue in different districts of the State. The lowest proportion here is reported by the Dangs, for the simple reason that Dangi, the mother tongue of the inhabitants of this hilly area, does not appear as a dialect of Gujarati. The proportion is small also for Kutch where Kachchhi, taken to be a dialect of Sindhi, accounts for over 42 per cent of the population. Apart from this, there are only two districts where the proportion is comparatively small. It is 81 per cent for the Ahmedabad and 83 per cent for the Surat district. It is also apparent that the variety of languages spoken in the Surat district is even greater than that in the Ahmedabad district. The total number of languages spoken in the Surat district is much greater than that in the Ahmedabad district; the number of languages spoken in the Surat district comes to as many as 80 out of the 138 mother tongues reported for the State as a whole, while the corresponding number for Ahmedabad is only 58.

Finally, we may add a word about the extent of bilinguism in the State. In this connection, the total number of persons returning a subsidiary language, in addition to their mother tongue, is only about 1.4 million or 6.5 per cent of the State's population. If we consider the different mother tongues, the proportion for Gujarati speakers comes to only 4.3 per cent. On the other hand, the proportion is much higher for Urdu and Kachchhi; the bulk of these responses indicated, however, Gujarati to be the secondary language. The proportion is also high for immigrants from other States. The proportion of persons among Marathi speakers, for example, was 34.0 per cent, among Hindi speakers, 21.5 per cent, and among Marwaris, 20.7 per cent. It is also notable that of the Gujaratis living outside the State, over 41 per cent are reported to be bilinguists.

The principal languages spoken as secondary languages were Hindi, English, Urdu, Marathi and also Gujarati. Hindi here claims 39 per cent; Gujarati, 32 per cent; English, 21 per cent; Urdu, over 4 per cent; and Marathi, about 1.5 per cent. If we add these persons to the corresponding number of persons returning the same language as mother tongue, we find that 92.6 per cent of the State's population knows Gujarati; 3.5 per cent, Hindi; 3.2 per cent, Urdu; only 1.4 per cent, English and 1 per cent, Marathi.

At the all-India level Gujarati is spoken as a second language by more than half a million persons. 77.8 per cent of these persons were living in Gujarat itself. The remaining 22.2 per cent were widely scattered all over the country.

Their number was, however, sizable only for the three states bordering Gujarat; Maharashtra among them claimed 92,669; M.P., 15,818 and Rajasthan, 8,853 persons from among those speaking Gujarati as a subsidiary language. Adding this group to the number of speakers of Gujarati as their mother tongue, we find that Gujarati was known to 20,862,530 of the persons enumerated by the Census in 1961.

Table 1. Distribution of Population according to Mother Tongue—1961

		Persons	% of total
1.	Hindi*	133,435,360	30.37
2.	Telugu*	37,668,132	8.57
3.	Bengali*	33,888,939	7.71
4.	Marathi*	33,286,771	7.58
5.	Tamil*	30,562,706	6.96
6.	Urdu*	23,323,518	5.31
7.	Gujarati*	20,304,464	4.62
8.	Kannada*	17,415,827	3.96
9.	Malayalam*	17,015,782	3.87
10.	Bihari	16,806,772	3.83
11.	Oriya*	15,719,398	3.58
12.	Rajasthani	14,933,016	3.40
13.	Punjabi*	10,950,826	2.49
14.	Assamese*	6,803,465	1.55
15.	Santali	3,247,058	0.74
16.	Bhili	2,439,611	0.56
17.	Kashmiri*	1,955,515	0.45
18.	Gondi	1,501,431	0.34
19.	Sindhi*	1,371,932	0.31
20.	Kokani	1,352,363	0.31
21.	Kurukh/Oraon	1,141,804	0.26
22.	Kumauni	1,030,254	0.24
23.	Nepali	1,021,102	0.23
24.	Pahari	1,004,371	0.23
25.	Tulu	935,108	0.21
26.	Garhwali	809,967	0.18
27.	Mundari	737,037	0.17
28.	Ho	648,359	0.15
29.	Manipuri	636,430	0.15
30.	Kni	512,161	0.12
31.	Khandeshi	428,126	0.10
32.	Sanskrit*	2,544	—
	All other languages	6,344,622	1.46

*Languages included in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution of India

Table 2. Languages and Dialects spoken in Gujarat, 1961

S.No.	Language or dialect	Speakers	S.No.	Language or dialect	Speakers
1.	Gujarati ..	18,671,562	28.	Bhili ..	22,340
2.	Kolchi ..	1,004	29.	Varli ..	15,627
3.	Parsi ..	50	30.	Punjabi ..	14,627
4.	Memani ..	40	31.	Mawchi ..	13,353
5.	Tirbandi ..	20	32.	Tamil ..	13,264
6.	Koli-Gujarati ..	19	33.	Vasava ..	12,679
7.	Mahar ..	18	34.	Rajasthani ..	11,212
8.	Talavia ..	5	35.	Telugu ..	10,542
9.	Sorathi ..	1	36.	Malayalam ..	7,709
10.	Ravli ..	1	37.	Kannada ..	5,192
11.	Khalpa ..	1	38.	Ahirani ..	4,966
12.	Kshtriya-Gujarati	1	39.	Bengali ..	3,393
			40.	Kotwali ..	2,694
	Gujarati-Group ..	18,672,722	41.	Nepali ..	2,657
			42.	Naikadi ..	1,182
13.	Urdu ..	594,538	43.	Hindustani ..	1,101
14.	Islami ..	124	44.	Kathodi ..	911
15.	Dakani-Musalmani	8	45.	Garwali ..	633
			46.	Banjari ..	544
	Urdu-Group ..	594,670	47.	Walvi ..	465
			48.	Katkari ..	389
16.	Kachchhi ..	341,660	49.	Oriya ..	379
17.	Sindhi ..	156,152	50.	Madrasi ..	254
18.	Jadeji ..	2,410	51.	Gondi ..	219
			52.	Padvi ..	173
	Sindhi-Group ..	500,222	53.	Gurmukhi ..	156
			54.	Kashmiri ..	122
19.	Hindi ..	192,279	55.	Sanskrit ..	99
20.	Marathi ..	191,260	56.	Chhari ..	93
21.	Dangi ..	60,580	57.	Mewari ..	88
22.	Chodhari ..	59,724	58.	Malabar ..	75
23.	Bhilodi ..	59,243	59.	Braj Bhasha ..	66
24.	Marwari ..	45,238	60.	Bihari ..	51
25.	Kokna/Kokni/		61.	Khandeshi ..	43
	Kukna	39,890	62.	Assamese ..	37
26.	Gamit/Gavit ..	37,995	63.	Goanese ..	37
27.	Dhodia ..	26,459	64.	Chhattisgarhi ..	34

contd.

S.No.	Language or dialect	Speakers
65.	Marwari-Gondi	28
66.	Malvi ..	26
67.	Vadari ..	26
68.	Karnataka ..	25
69.	Gorkhali ..	25
70.	Pingal ..	21
71.	Maithili ..	20
72.	Multani ..	17
73.	Andhra ..	17
74.	Pahari—unspecified	13
75.	Kamathi ..	11
76.	Kharpi ..	11
77.	Jesalmeri ..	9
78.	Nimadi ..	8
79.	Kanjari ..	7
80.	Adivasi Bhili ..	7
81.	Dogri ..	7
82.	Kongkoi ..	6
83.	Dravidam ..	6
84.	Koshti-Bundeli ..	5
85.	Dungari ..	5
86.	Tulu ..	5
87.	Mangalorese ..	4
88.	Bhopali ..	3
89.	Bajwari ..	2
90.	Purbi ..	2
91.	Manipuri/Meithei	2
92.	Bavchi ..	2
93.	Bhandari ..	2
94.	Charani ..	2
95.	Dakshini ..	2
96.	Tumbal ..	1
97.	Sikkim-Bhotia ..	1
98.	Sikhi ..	1
99.	Rangari ..	1
100.	Peshawari ..	1
101.	Kerala ..	1
102.	Kigoi ..	1
103.	Mysore ..	1
104.	Bhojpuri ..	1
105.	Damal ..	1
	Other Indian languages	860,410

S. No.	Language or dialect	Speakers
106.	English ..	2,043
107.	Afgani, Kabuli, Pakhto, Pashto, Pathani	761
108.	Balochi/Baluchi ..	689
109.	Arabic/Arbi ..	529
110.	Persian ..	354
111.	Portugese ..	305
112.	Japanese ..	141
113.	Spanish ..	82
114.	Russian ..	47
115.	Chinese/Chini ..	45
116.	Norwegian ..	39
117.	Congolese ..	36
118.	Singhalese etc.	36
119.	Makrani ..	34
120.	German ..	34
121.	French ..	26
122.	Roumanian ..	23
123.	Burmese ..	15
124.	Hebrew/Jewish	15
125.	African ..	14
126.	Tibetan ..	8
127.	Swahili ..	7
128.	Javanese/Java	7
129.	Dutch ..	7
130.	Turkish/Turkistani	6
131.	Siamese/Thai ..	5
132.	Czech/Czechoslovakian	5
133.	Irani/Iranian ..	4
134.	Italian ..	4
135.	Irish ..	2
136.	Swedish ..	1
137.	Greek ..	1
138.	Ethiopian ..	1
	Foreign Languages	5,326

Table 3. Proportion of Gujarati speakers in different districts

	Population	Gujarati speakers	% Gujarati speakers	No. of other languages spoken
Jamnagar	828,419	791,014	95.5	46
Rajkot	1,208,519	1,146,520	94.9	36
Surendranagar	663,206	653,924	98.6	21
Bhavnagar	1,119,435	1,102,661	98.5	40
Amreli	667,823	656,723	98.3	20
Junagarh	1,245,643	1,181,540	94.9	30
Kutch	696,440	370,552	53.2	35
Banas Kantha	996,144	961,085	96.5	32
Sabar Kantha	918,587	890,627	97.0	29
Mehsana	1,689,963	1,638,352	96.9	34
Ahmedabad	2,210,199	1,790,017	81.0	57
Kaira	1,977,540	1,867,735	94.4	52
Panchmahal	1,468,946	1,412,782	96.2	34
Baroda	1,527,326	1,365,068	89.4	55
Broach	891,969	807,906	90.6	41
Surat	2,451,624	2,032,312	82.9	79
Dangs	71,567	2,794	3.9	21

Table 4. Extent of bilinguism in Gujarat State

	Total speakers	Bilinguists	Subsidiary languages				
			Hindi	Gujarati	English	Urdu	Marathi
Gujarati	18,671,562	799,682	470,311	—	242,885	55,669	9,818
Urdu	594,538	223,548	106,770	202,687	5,970	—	686
Kachchhi	341,660	103,415	1,376	99,906	630	1,198	43
Hindi	192,279	41,262	—	29,022	9,318	1,266	593
Marathi	191,260	65,065	14,690	40,819	9,319	93	—
Sindhi	156,152	42,899	14,489	20,742	7,067	292	42
Dangi	60,580	2,913	81	2,129	7	—	696
Chodhari ..	59,724	2,929	249	2,671	6	—	3
Bhilodi	59,243	5,044	138	266	3	—	4,629
Marwari ..	45,238	9,384	1,443	7,556	240	9	68
Kokna/Kokni/Kukni ..	39,890	6,797	481	5,078	1,049	7	135
Gamit/Gavit ..	37,995	1,828	236	1,515	17	1	59
Dhodia	26,459	3,319	228	3,073	14	3	1
Bhili	22,340	1,644	39	1,060	—	—	545
Others	134,430	34,138	10,926	13,730	9,496	1,004	2,493
Total ..	20,633,350	1,347,867	525,364	430,254	286,021	59,542	19,811

Table 5. Distribution of persons speaking Gujarati either mother tongue or as a secondary language, 1961

State or Territory	Persons speaking Gujarati		
	As mother tongue	As secondary language	All
Gujarat (including Daman, Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli)	18,717,592	434,213	19,151,805
Maharashtra	1,101,600	92,669	1,194,269
Madras	172,702	404	173,196
Madhya Pradesh	129,389	15,818	145,207
Rajasthan	41,833	8,853	50,686
Mysore	29,296	2,100	31,396
Andhra Pradesh	24,743	1,160	25,903
West Bengal	25,709	89	25,798
Bihar	20,068	195	20,263
Uttar Pradesh	12,832	1,402	14,234
Orissa	9,436	208	9,644
Delhi	7,626	353	7,979
Kerala	6,989	179	7,168
Punjab	1,863	317	2,180
Assam	712	—	712
Jammu and Kashmir	79	—	79
Other Territories	1,995	16	2,011
Total speakers outside Gujarat	1,586,872	123,853	1,710,725
All	20,304,464	558,066	20,862,530

MOHAN SINGH DIWANA

Indian Socio-linguistic Background

THE aim of this background study is to examine traditional Aryan attitudes to language, and to suggest that the Aryans, while maintaining the purity of the Vedic language for religious purposes, were tolerant in allowing the development of vernacular regional languages and composite link languages for profane purposes. I then examine the role of the religious leaders and literary figures of medieval times in synthesising existing vernacular languages, common link languages and classical languages into new, dynamic and expressive languages. The spread of particular musical modes is linked with this development. Finally, I suggest that the prototype for a link language in modern times should be based on the example of former link languages. The link language should not be exclusive or artificial, but should be derived from a creative synthesis of existing vernacular languages and link tongues.

Over the course of centuries, the society of Hindustan has witnessed a great intermingling of peoples and a concomitant growth of innumerable composite languages and link languages. It was here that effective intermingling took place between the expansionist Indo-Aryans and the natives; between the mountain tribes and the Indo-Aryans; between the Scythians, Sakas, Hunas and the Indo-Aryans; between the Pathans, Turks, Mongols and the Indians; and between the Europeans and the Indians. Prākrits and Apabhramsas effloresced in this area; Hindui[1] and Urdu were moulded in this area; Hindustani developed here. The Roman script was employed here first, as were employed of old the sixty-four scripts mentioned by the Jain *Agamas* and the Buddhist *Lalita Vistara*.

In this study of the socio-linguistic background to the current problem

of a link language, evidence is drawn not from the grammarians, as is the current but unfortunate practice, but from the language itself and from the creative, moulding, popular, powerful writers who in all cases were linguistic rebels, revolutionaries, and new empire-builders.

The Vedic language and its social setting. The Vedic language is the language of the gods as Hebrew to the Jews is the language of Paradise. The ten hundred and seventeen wisdom hymns of the *Ṛg-Veda* are pure revelation, eternal in their authority and validity. These texts were committed to memory and were not written down.[2] Centuries later a Kashmiri Brāhman wrote down the text in Sarada script, the script of the goddess of wisdom, Sarada, and it was said that this script should not be lost, corrupted, misused or mishandled. This fixed and limited forever the technical vocabulary of religion, philosophy, psychology, ethics, prayer, and ritual formulae. The wise persons who were put in charge were given the name *brāhmana*, derived from the highest name of God, Brāhman, and the script was renamed Brāhmi. This language was called pure, purified, Sanskrit, and was to be treated as the norm, the standard and the measure of purity, and, by extension, of corruption and vulgarization. Such standardization was a conserving mechanism to prevent change.

The acceptance of linguistic pluralism. While the Brāhmans were able to preserve the purity of Sanskrit, they were not able to prevent the transformation of the spoken language. Aryan society was obliged to move frequently and to adjust to new circumstances and new peoples. An adjustment had to be made in dealing with non-Aryans, though it was a reluctant, bitter and haughty adjustment. The Aryan speech changed with changed diet, mixed blood and different climates, leaving the Vedic standard far behind. New languages grew up, and their new generic names, Prākrit and Apabhramsa, betray the contempt and the hatred with which they were regarded by the custodians of the Sanskrit tradition. Pāṇini and Patanjali were the first to use the degrading word, Apabhramsa, for languages co-existing with Sanskrit, for they claimed that these languages were derivations from, or corruptions of, Sanskrit. This superior attitude on the part of the custodians of Sanskrit towards the vernacular languages was a natural corollary of the fundamental belief in the hierarchical classification of human society found in the *Ṛg-Veda* and the *Gītā*. Nonetheless, as a result of circumstances more than of desire, Indian society accepted linguistic pluralism along with societal, political, and religious pluralism. In this acceptance, the work of religious leaders and creative writers was of the utmost importance.

The synthesising role of the religious leaders and creative writers. The Hindu belief in the historical appearances of God has proved to be of incalculable advantage to language and literature. This attitude justified the life-work of giant literary-linguistic rebels, revolutionaries, and creators, who as Sants, Gurus, Pirs, Faqirs, Darveshes, Sufis, Siddhas, Sannyasis, Naths, Acharyas,

Sadhus, Avadhutas, Parivrajakas, Vanaprasthas, Jogis, Bhikshus, Munis and Bhaktas, drawn from the highest to the lowest classes, ignored all precepts of standardization, classification, purism, and pietism in the fields of worship, language, spelling, meaning, music, social conduct and metaphysical belief. These saint-poets not only set the seal on the changes that had already come into the language but initiated new changes in both social and linguistic attitudes. When such persons sang or wrote in new and vulgar modes of music, or when they combined vulgar and colloquial vocabulary from all dialects, languages, races and climes, or when they distorted even the sacred Vedic and classical Sanskrit words out of recognition, changing morphology and phonology, who could object? When Brāhman-haters, Buddhists, Jains, Muslims, or low class Hindus wrote in Sanskrit, Pāli, Prākrit, Apabhramsa or Hindui, supporting or controverting Hindu doctrines, who could stop them? Gunadhya, Farid, Khusro, Jayasi, Tulasi, Sur, Nanak, Gobind Singh, Khan Khanan, Kabir, Dadu, Sahajobai, Charandas, Shankar Dev, Waris, Krishna Lal, Gurdas, Nam Deva, Raidas, Jamiat Rai, Parmanand, Santokh Singh, Vali, Gharib Das—all were language rebels who championed popular speech and proved that stratification, untouchability, race-consciousness and religious sanctity could all be made irrelevant to language. It was in this way that the writings of saintly leaders over the years counter-balanced the purist classicism of the Sanskritists and facilitated the growth of so many Prākrits and Apabhramsas.

The translation of the *Upaniśads*, *Rāmāyana*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Yoga* the *Vasishta* and some *Purāṇas* into the regional languages has played an important part in the forging of new languages. Over a period of some 500 years these works have been translated into Persian, Urdu, Bengali, Punjabi, Hindi, Assamese, Gujarati, Tamil, Kannada, Marathi, Telugu, etc. At the same time the rebel authors—poets, musicians, story writers and dramatists—have been consistent and persistent in incorporating and importing foreign loan-words into the Indian Apabhramsas or Des Bhakhas. They have vernacularized not only foreign loan-words but also Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākrit words, using these latter in the forms in which the masses, the real makers of language, had been using them. At the same time, for the sake of metre and rhyme, these poets often changed the shape of words and played havoc with grammar and syntax.

All the poets of Hindustan travelled widely in its different parts, visiting fellow poets and important centres of pilgrimage. Travel widened their vocabulary, and encouraged them to address the entire population of Hindustan in their poetry and prose. I have often brought to the notice of Indian social and literary historians the fact that there was hardly any poet from Gorakh of the 10th century to Ghulam Farid in the early half of the 19th century belonging to Maharashtra, Gujarat, Bengal, Agra, Oudh, Bihar, Delhi, Punjab or Sind, who had not written in three languages—the mother tongue, the provincial language and the common Hindustani language, Hindui, besides Persian or

Sanskrit, such as he could command. Even Zafar and Sauda wrote in Punjabi; even Guru Gobind Singh wrote in Persian, in Braj, in Rekhta and in Khayal; even Guru Nanak Dev wrote in Persian, in Sanskrit, in Kafi, in Lahndi; even Namdev, Kabir, Raidas and Dadu wrote in Punjabi and Hindui. In Bengal the writers of Brajbuli[3] thrived. Miran wrote in Rajasthani, in Gujarati and in Hindui. It is this fact of the unity-maintaining and unity-nourishing aspects of peotry, poetic vocabulary, poetic forms, metres and music that has been responsible for a link language, secular in grammar, syntax and pronunciation, semi-religious in vocabulary, and entirely republican in its enforcement of vernacularization laws.

The role of music in language creation. The part that music has played in preserving languages, dialects, colloquialisms and slang, and in polishing language, in widening its scope, in simplifying grammar and syntax, in providing new vocabulary or renovating old words, and in importing foreign words of beauty and charm, can never be overestimated. Let us be reminded that all Indian Prākrit, Apabhramsa and vernacular poetry is already set to music, thus making it easier to memorize. It is always composed in some *rāga* or *rāgini*, classical, folk or mixed, and it is always poured into metres which correspond mentally and verbally with musical modes. Music brings Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs linguistically closer; music brings the city and the country closer. In short, music has been of the greatest importance in the making of language, and its service to languages, races, tribes and ideas, and to their inter-blending needs to be more consciously and extensively elaborated.

The essentials of a link language. The difference between a written language and standard speech, between standard speech and a common link language, between an artificial speech and a natural speech, between a language and a dialect, and finally between abstract languages and concrete languages must ever be kept before us. A true link or national language must reflect both the historical conditions and the social conditions of the life of the people, for language is formed in the bosom of society. A link language is primarily the creation of the court, the military, trade and commerce, religions, the arts, and the women, and is used for inter-state, inter-caste or inter-denominational alliances. Of the alphabets evolved in trade and business in the north are to be counted Sarafi, Mahajani, and Lande-Munde-Takre. Nagri or Devnagri was evolved by the Brāhmans, and Maheshwari by the Siddhas. Urdu was the joint creation of the Sufis, military campers and expeditioners, and the Hindu women in the Muslim harems. It had its bases in Punjabi, in Dehlavi, in Marathi, and in Hariani, and it came to the forefront as the language of the two capitals, Agra and Delhi. Hindustani was partly shaped by the British whose march from Calcutta to Murshidabad and Dacca, and then to Varanasi, Lahore, Simla and Peshawar eclipsed the local languages in their functions in court work and official publications.

Though Urdu may be said to have a genuine regional basis, the Sanskritized Urdu, called Hindi (distinct from Hindui), the new written literary language, has no firm basis. It ignores the living languages of Bhojpuri, Purbi-Avadhi, Bundheli, Rohelkhandi, Pahari, Braj, and Rajasthani or Dingal, all of which are now clamouring for recognition in their provincial areas. Should our link or national language ignore the word-traces of the 200 years of Greek rule, 100 years of Arab rule, 750 years of Turko-Pathan-Mughal rule, 150 years of British rule, and years of contact with the French, the Dutch, the Portuguese, the Burmese, the Tibetans, the Chinese, the Baluchs and the Pakhtuns?

Linguistic evolution is directly dependent upon historical circumstances, and it is these circumstances that are now working for a new future link language. This link language of the future could have English, French and Russian words, duly vernacularized, to the tune of 33 per cent of the total vocabulary, and could derive at least one-fourth of its vocabulary from Arabic and Persian. Such a link language, the new *lingua Indica*, must be allowed to grow at its own pace, this pace being dependent upon how soon great writers arise and father it as in the past they fathered Hindui. The most important requisite is that the vocabulary, whether Sanskrit, Persian or English, must be properly Indianized. Sanskrit methods of inflecting must be given up altogether in favour of simple Hindustanization rules in consonance with the genius of the ordinary man in India. There are enough stocks of such words and word formations, and grammatical and syntactical precedents. If imperial, religious and status attitudes can be eliminated from the process of language formation, the growth of a proper link language of the future—one which any Indian citizen from Kerala to Kashmir and from Nagaland to Kutch could handle with creative confidence and without a sense of inferiority—should not pose any problem.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Most scholars, Indian and non-Indian, have used "Hindwi" or "Hindui" for the common Indian vernacular which sprang up as a literary link language from Bijapur, Golconda and Ahmedabad to Brindaban, Jayasi (Eastern U. P.), Merta and Lahore in the 15th century.
2. The Aryans had a well-developed language but they lacked a script. The script and the alphabet were actually invented by the Tantrikas and not by the Vedic people. All the fifty letters are actually controlling sounds (*Bija Mantra*) of Tantra. The Tantrikas invented them for their convenience in spiritual practices.
3. Brajbuli is typical of artificial or mixed literary (poetic) languages whether in the Prâkrit or Apabhramsa stage.

ASHOK R. KELKAR

Language: Linguistics: The Applications

TALKING about talking, using language about language is about as easy as burning wood in a wooden stove. In fact it is notoriously difficult—even for the professional. (Ask any student of linguistics or of linguistic philosophy.) It involves a difficult exercise in self-consciousness. So long as language is working smoothly, we do not take notice of it. This is as natural as a healthy person's reluctance to pay any medical or cosmetic attention to his body. Even when language is not working so smoothly, it is not always easy to realize that this is the case. We are so accustomed to take for granted the learning and the using of our native languages that it is only when we face a language we do not know or know very imperfectly, or when we are not sure who is to use which language with whom and on what occasion that we realize that language can present problems. But realizing that a problem exists is not being equipped to understand and possibly solve that problem. There is likely to be a haze of misconceptions which would prevent a proper understanding of the problem and lead us to wrong solutions.

It was thought, therefore, that it would not be out of place to put together some saliencies that may serve as guidelines after the following plan:

I (a). What language is not.
I (b). What language is like.
II (a). What linguistics is not.
II (b). What linguistics is like.
III. The applications of linguistic theory.

I (a)

Language is not writing. A moment's reflection is enough to let us see that many languages today are not being written down—not even by the linguist for the purposes of his study (but then it is of course unfair to count *that* as the use of writing in connection with that langauge); that many languages must have disappeared from this earth without any trace of writing being left behind (even as some are disappearing right under our noses); and that, whether in the life of mankind or of a single individual, language comes first and writing comes afterwards as a way of recording it through visible symbols. While speech determines some of the very basic characteristics of writing in all its forms (its linearity, for instance), writing affects speech only marginally and infrequently (a South Indian giving a separate value to the *d* in *judge*, for instance). And yet we frequently proceed as if we equate language with writing. Somebody is called upon to teach a language—and then he just *has* to begin with the alphabet. One can speak for hours about everyday matters without anybody being the wiser as to whether one is speaking in Urdu or Hindi, and yet for most people Urdu and Hindi are totally different languages rather than different styles of using the same language—call it Hirdu, if you like. (It is interesting that the distinction is not so well established when it comes to feature films.) Even scholars make this mistake when they suggest that the continued use of one writing system for a language is a proof that it has remained unchanged.

No matter what the vague titles of university departments say, language is not literature. Literature is only one possible use of language. Even if we interpret the term 'literature' liberally to include history and philosophy and mythological texts and the literature on internal combustion engines, literature is not even the staple use of language. In a way it is as specialized and abnormal a use of language as that in drawing up a contract or sending a diplomatic note. Even the simple or the conversational style used in literature is a special effect—as anyone who has attempted to write in one can testify. And yet we have often fondly hoped that teaching Goldsmith's or Dickens's prose or Wordsworth's or Tennyson's verse is teaching the twentieth-century use of English. Translating, which is a difficult art that is mastered only at the end of one's training, used to be put smack at the beginning of one's learning English when one was completely at the mercy of one's mother tongue. Our grandfather's English was better than our children's is today—not because the former learnt it via translation but because they learnt it via active use as a medium for studying other high school subjects.

There are people who collect words as one would collect stamps and one need not grudge them this hobby—which is great when it comes to solving crossword puzzles or to writing sonnets galore. (After all who else would use that last word?) Those who identify a language with their favourite dictionary

always think that each word carries a language tag and that learning a new language is mastering a bilingual dictionary. Naturally for such people it is difficult to accept that *ṭebil* or *fursat* (or *phursat*) are perfectly good Hindi words and to realize that *bhagvān un kī ātmā ko shānti de* is no Hindi. There are people who seriously believe that we can evolve an acceptable national language by fixing up quotas for the words from the regional languages to be absorbed in it. One cannot even produce a nationally acceptable dinner menu on those lines! Mughlai cuisine is something more than a collection of recipes. Language is surely more complex than cuisine.

We are certainly getting warmer, but we are still away from language if we think of it as an assortment of prescriptions and proscriptions—especially proscriptions. But then who would have dared to use the phrase *do's and don'ts* if one spoke (or wrote) by the book? As for the person who does write by the book, Winston Churchill has impaled him once for all when he said, "This is the sort of English up with which I shall not put!" It is a legitimate question to ask why *do's and don'ts* find ready acceptance while the Basic English *blood, body-water, and eye-water* just wouldn't do for Churchill's 'blood, sweat, and tears'. A vague, essentially romantic reply that this is all a matter of the genius or the feel of a language is not very helpful. It is simply a way of postponing an investigation—which is of course far better than doing an amateurish job of it.

I (b)

Perhaps we went the wrong way about in asking the question : What is language? English also permits us to speak of *a* language. A given language is not just some general attribute of *homo sapiens* that distinguishes him from other species, rather it is the attribute of a specific community. A language is a body of socially learned habits shared by the members of a community—a body of habits that is susceptible to being characterized as a system of interlocking rules that a child or an adult foreigner has somehow to internalize before being accepted as a member of that speech group. There is a world of difference between a collection of rules and a system of rules—a language is describable as a giant recipe for covering an indefinitely extensible dinner table with utterances (each different from the rest in some way) that are admissible in that language; a language is describable as a program for a computer that will have to surpass any that man has built so far.

There is also a world of difference between a difficult art like literature in which only a few can play the passive role and fewer still the active role and a body of habits that is the common property of a community all of whose members except absolute morons and babes in arms can play the roles of senders and receivers. Language habits permeate all our waking life at the least —and this includes even the time when we are neither listening (or reading) nor speaking (or writing).

Suppose we are called upon to explain what these bodies of habits found in human groups on this planet are like to a visitor from Mars (and suppose further that we have a language to talk in with this visitor!).

The two fundamental facts about the human animal are : (a) he is not just gregarious, but social: he lives in a network of intersecting in-groups of various sorts in which he assumes varied roles, and this socialization is a part of his animal quest for a harmonious adjustment with environment; (b) he is not just imitative and inventive, but cultured, his experience and his behaviour —that is, his whole interaction with environment—are governed through socially learned habits that make for a better adjustment with environment. And what lifts him above mere face-to-face gregariousness and face-to-face imitativeness and mere trial-and-error inventiveness in his capacity to use symbols that enable him to share his experience with his fellow humans and to codify it for future reference. Out of the symbolisms that he shares with others as a part of culture, a language system is the most basic in more ways than one : it is the most widely shared, being within reach of everybody; the most ambitious, not being confined to any segment of man's sharable experience; the most primitive, serving as a reference point for other symbolisms; and the most closely enmeshed with the rest of his behaviour, word and deed being close bedfellows.

The Martian will also note that the one-language-per-human-being-per-group formula, howsoever attractive theoretically and politically, does not always work—least of all in non-primitive societies. What makes the formula plausible is the perfectly well-attested observation that differences of language and differences in language are a very sensitive index of differences of non-linguistic cultural patterns exhibited by different classes or neighbourhoods or generations. The simple formula fails so often that by the side of the concept of the language group we need another concept to handle the complicated situation that characterizes an area—the concept of the language network. South Asia, besides being a unit useful for other purposes (say, geopolitics, culture-history, etc.), is covered by such a network. Any geographical or historical language survey has to handle India, Pakistan, Nepal, and Ceylon together. There is great genetic diversity—there are at least four different language families, but there are also characteristic South Asian linguistic traits that cut across the genetic diversities—the widespread tapping of Sanskrit for "higher" vocabulary, the presence of parallel idioms and proverbs, the use of modified reduplication for conveying 'and the like' (Hindi *paise vaise* for example) are only some of the links. There may of course be sub-networks within such a network. It is in terms of such networks rather than language groups that we can define language pride and loyalty, the sway of competing standards, the relationship between languages and literary or intellectual traditions, the total linguistic economy that determines who speaks how often with whom, on what occasions, in which linguistic code.

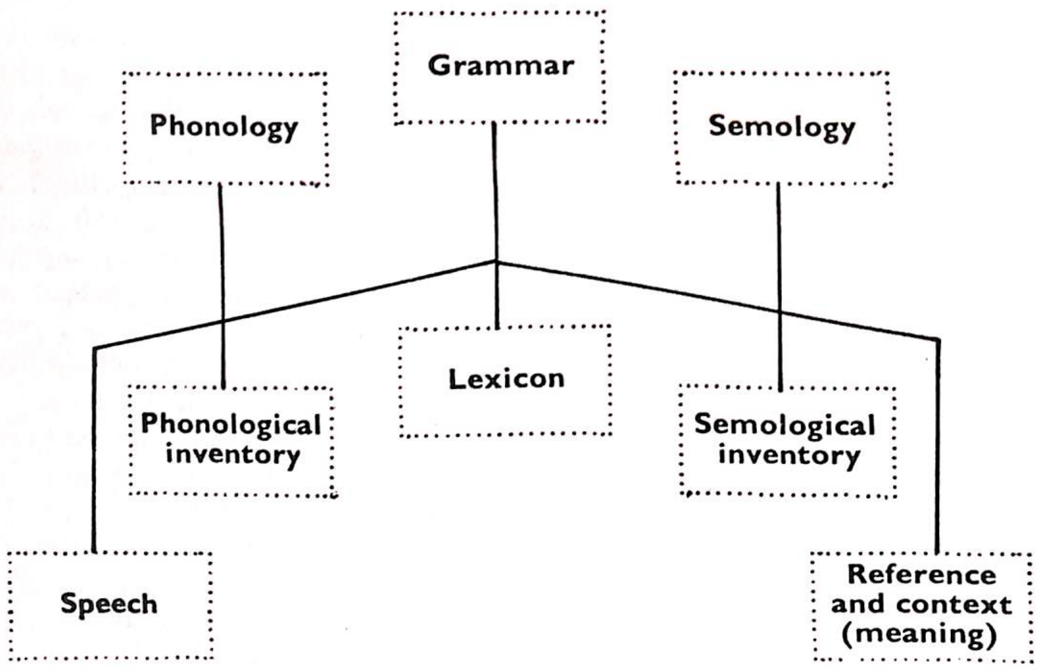
Admittedly, this Martian's-eye-view of man, the language-using animal, is an extrinsic view of language. It needs to be supplemented.

The distinction just hinted at between the extrinsic and the intrinsic view of language can be presented in another fashion. We have already used the expression a body of habits—which is only a first approximation of what we are heading for—a system of norms. If we don't make this distinction between the actualities of linguistic behaviour and habits and the norms governing the potentialities, we shall be unable to account for the distinction between a parrot's accumulating a repertory of utterance through imitation and the child's passing beyond that stage to making up his first own successful utterance. A crucial difference between parrot performance and human performance is that the latter alone is grounded in a competent mastery or an internalization of a system that specifies an open-ended repertory of utterances. One way of getting at this system is an attempt to explain in a step-by-step manner, as to an unimaginative machine, the specification of the open-ended repertory of utterances that are permissible in a given language.

A language is then, to view it intrinsically, a system of interlocking rules that apply to certain elements that could be inventoried. This sort of thing is of course familiar ground for a logician or a mathematician or a student of Pāṇini. What sort of a system is a language then? Very broadly speaking, we can understand it in terms of the following distinctions:

(a) between system and inventory;

(b) between the intrinsic formal organization of an utterance and



its linkage with the real world in which the speech event and its 'meaning' are embedded;

(c) between the outward phonological form, the inward grammatical form, and the semantic structuring.

Putting the three together we can depict the anatomy of a language in some such diagram (the expression 'some such' is used advisedly : it serves to veil a good deal of current controversy in the field of linguistics).

At either end—form or meaning—the linguistic system is anchored to the extrinsic realities of language which we have earlier examined. The utterance-types that are defined by their distinct phonology, grammar, and semology are after all available to us for inspection only as performed utterance-tokens, as texts.

II(a)

In conservative British usage, the term *philology* lumps together philology proper and linguistics. But the two are quite distinct. Philology proper (and from now on we shall dispense with the qualification 'proper') is the study of written documents undertaken to find out what they reveal about the text itself (to establish the text itself when there is some question about it) and to find out what they reveal about the circumstances—biographical, social, cultural, linguistic—in which the text was produced. A philologist is then like an archaeologist—both examine and 'restore' the material remains of a bygone age with the thoroughness and controlled imagination of a detective or a paleontologist and reconstruct as much of that age as possible. This requires such an intimate, specialized knowledge of the area and the age that these activities are usually organized area-wise : Indology, Sinology, and other divisions of Oriental studies, for instance.

A student of linguistics, on the other hand, is essentially a social scientist like an economist or an anthropologist. The field and the laboratory no less than the library are the scenes of his labours. Like a philologist he is interested in dead languages in museums, but then he naturally hopes to know more about the nature and functioning of language through the study of living languages in their natural habitat. Like a philologist he realizes that humdrum texts like farming manuals or sale deeds may be of as much interest as literary or sacred texts, for neither of them is interested in the text for its own sake. In fact, the linguist's activity unlike the philologist's is not text-centered at all.

The term *linguist* is of course ambiguous : it may refer either to a student of linguistics who would like to know more about languages or to a person who knows many languages, who has developed a skill for learning languages. The practical study of languages or *learning* languages is as different from the building up of linguistic theory or *learning about* languages as learning to drive a car is different from studying the thermodynamics of a car engine.

Of course, knowing many languages is likely to be an asset to a student of linguistics, just as knowing a little bit of linguistics is likely to be an asset to the language teacher. But do not expect that the theoretical study of English grammar is going to make one proficient in using English and do not ask, when you next meet a student of linguistics, the question 'How many languages do you know?'

When a person teaches you how to speak (or write) a language that you do not know, he is a humble language teacher. But when a person teaches you how to speak (or write) a language that you think you know, he is a language authority, a teacher's teacher. He is the Emily Post of pronunciation, grammar, usage, spelling. His advice often takes the form of authoritative manuals or dictionaries. He may invoke the practice in polite society, the sanction of literary classics or sacred texts, even rationality in support of his do's and don'ts.

The student of linguistics does not condemn him or applaud him or compete with him : he merely studies him as a socio-cultural phenomenon that has to do with language. The rules that linguistics discovers or postulates as underlying the structure of admissible utterances serve to define what a given speech form at a given point of time is like. The rules that prescribe this or that detail as against other alternatives, define (when they do not represent mere whims on the part of the authority) the choice of one speech form, one dialect if you like, as prestigious, refined, standard as against other available dialects. The criterion of admissibility within a linguistic code is a linguistic fact that is true as much of the educated form of English as of the dialect of a backwoodsman from the United States or of the dialect of an American Indian tribe. The criterion of standardness within a language network is a sociological footnote to linguistics. Some communities may lack this distinction. There are different dialects of Kurdish in West Asia, but there is no standard Kurdish. Other communities may have more than one standard speech form—Hindi-Urdu speakers, for instance. In popular thinking and even in scholarly thinking outside the field of linguistics the two criteria are conflated.

II(b)

Language is such a central fact about man that the study of language is bound to bring together several disciplines. The philosopher and the literary critic, the scientific student of human society and human culture, the cultural historian (including the philologist), the scientific student of human behaviour (the psychologist as well as the biologist), and finally the student of formal systems have all of them a finger in the pie.

How does the linguistic study of language stand in this vortex? Linguistics can be thought of simply as the leading science of language, the science that studies it intrinsically as a symbolic system. For the remaining disciplines the study of language needs some excuse—say, that language is an example of a

socially inherited body of customs or a material available for artistic manipulation.

The first basic tool of linguistics is the technique of the structural analysis of single systems—speech forms underlying homogeneous bodies of language samples (oral or written) of given times and places. The names *phonology*, *grammar*, and *semology* can refer equally to the three levels of such a language system or to the study of these levels within the framework of linguistics.

Analytic linguistics—also known as structural or descriptive or synchronic linguistics—is the cornerstone of linguistics. Pāṇini is the earliest known analytic linguist. The focus is here not on languages or on language in general but on a language.

While phonology, grammar, semology constitute the core of the linguistic system, there are certain peripheral matters. One is graphonomy—the study of the writing system that records utterance in visual symbols. Another is paraphonology—the study of vocal gestures that accompany the main phonologically conveyed message—features like shouting, whispering, hemming and hawing, silences. Finally, the study of habitual or preferred forms, as opposed to the merely potential, which begins with frequency counts of phonological, grammatical, or graphic units.

The name *genetic linguistics* may be applied to the study of language change and variation. It covers four closely related but distinct problems with the corresponding techniques. The name historical linguistics has been used either for all four of them or specifically for (a) below.

(a) The problem of *diachrony* : Language does not stand still. If we compare analytic descriptions of successive phases of a language system, we find some traits continuing unchanged, some traits being lost with or without traces, and some traits being more or less gradually replaced by others. Symbolically :

x′ > x″
x′ > 0″
x′ > y″

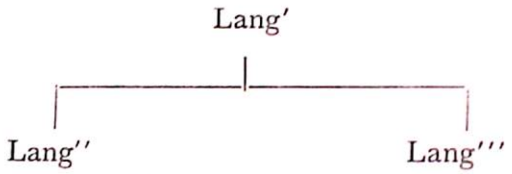
Sometimes given the traits at stage ″ we can reconstruct traits atstage ′ of which the traits at stage ″ are divergent developments. This is known as internal reconstruction.

(b) The problem of *diatopy* : Language varies according to geographical location or social differentiation based on class, sex, education, etc. If we compare analytic descriptions of neighbouring speech forms, we find more-than-chance resemblances that can be explained as common inheritances or mutual influences or common borrowings from some third source. These, especially common inheritances, lend themselves to systematic statements of correspondences. Dialects can be studied this way. Symbolically :

x'' : x'''
x'' : $0'''$
x'' : y'''

(c) The problem of *divergence* : Putting diachronic correspondences and diatopic correspondences due to common inheritance together, we can explicate language variation as a given language changing in different directions in different populations, first leading to different dialects which in turn may solidify into new daughter languages. Indeed, we can reconstruct the parent language by comparing the daughter languages. Symbolically :

$x'' < x' > x'''$



Languages traceable to a single parent language are said to belong to the same language family (or sub-family, as the case may be).

(d) The problem of *convergence* : Diatopic correspondences, however, may be due not to divergence from a common source but to the influence of one language on another, whether the two languages in question are related or not. This is the whole question of language contact (or dialect contact, as the case may be). Thus the varied traits of a dialect of Hindi, that are not traceable to inheritance, may be traceable to a neighbouring dialect of Hindi or a neighbouring related language like Panjabi or an ancestral language like Sanskrit or a distantly related language like English or an unrelated language like Tamil. Due to prolonged contact languages belonging to a single network (for example, the South Asian area) may come to share some traits cutting across genetic diversity, as we have already seen. All of these exemplify convergence.

Finally, the languages of the world through the ages may be compared and their resemblances and differences noted. Leaving aside historically explicable cases—through divergence from a common source or convergence from contact—and leaving aside purely chance cases, there will be a residue of resemblances and differences.

Some traits will be common to all languages—the *language universals* so-called. Others will have to be thought of as parallel developments—the nursery words for father and mother for instance—or as exhibiting possible types limited by the logic of situation—an adjacent modifier can either precede or follow, the anatomy of speech organs permits just so many configurations, and so on.

A suitable name for the establishment of such non-historical correspondences would have been 'comparative linguistics', on the analogy of comparative reli-

gion or comparative literature; but, unfortunately, it was preempted by the study of linguistic divergence and reconstruction [division (c) under Genetic linguistics above]. The term contrastive technique has been suggested instead. Actually, the name *translative analysis* will be a better term for this search for analogies. (Analogies, it will be remembered, are distinguished in biological comparisons between different species from homologies traceable to common heredity.) Language universals and *language typologies* together constitute what may be called *general linguistics*.

General phonetics and general semantics are best regarded as a part of this third branch of linguistics, which deals with languages generally.

III

The expression 'applied linguistics' is best avoided, because it falsely suggests that there is a branch of linguistics of that name to be opposed to 'pure linguistics', with which it holds a unidirectional relationship. Further, in applying linguistic theory to a problem, it is seldom the case that we are applying nothing but a delimited portion of linguistic theory—more commonly, the whole of linguistics, if not other closely related subjects as well, have to be brought to bear on the problem.

What follows is a brief survey of possible applications that is not intended to be exhaustive. They can be grouped under three headings :

(i) From the general to the specific and back.
(ii) From the focal to the peripheral and back.
(iii) From the theoretical to the practical and back.

(*i*) The very first thing we can do with the analytic, the genetic, and the contrastive techniques is obviously to apply them to specific speech forms, to specific language families or sub-families, or to specific areas of language contact. Linguists can be called upon to prepare grammars, dictionaries, and language surveys in space and in time.

This is the only slender excuse for using phrases like English or Indo-European or Romance or Indian linguistics in the sense of the study of English or Indo-European or Romance or Indian languages. Indian linguistics is linguistics first, not just a branch of Indology, and most certainly not a brand of linguistics!

(*ii*) So far we are still within the field of linguistics—the intrinsic study of language. This field has naturally close ties with the other language disciplines. The phrase 'history of English', is thus made to cover both the intrinsic history of the language (the Great Vowel Shift, the loss of inflections, and all that), and the extrinsic history of the language (the battle with French for supremacy, the rise of standard English, and all that). The principal language disciplines other than linguistics proper are the following:

(a) The biology of language (biolinguistics) includes not only the anatomical and physiological foundations of speaking and hearing but the place of the speech event in human ecology, the development of the individual, and human evolution.

(b) The psychology of language learning, maintenance, and loss (psycholinguistics) is closely related to the preceding; language pathology also falls here largely. The psychology of language use covers the psychology of recognition, production, and reproduction by way of repetition, recall, and translation; and relates learning, use, etc. to non-linguistic behaviour.

(c) The ethnology of language (ethnolinguistics) studies man's linguistic customs (e.g. those relating to naming children, joking, greeting, swearing, abusing and insulting), relates them to language as studied intrinsically and to non-linguistic customs, and finally places languages in relation to the larger problems of the science of culture—as, assimilation by the individual of the culture of his in-group or of some other group (enculturation and acculturation respectively), tradition and innovation, cultural relativism and ethnocentrism, and cultural evolution.

(d) The sociology of language (sociolinguistics) is basically an elaboration of the fable of Aesop on language as the great binder and divisor of people : it is the study of man's roles in relation to language, of language networks, of covariation between language traits and social roles, and of the part played by language in various social processes (such as, the carrying out of social action, the rise, maintenance, and dissolution of groups, and the recruitment of an individual into a group, including his socialization within the in-groups).

(e) The culture-history of language (philology as a culture-history technique and the extrinsic histories of individual languages have already been commented upon).

The foregoing are different extrinsic approaches to language. (This is the reason for preferring the terms 'biology of language' etc. to the terms 'biolinguistics' etc. Besides 'ethnolinguistics' suggests a false analogy with 'ethnobotany' for folk botany and similarly formed terms. Of course folk linguistics of the kind discussed in section I(a) above is a perfectly legitimate subject of study for the folklorist!

The 'and back' in the heading of this section should serve to remind us at this point that the results of the intrinsic and extrinsic study of language, languages, and language texts may themselves have a bearing on the neighbouring fields of culture-history, sociology, etc. Language-based techniques like philology, content analysis of texts, chronology of language divergence and convergence, and so forth may thus provide evidence for movements of peoples and culture traits, the sociology of status, stereotyping, unconscious drives, and so on.

On a some-what different footing are the following disciplines:

(a) The aesthetics of language (stylistics) is the link between linguistics, literary criticism, and the extrinsic study of the literary culture of a community (the ethnology of literature).

(b) The philosophy of ordinary language is the link between linguistics, logic, and philosophy.

Language can also be studied as a special case of some more general phenomenon :

(a) Language as a formal system (formal linguistics) with properties amenable to the techniques of symbolic logic and mathematics.

(b) Language as a 'population' with statistical properties (statistical linguistics) has also come to be recognized as a field of study.

Computer-based techniques can be applied to these two as well as to other branches and applications. Such computer-based studies in language do not add up to a substantive field of study, however, to be called computational linguistics or mechano-linguistics—names which are best avoided.

(*iii*) So far we are still in the theoretical domain and away from 'language problems' as they confront a language teacher, a practical politician, and so forth. Has linguistic theory any direct or indirect applications in this practical domain? Here it is best to admit that linguistic theory has to be liberally interpreted to include the insights of linguistics proper as well as those of the peripheral studies surveyed above. It is idle to talk about language teaching unless we have some understanding of language as a system of norms as well as of the process of language learning.

The usual considerations that pertain to any application of science in general and of the human sciences in particular to the value-laden practical world also apply to the application of linguistic theory to practical problems and need not be raked up here.

The possible fields of application can be grouped at two levels : (a) the level of policy-making; (b) the level of technique.

Policy decisions about language imply that language is susceptible to conscious planning. Conscious planning may be opposed to evolving tradition and evolution through heredity as the latest of the three modes of evolution in the broadest sense of that term—the introduction of innovating patterns for better adaptation and their effective transmission. Considering that language itself is an important instrument of evolving tradition, there is a prima facie case for making it one of the earlier guinea pigs for evolution through planning! The types of decisions involved may be illustrated by the following problems: Should the language of literature (or law or science or philosophy) be necessarily removed from casual speech of the educated and of the uneducated? Should the world community fall back upon a natural language, an artificial version of a natural language (like Basic English), or an artificial language (like Esperanto)? Who should learn which language for what purposes and by what

arrangements? Which language should be a medium for teaching which subjects? Should the rhetoric of public and academic debate go in for the 'hard-sell' or the 'soft sell'?

The very word 'technique' has connotations of the improvement of technology through the utilization of scientific insights and may be opposed to the word 'art' in this context. Nobody has suggested, to my knowledge, that linguistics can offer useful advice to a poet at his job. But linguistics can offer useful advice to a scientist wishing to streamline the terminology in his field or to transcode an existing terminology to a new language (as in discussing chemistry in Hindi). The application of linguistic theory to language teaching can be manifold : there is the problem of reducing unwritten languages to writing for the spread of literacy and smoothening the passage to literacy in the standard language; the problem of foreign language teaching and the quite different problem of native language teaching ; the problem of speech correction and remedial teaching of various sorts; the problem of teaching the deaf-mutes and the blind. The teaching of any language, native or foreign, should be adapted to the subsequent use of that language (for example, as a medium of higher stages in education). Finally, the scientific study of language and specific languages will always have a bearing on the designing of new alphabets and artificial languages, orthographic reform, the designing and teaching of Braille or short-hand or tele-communication codes, the designing of typewriting and type-setting keyboards, the establishment of conventions for geographical names and other proper names for the use of cartographers, librarians, and others. The construction of a typewriter whose input will be the spoken word and that of the mechanical translator are dreams still largely unrealized. In the mean time linguistics, especially the translative technique for comparing languages, can greatly clarify the problems of the human translator.

The scope of the practical application of linguistic insights need not be narrowed down to foreign language teaching.

LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI

Equipping major Indian Languages for new roles

In the post-war phase of decolonisation, a linguistic and literary revolution is taking place in various Asian and African countries. These newly independent nations, representing many language areas which were submerged by dominance of one or other European languages at a time when tremendous scientific and technological progress was achieved, are becoming keenly conscious of their linguistic needs in a modern world. In India, the language consciousness has come very much to the fore in the social and political scene, and the functions and content of these languages are experiencing rapid changes.

Most of the major Indian languages appear to have great susceptibility to borrowings from different classical and modern languages. English also shares this characteristic of 'loan proneness'. There are various other languages, such as German, Hebrew, Chinese, which instead prefer to translate a term or a phrase from the foreign language, copying only the arrangement of the model.

Two significant trends are noticed in the process of development of contemporary major Indian languages to suit their new roles in the changed conditions: (1) classicalisation and (2) westernization. These drifts have greatly affected the phonological, grammatical and lexical patterns of the languages.

1. *Classicalisation*, i.e., borrowing and reborrowing from classical languages: Many Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages depend on Sanskrit; Urdu, Kashmiri and Sindhi on Perso-Arabic elements; Tamil on Old Tamil stock. This trend has developed 'high-brow' styles in literary, academic and administrative writings. To equip the Indian lan-

guages for new roles in administration, technical occupations, higher education and research, classicalists have set in a new trend of translating technical terms and concepts from the Sanskrit stock : e.g. *Jalavān* for 'ship', *dūrvānī yantra* for 'telephone'. To me the chances of success in this direction are rather dubious, as Indian speakers are susceptible to accept loans from the living situation, rather than coin artificial terms from the classical stock.

2. *Westernization* : The impact of urbanisation and technological advancement has set the trend of borrowings from European languages, particularly English. This tendency has given birth to 'high-brow' spoken style, which is gaining popularity among educated people in various Indian languages. Compound bilingualism of Indian languages and English (two or more languages being used in fused contexts for referring to the same environmental events) has led to *code-switching*, i.e., the person using two or more languages interchangeably in the same discourse or even within the same utterance, without being consciously aware of the switching, which has further escalated this process.

These two diametrically opposed trends have widened the gulf between the spoken and written styles of Indian languages and there has been sharp reaction against these extreme drifts :

(1) As literacy is increasing, common man is reacting very sharply against the high-brow styles which are unintelligible to him.

(2) As prose styles in various major languages have attained maturity, the writers realise the potentialities in the indigenous patterns of the language, instead of looking to outside sources for refining and polishing their language.

(3) Due to chauvinistic pride in their native language, conscious effort is being made to give prestige to the native elements of the language, and even to revive the obsolete forms with new modern connotations.

In this age of paper-back publications, developed languages like English are also making efforts to present the most sophisticated subject matter in a simple and colloquial style which is easily understood by a layman. But the Indian languages, in the process of westernization, seem to be drifting in the opposite direction. Hence for effective integration between the intelligentsia and the masses in a linguistic region, it is essential to check this drift of widening the gap between the spoken and written styles, and to develop a simple and colloquial style for administrative, academic and technological writings in the Indian languages.

S. C. MALIK

Culture Areas, Culture History and Regionalism

It is with some hesitancy and uneasiness that a palaeoanthropologist dares to express his views to a group who, by and large, deal with the problems of today, and not with what happened many many millennia ago. But there are sound reasons why a pre-historian has to be concerned with this current—hotly debated—problem. It has been the result of an attempt to reorient archaeology towards the social sciences, away from the traditional history-oriented approach, so that archaeology is now able to directly and meaningfully relate its evidence to the problems of today. Moreover, although what this paper has to say is probably familiar to many persons who are closely concerned with the general problem of 'regionalism', yet they have little time to go deeper into the culture-historical viewpoint. (It should be noted here that the Report of the States Re-organization Commission in 1955 had very appropriately taken into account the cultural-historical factors in reshaping the recent map of India. But this view was not elaborated in that report which, quite naturally, stressed the political, financial and administrative factors.) In short the aim of this paper is two-fold: (1) to illustrate that archaeology can and must fruitfully relate its subject matter to the problems of the contemporary situation, and (2) to show that scholars, whose concern is with the modern period, as well as men of public affairs also cannot afford to ignore the depth of culture-history in India, specially because the past in India lives so very obviously and strongly. Therefore, this long-range perspective is very essential, if the intention is to achieve a healthy balance between the centripetal and centrifugal forces.

In recent years, due to political exigencies, it has become a fashion to decry regional forces, without a proper assessment of their origin and significance.

There are, of course, both traditional and modern political reasons why unity rather than diversity is (and perhaps should be) stressed, in the oft-heard slogan of 'unity in diversity'. But, invariably, there is always a strong tendency to make broad generalizations for the entire country, as if the 'personality' of India is one unit, in the sense of either a singular 'geographic' unit or a 'socio-cultural' entity. Somehow, one essential fact is often overlooked equally by the historians, social and political scientists, and others. It is this, that the sub-continent of India is as large as Europe (excluding the U.S.S.R.) and that it even has a broader spectrum of the culture-ecological situation than is found in Europe. Therefore, a thorough knowledge of the complex mosaic of this culture-ecological diversity becomes a pre-requisite for understanding many of the problems—including the political ones—of India's complex civilization, both in the past and in the present. In this context, therefore, the present state-boundaries have to be understood as 'viable' culture areas, because the problems of 'regionalism' or 'linguism' etc. in fact concerns the various cultural communities of India. These cannot be understood simply on the basis of the contemporary situation, because the regional cultural communities are also long standing historical entities which have grown up in time and space in an infinitely complicated succession of drives and impulses, conditions and reactions; and the comprehension of these processes is not easy. Nevertheless, the cultural nature of these regional forces has to be borne in mind. Moreover, we also know that it is the totality (the geographical, historical, psychological, cultural, etc.) of the situation within which these regions of India have developed, nurtured and matured that simply cannot be ignored. Therefore, today, any excessive focus on the political and allied legal or constitutional doctrines in understanding the problem of 'regionalism' will only lead to disillusionment, without the pre-requisite knowledge of culture-history. This back-ground theme has been outlined below under the headings of 'Culture-Areas and Cultural Ecology' and 'Language and Culture-Areas'.

The problems of delimiting various regions of the earth's surface in terms of natural and culture-areas has been much discussed in history, geography and anthropology. But, by and large, most of these delimitations of the natural areas in the case of India have been intellectual abstractions, because the classification of natural regions of India has been, from the culture-historical viewpoint, generally based on rather arbitrary single criterion. (For example, river basins or the physiographic divisions of geomorphologists, etc.). But for our purpose it was found that instead of the traditional geographical approach the concept of ecology was of greater relevance. However, ecology is more than just the universally accepted concept that cultures exist in an environmental setting or that a culture is determined by the characteristic of the environment. It has been defined as the action aspect of geography and the 'ecological complex' embraces the four main referential concepts of population, environment, tech-

nology and organization. It is, thus, within this broad and briefly stated concept of ecology that cultural ecology forms a part of cultural geography. Cultural ecology has been defined as the study of the processes of interaction between the environment and human culture, and "its concern is with the problems of the habitat of cultural communities of every stage and condition". In short while culture-history deals with a *sequence* of events, cultural ecology concerns itself with the *process* implied in the sequence of events.

Associated with this concept of cultural ecology is the concept of Culture-Area (sometimes also called Cultural Landscape). Culture-Area has been defined as any territory inhabited at any given period by human communities characterized by particular cultures. Therefore, a region in the terms of cultural geography constitutes a Culture-Area, and is "an assemblage of such forms as have interdependence and is functionally differentiated from other areas". In addition, cultural geographers have a very useful research technique in cartography which has been utilized here. Therefore, without further elaboration of this interesting topic, the concept of cultural ecology is of crucial relevance for those of us who are involved in the cultural approach of understanding the various general problems of India and its culture-history in particular. In any case, bearing these concepts in mind, an appropriate classification of the 'natural' regions of the sub-continent was looked for and found in the literature on geography. The broad categories, in the following classification that has been constructed by geographers, are based upon a combined knowledge of climatology, soil-science and the physical divisions of India, utilizing certain statistical concepts in order to form a composite picture of the climatic elements and the regions :

MAJOR REGIONS	SUB-REGIONS
1. Himalayas	a. Western Himalayas
	b. Eastern Himalayas
	c. Brahmaputra Valley
	d. Assam Highlands
2. Northern Plains	a. Lower Gangetic Plain
	b. Middle Gangetic Plain
	c. Upper Gangetic Plain
	d. Trans-Gangetic Plain
	e. Rajasthan Desert
3. Peninsular Hills and Plateau	a. North-west Hills
	b. North-central Hills
	c. North-east Plateau

		d.	North Deccan
		e.	South Deccan
4. Western Ghats and Coast	..	a.	Gujarat
		b.	Konkan Coast
		c.	Malabar Coast
5. Eastern Ghats and Coast	..	a.	Tamilnad
		b.	Andhra-Orissa Coast

Thus, after having obtained a fairly sound classification of the natural regions of India, the next step that was carried out was a simple cartographic exercise. A map of the main 'ceramically' identified archaeological 'cultures' of the Formative (or the protohistoric) Period of the Civilization of India was imposed on this map of natural regions. This superimposition revealed a fairly neat—though approximate—coincidence of the boundaries of the natural regions with the boundaries of the 'cultural' ones of India's early culture-history. Now, in simple terms, whenever natural regions are associated with the activities of men, these become culture-areas : It may, therefore, be surmised by this simple method that very probably, by the time of the Formative Period, the natural regions had already turned into culture areas. It is not possible at this stage to say any thing about the process earlier than this period because of lack of evidence. In fact, specific correlations of any detailed processes is not possible for even the Formative Period, because the archaeological picture is not very clear for want of sufficient detailed evidence. However, archaeologists in India and elsewhere have shown that the distribution and settlement patterns of the food gathering and collecting, and the early food-producing communities are related to the flora, fauna, raw materials, etc., i.e., the natural environment. But this is not the occasion to go into details of these inter-relations of 'environment and culture' or 'Man and Nature' which 'archaeologists' have fairly satisfactorily shown for at least the early culture history of the world. In any case, there is a strong suggestion that the significant regional diversities of the Indian sub-continent were the result of a process that most probably began at least as early as the Formative Period.

In the absence of detailed archaeological and historical data, specially in the social-science oriented manner, it was not possible to proceed any further in a chronological order other than in the very brief generalized manner that has been stated above. Therefore, the next step was to follow the well-known principle of historical research, that is, to proceed from the known to the unknown.

It is a familiar fact that language (along with its close associates of exclamations, gestures, facial expressions, etc.) is an essential medium of human

communication, and is, therefore, a critical component of culture. Hence, anthropologists have, quite naturally, used language more often than any other element of culture to delimit culture-areas. This close inter-relation of language and culture is fairly well known, but there are also other cultural features in India, which will not be dealt with here, that are necessary in order to delimit culture areas. Thus, Karve says : Three things are absolutely necessary for the understanding of any cultural phenomenon in India. "These are the configuration of the linguistic regions, the institution of caste and the family organization. The linguistic regions possess a certain homogeneity of culture, traits and kinship organization. The common language makes communication easy, sets the limits of marital connections and confines kinship mostly within the language region. Common folk songs and common literatures characterize such an area...".

At any rate, it was within this close inter-relation of language and culture that the next step was taken. Thus, upon the natural region map was imposed, once again, some of the politico-linguistic state boundaries and the boundaries of the natural regions coincided even neater—though still approximately—than our earlier attempt with the map of the archaeological cultures. Hence, it implied strongly that the 'political' states of modern India (in this we excluded the recent divisions of Punjab and every thing else that may follow) reflect rather closely not only the cultural but also the main natural ecological areas. As we have stated above, this process most probably began with the older socio-cultural areas of differentiation during the Formative Period. Therefore, the obvious conclusion that could be drawn about the present set-up of the linguistic states in India is that it would be best to regard them as historically old and persisting culture-areas.

In terms of a culture-historical sequence of events it is also known that there have been certain stable and unstable regional core areas within which has been seen the political development of Indian history. But, developing a sequential continuity of our theme from the early culture-history to the later periods is difficult, because not enough attention has been given to detailed research of the various regional cores of Indian history as areas of socio-cultural development in their own right. Therefore, it becomes very essential for future archaeological and historical research to find out the time rates of the developmental sequences in our culture-areas which are as yet not well-understood either individually or in relation to each other. Historical research has overemphasized the political aspects of Indian history. In this context, however, interesting studies of the theme of centripetal and centrifugal political struggles in India have been made within the geographical framework. These studies have shown that there was relative instability in the superimposed centralized empires like the Maurya, Satavahana, Gupta, Mughal and the British. The fluctuations of these relatively short-lived empires reflect, as is well known, the inevitable political con-

flict between the centripetal and the centrifugal forces. But these apparen conflicts, so often emphasized by our historians as political, are, in fact, the reassertions of the cultural-historical forces that have always been so deeply entrenched in the diverse culture-areas of India. It has been shown that after the break up of the relatively short-lived empires, whenever the boundaries of the regional kingdoms had coincided with the culture-areas, the regional kingdoms had flourished very smoothly. The examples of such regional kingdoms are those of Kosala, Magadh, Avanti, Lata, Saurashtra, Kalinga, Andhra, Maharashtra, Karnatak, Chera, Chola, Pandya, etc. It is, therefore, seen that during the so-called 'dark' ages of political disunity of India, that is, between the Gupta Empire and the Delhi Sultanate—from the 7th to the 13th centuries A.D.—cultural effervescence took place. It is during this time that the current major languages and their literatures were fully developed, and that the present-day linguistic-cultural boundaries were formed. In short, the various studies in history, archaeology, geography, anthropology etc. suggest that the natural regions of India had, most probably during the Formative Period, turned first into culture-areas and subsequently into socio-cultural areas with their significant individuality, and still later, these had become socio-political entities.

It should be noted that a formula of 'environmental determinism' for today's political units or 'regionalism' is not being put forth here. But what is being emphasized is that the long-range view of culture-history is essential for an understanding of any current cultural and political phenomena of India, simply because of the long continuity of her traditional society, culture and civilization. Therefore, a thorough back-ground of culture-history assumes even greater importance in the context of the recent political temper of the country, with extreme views 'for' or 'against' 'regionalism'. It becomes incumbent upon the social-scientist, the political scientist, the practical politician, historians, etc. to have the correct perspective when they speak of the problem of regionalism or of language.

It should also be clarified here that the concern of this paper so far has been neither to make out a case for historical determinism nor to illustrate the 'use' of culture-history in order to support any claims for 'regionalism' in the adverse sense of 'revivalism', 'parochialism' etc. But the concern here has been with a kind of historical explanation of 'regionalism', which is more in the nature of a processual or 'genetical' explanation, i.e., "the present complex is the fruit of history, but history itself is the succession of past complexes". Therefore, the deep long range antecedent of not only this important problem of 'regionalism' must be known but also of many other problems with which we are concerned today in India. Thus, the culture-historical view-point with regard to 'regionalism' becomes very essential in order to give a proper perspective to the problem concerned. However, it must have been noticed

that the foregoing discussion has not concerned itself with the importance or the need to strengthen the various centripetal cultural, historical and political forces. But it is well known that, in India, there are marked fundamental similarities in many of the socio-cultural institutions of various regions. There are also many other features of technology and economics that freely cut across the diverse linguistic areas of the country. This 'apolitical' or 'non-political' unity has been the chief characteristic of Indian civilization, within which are present certain consistent forms of socio-cultural and socio-economic arrangements and relationships that have persisted through certain typical means of transmission from generation to generation. This characteristic structure of Indian tradition and its civilization has been dealt with by many social scientists, historians, etc. But while this paper has very briefly presented—so to speak—only one side of the coin, the various features of Indian unity cannot, naturally, be overlooked and have to be borne in mind.

The very genesis of the modern political states of India, in the garb of linguistic regionalism, is one of the most important proofs of the latent cultural-historical forces. This is in consonance with the familiar pattern of the dynamics of Indian culture history. The forces of 'regionalism' that were latent during the British rule have asserted themselves very strongly, despite the fact of the early consolidation of the British Empire over the entire sub-continent in 1858 which had not only brought about political unity for the first time but had also introduced certain new concepts of administrative, technological and ideological progress among Indians.

An exhaustive analysis would be necessary in order to understand the reasons why cultural-historical forces have defied, at least in the past, all attempts at forging a true political unification and national consciousness. In brief, perhaps one could venture to guess the basic reasons. India's cultural and political history suggests that the political ideals and norms that were attempted to be enforced were based on certain abstract religious or geographical or other concepts of the unity of India. But whenever these ideals were applied, with or without force, the essential socio-cultural and socio-economic patterns of Indian society were left untouched. It is because of the persistence of these self-generating socio-cultural and socio-economic units which have enabled the cultural-historical forces to play such an important role. It is also because of this that India has been able to preserve its continuity with its ancient traditional past. Political impositions or ideologies have never broken up the essential structure of Indian civilization, specially the old corporate institutions at the village level which have survived until today. But this is not to say that there has been an ossification of Indian society, because change—specially socio-cultural change—is inherent in all human societies. But whatever changes might have taken place, these have not been able to break down or alter the structural pattern of Indian society and civilization. Therefore, the prevalent funda-

mental nature of Indian society and civilization has to be borne in mind before it is stated that these regional forces are disruptive. It is equally incorrect to attribute to these forces either a general or a political immaturity, because it is crucial to view the problem of 'regionalism' (either in terms of 'linguism' or 'Centre-State' relations that poses a thorny problem) in the context of the cultural-historical view-point. It is only in this manner that the problem will become less difficult and it will be realised that the socio-cultural matrix of Indian civilization will probably give rise to different political systems and institutions from those handed down to us by the British. Similarly, it is apparent that all universal schemes that do not take into account the specific regional—both macro and micro—factors in India will prove to be misfits.

This cultural-historical viewpoint assumes even greater importance today, in the context of a 'technical' democracy like ours, which is based on adult franchise, which means that the power of installing and electing administrative and political authority now, unlike before, rests with the smallest constituent voter, the individual. This basic unit continues to live in an overwhelming majority at the village or small-town level, even if we exclude the pseudo-urban and the semi-urban units who are also psychologically geared to the traditional society. The socio-cultural and the socio-economic institutions to which this majority belongs is a part of the 'sacred' traditional structure of Indian society. Consequently, the world view, the awareness of this basic unit, belongs to the traditional way of life. It seems, therefore, quite unreasonable and unrealistic to expect the basic 'loyalties' of this unit to proceed beyond the micro-local or macro-regional levels. In India, as yet, it is tradition—cultural-history—that educates and governs the values, attitudes and behaviour of the individual. The fact that India is still a sacred traditional civilization, despite the beginnings of industrialization and of incipient industrial urbanization, cannot be overlooked. It is far from being even a transitional society in the true sense. It must also be admitted that Indian 'unity' in the sense of a modern nation-state concept is as yet at the abstract level.

India is showing signs of change by the introduction of western style political, economic and technological institutions. But these changes have only penetrated in some areas and at certain levels. However, these changes have also released various traditional and the 'ultra-modern' forces. But it will only be possible for India to become a modern nation-state by rapidly increasing the process of 'modernization' (the 20th century concept of 'progress') which means industrialization with its increasing social mobility and the other concomitants. There is little doubt—whether we like it or not—that India will have to fully modernise herself because no nation is today isolated from the mainstream of the happenings in the international scene, and India is already tied to many and varied 'strings' of the modernized nations in one way or another. Besides, the destinies of different nations are tied to each other.

However, there is still time for us to preserve certain precious values as culture-history teaches us and by learning lessons from the past of the new 'modernised' nations. In this context, the foremost lesson seems to be that we do not want a levelling of Indian diversity into a unified national culture. It is the contradictory (or preferably 'flexible' nature of Indian civilization which has enabled it to survive from the remote past. Therefore, at least in cultural matters and therefore, perhaps, in socio-political matters, federalism is part of the heritage that will be most suitable for the basis of the State. There is no doubt that language is a unifying force, but neither artificial impositions of any language or the adoption of any dead language will consolidate the nation. The chances are that if linguistic differences decrease, other differences will increase. It may also be true that having one common language is a great help in living together but that is not what makes a nation. Thinking, writing, speaking in one's own language, i.e., the creativity of thought and of ideas of one's mother tongue which have been handed down from many centuries is very important. This does not make one less patriotic, because the basic requirement is the will of the various 'peoples' to forge themselves into one nation. It is most certainly not possible by the imposition of linguistic and cultural uniformity. Besides, like religion, tradition and custom, language is also of great emotional potency. It seems, therefore, advisable that for the time being the 'trilingual formula' is the best solution for the problem. As our nation 'progresses' that is, there is an increase of the various all-India institutions (rapid communication, dams, industrial complexes, all-India service cadres, etc.), where various cultural groups and individuals meet without feeling that one or the other is going to lose theirs or his identity, there will develop and grow some kind of a living national language that will be in consonance with the socio-cultural content and the state of the nation.

S. K. NANDI

Linguistic Predicament: an appraisal

BEING a student of aesthetics I started taking interest in semantics with a particular bias. Paul Ziff got in semantics while trying to understand what the phrase 'good painting' meant in English. The meaning of 'good' was sought to be made out by others alike and we may recall the attempts of Moore in an ethical context. His conclusion of 'good' being 'indefinable' was not an exercise in futility as he gave us some analytical clues to the decipherment of the meaning of 'good', though in a restricted context. Like Paul Ziff, I was drawn to the problem some years[1] back though not definitely with a semantic bias. In the present paper we may attempt at an understanding of the meaning of 'good', and try to point out the linguistic predicament involved in it.

I believe that in English and, for that matter in any other language, there are hardly synonymous words, as tautologies in meaning-significance are useless. Words, (though conventionally) that may be taken as synonyms, in effect are different in their word-value, involving association, sound, and aesthetic beauty. For example *salila*, *āpah* and *jala* in Sanskrit all mean water (conventionally taken), but if *jala* may be fairly represented by the common English word 'water' and the more poetic *āpah* by 'waters' or the ocean according to the context, what will represent the beautiful suggestions of grace, brightness, softness and clearness which accompany *salila*? Here we may have to go by the principle of 'sound suggestion' in suggesting the differentia in meaning of the word concerned. Apart from this problem of suggestiveness in words, even by conventional meanings they confuse the issue to a large extent. So precision is the first concern of a philosopher of language. For example let us ask the old question "what does the word 'good' mean?". It is not the same as asking

'What is the meaning of the word 'good'?", nor the same as "what meaning does the word 'good' have?" By the question raised above I did not mean "What is the sense of the word 'good'?", or "What is the significance of the word 'good'?", nor "Is the word 'good' meaningful?" Thus, it is getting clearer that the problem with us is different from what was with Moore, as he could straightaway get into the word references without caring to analyse the nature of the question raised. By a careful analysis, we may discover that the question raised is metonymical in character. Strictly speaking "What does the word 'good' mean?" is not a question. It is not even an interrogative utterance, for it is not an utterance at all.[2] It is an inscription of a type that is associated in a certain way with an interrogative utterance. The question I am actually concerned with is one that could be asked by uttering the interrogative utterance associated with the inscription in some appropriate way in some appropriate context of utterance.

This metonymical character of language is essentially contextual and this is evident in translation works from one language to another. We have observed that synonyms were no synonyms and they are taken to be so by convention. Images in a particular language do not fit into those of a different language. Word-references and their referents in different language systems are at variance. We may make out our point with reference to a modern Indian philosopher who was not so much known for his flare for semantic studies. We refer to Sri Aurobindo. He clearly brings[3] out this metonymical character of language while he discusses the peculiar difficulties entailing the translation of delicate passages in Sanskrit to corresponding English prose or poetry.

The life and surroundings in which Indian poetry moves cannot be rendered in the terms of English poetry. Yet to give up the problem and to content oneself with tumbling out the warm, throbbing Indian word to shiver and starve in the inclement atmosphere of the English language seems to me not only an act of literary inhumanity and a poor-spirited confession of failure, but a piece of laziness likely to defeat its own object. An English reader can gather no picture from and associate no idea of beauty with these outlandish terms. What can he understand when he is told that the *atimukta* creeper is flowering in the grove of 'kosara' trees and the 'mullica'........is sending out its fragrance into the night and the *Chacravaque* (*Cakravāka*) is complaining to his mate amid the still ripples of the river that flows through the *Jambous*? Or how does it help him to know that the scarlet mouth of a woman is like the red *bimba* fruit or the crimson 'bandhul' flower? People who know Sanskrit seem to imagine that because these words have colour and meaning and beauty to them they must also convey the same associations to their reader. This is a natural but deplorable mistake; this jargon is merely a disfigurement in English poetry. The cultured may read their work in spite of the jargon out of the unlimited

intellectual curiosity natural to culture; the half-cultured may read it because of the jargon out of the ingrained tendency of the half-cultured mind to delight in what is at once unintelligible and inartistic. But their work can neither be a thing of permanent beauty nor serve a really useful object; and a work which is neither immortal nor useful what self-respecting man would knowingly go out of his way to do?

It is interesting to note how Sri Aurobindo tried to overcome the semantic difficulties involved in the work, reveal the metonymical character of language which in turn betrays a peculiar gestalt of its own. In the first place, a certain concession is to be made but within very narrow and guarded limits to the need for local colour; a few names of trees, flowers, birds etc. may be transliterated into English, but only when they do not look hopelessly outlandish in that form or else have a liquid or haunting beauty of sound; a similar indulgence may be yet more freely permitted in the transliteration of mythological names. But here the license should end; a liberal use of it would destroy entirely the idea of translation. But what was perfectly familiar in the original language must not seem entirely alien to the foreign audience; there ought to be a certain toning down of strangeness, an attempt to bring home the association to the foreign intelligence, to give it at least some idea to a cultured but not orientally erudite mind. This may be done in many ways and we have found some of them being freely used by Aurobindo.

A word may be rendered by some neologism which will help to convey any prominent characteristic or idea associated with the thing it expresses (i.e., the referent); blossom of ruby, may, for instance, render *bondhula*, a flower which is always mentioned for its redness. Or else the word itself may be dropped and the characteristic brought into prominence; for instance, instead of saying that a woman is lipped like a ripe *bimba*, it is a fair translation to write, "Her scarlet mouth is a ripe fruit and red".

This device of expressingly declaring the characteristics which the original only mentions, has been frequently employed by Sri Aurobindo in the 'Cloud Messenger', *even when equivalent words exist in English*, because many objects known in both the countries are yet familiar and full of common associations to the Indian mind while to the English they are rare, exotic and slightly-associated or only with one particular and often accidental characteristic. In this context Sri Aurobindo remarks that it is an unfortunate tendency of the English mind to seize on what seems to it grotesque or ungainly in an unfamiliar object; thus the elephant and peacock have become almost impossible in English poetry because the one is associated with lumbering heaviness and the other with absurd strutting. Contrarily, the tendency of the Hindu mind, Aurobindo notes, is to seize on what is pleasing and beautiful in all things and turn to see a charm where the English mind sees a deformity and to extract poetry and grace out of the ugly. The classical instances are the immortal verses in which Valmiki by

a storm of beautiful and costly images and epithets has immortalised the hump of Manthara and the still more immortal passage in which he has made the tail of a monkey epic.

A kindred method, especially with mythological allusions, is to explain fully what in the original is implicit. Kalidas, for instance, compares a huge dark cloud striding northwards from 'Crouncharundhra' to 'the dark foot of Vishnu lifted in impetuous act to quell Bali', *Syāmaḥ pādaḥ balinịyaman ābhyudyatasyeva viṣṇoḥ*, Sri Aurobindo translates this as : "Dark like the cloudy foot of the *highest God* when starting from the dwarf-shape world-immense with Titan-quelling step through heaven he strode".

It may be at once objected that this is not translation but the most licentious paraphrase. But if we accept Aurobindo's original contention that the business of poetical translation is to reproduce not the exact words but the exact image, associations and poetical beauty and flavour of the original, there is not a single word in the translation which does not represent something at once suggested to the Indian reader by the words of the text. Vishnu is nothing to the English reader but some monstrous and bizarre Hindu idol; to the Hindu He is God Himself. Sri Aurobindo, therefore, more correctly represents in English by 'highest God' than by Vishnu. *Syāmaḥ pādaḥ* is closely represented by "dark like the cloudy foot", so the word 'cloudy' being necessary both to point the simile which is not so apparent and natural to the English reader as to the Indian and to define the precise sort of darkness indicated by the term *Syāmaḥ*; *Bali* has no meaning or association in English, but in the Sanskrit it represents the same idea as *titan* : For the Hindu the particular name *Bali* recalls a certain theosophic legend which is almost a household word. It refers to that story of dwarf-Vishnu thrusting the mighty Bali to bottomless hell and the whole story immediately comes up before the mental eye of the Hindu as he reads Kalidasa's finely chosen words. The impetuous and vigorous term *abhyudyatasyeva* both in sound and sense suggests images, the sudden starting up of the world-pervading deity from the dwarf shape he had assumed, while the comparison to the cloud reminds him that the second step of three referred to is that of Vishnu striding 'through heaven'.

But to the English reader the words of Kalidasa literally transliterated would be a mere artificial conceit devoid of the original sublimity. The meaning content would be dwarfed and it would be largely due to the missing of appropriate images and associations. The poetical vitality and force of the original is not reproduced as the gestaltqualitat is missed and the 'whole' suffers on that account. That is how so many European Sanskritists described the poetry of Kalidasa (which is noted for its bold directness, native beauty and truth-grandeur) as the 'artificial poetry of an artificial period'. Sri Aurobindo tells us that a literal translation was responsible for this erroneous impression. We may further note that in the opposite method one of Kalidasa's finest

characteristics is lost; his power of expressing by a single simple direct and sufficient word ideas and pictures of the utmost grandeur or shaded complexity; but this is a characteristic which could in no case be possible in any language but the classical Sanskrit, which Kalidasa did more than any man to create or at least to perfect. Even the utmost literalness could not transfer this characteristic into English. This method of eliciting all the values of the original which Aurobindo applied again and again, wherever a pregnant mythological allusion or a striking or subtle picture or image calls for adequate representation, more specially perhaps in pictures or images connected with birds and animals unfamiliar or slightly familiar to the English readers. Here one may find Aurobindo guilty of occasional excesses.[4] But his case may be defended, as these 'additions have always been suggested either by the sound or substance of the 'original'. Let us quote Sri Aurobindo in point:

"I may instance the line,
'A flickering line of fireflies seen in sleep' "

Kalidasa says nothing equivalent to or suggesting 'seen in sleep', but I had to render somehow the impression of night and dim unreality created by the dreamy movement and whispering assonances of the lines.

Alpālpabhās aṁ Khadyotālīvilasitanibham Vidyudunmeṣadṛṣtim. "With its soft dentals and its wavering and gliding liquids and sibilants unable to do this by sound I sought to do it by verbal expression, in so far made a confession of incompetence, but in a way that may perhaps carry its own pardon".[5]

Sri Aurobindo spoke of 'yet another method', which he actually applied (though cautiously) and considered it indispensable under certain conditions. Sometimes it is necessary (at least advisable) to discard the original image altogether and replace it by a more intelligible image of the language to be translated into, which is English in the present context. Sri Aurobindo gives an example : there is no commoner subject of allusion in Sanskrit poetry than the passionate monotoned threnody of the forlorn bird, who is divided at night by some mysterious law from his mate, divided if by a single lotus leaf, yet fatally divided. Such at least was the belief suggested by its cry at night to the imaginative Aryans. Nothing can exceed the beauty, pathos and power with which this allusion is employed by Kalidasa. Hear, for instance, in *Shakuntala*, how the lovers were gracefully warned :

'O Chacravaque, sob farewell to thy mate,
The night, the night comes down to part you.'

Fable as it is, one who has steeped himself in Hindu poetry can never bring himself wholly to disbelieve it. For him the melancholy call of the bird will sound for ever across the chill dividing stream and make musical with pity the huge and solemn night. But when the Yaksha says to the cloud (in *The Cloud*

Messenger) that he will recognize her who is his second life by her sweet rare speech and her loveliness in that city of happy lovers, 'Sob like a lovely Chacravaque with me her comrade far away', the simile has no pathos to an English mind and even when explained would only seem an artifice common to the court-poetry of the Sanskrit age. On this ground Sri Aurobindo might have been justified by the slightness of the allusion in translating.

"Sob like a widowed bird when all the nests are making"

which translates the idea and the emotion while suggesting a slightly different but related image. The principles, as explained above, may be supplemented by the dictum of the closeness of word-value (not oneness of word-meaning) involving elements of association, sound and aesthetic beauty.

The foregoing observations unequivocally point to a gestalt of a particular language wherein the reference, both emotive and cognitive and a consequent transformation of the referent and a peculiar type of coherence (*samavāya*) obtaining between them, are too pronounced to be missed. Apart from the broad gestalt of the language, the sentence-formation of a particular type in a given language gives one type of meaning, while a different formation would give an altogether different meaning. The semantic character is absolutely dependent on the syntactic character. We have seen how syntactic character of a language could change the semantics of a word, and Sri Aurobindo has illustrated this point with reference to translation work from Sanskrit to English. Word-image of a Sanskrit word had to be transformed to suit the syntactic requirement when translated into English. Again, the same word when read in an ethical context means one thing and when in an aesthetic context, means quite another. Let us illustrate :

(A) That painting is good
(B) George is good

Here, in both the sentences 'good' has been a predicative adjective but their 'references' are quite different. The universe of discourse, quite disparate good in (A) and (B), is quite distinctive in their meanings. Here not only the sentences as such, their construction and syntax determine the meaning of 'good' but axiological discrimination is also involved therein. Apart from this axiological involvement, a sentence ought to determine the meaning of 'good' with reference to its position in a sentence. 'Good' is traditionally said to be an adjective but the traditional term 'adjective' is not a term to be taken too seriously. An adjective in traditional grammar is said to be a word that modifies a noun, whereas a noun is said to be a word with a certain reference; thus a cross classification is involved, a confusion of syntactic and semantic

factors.[6] The semantic function of adjectives becomes indeterminate as the class of adjectives (as understood by me) is not a well-defined class. The native supposition that an attributive adjective serves to characterize the referent of the noun construction (of course, if it had any referent) is easily shown to be false, e.g. to refer to an 'utter fool','a perfect stranger', 'a complete idiot' is not to refer to anything having the characteristic of being 'utter', 'perfect' or 'complete'.

Traditional English grammar does not recognise the changing position of the adjectives as influencing the meaning of the adjective concerned. The classification of adjectives in traditional English grammars as attributive appositive and predicative adjectives does not throw much light on the nature and function of adjectives, since it is based simply on the position of the adjective in a sentence regardless of whether or not the position can be altered by syntactic transformations. And the other important defect[7] in traditional grammar with respect to adjectives concerns the operation of modification; an attributive adjective is said to modify the noun it is in construction with. But that obscures the fact that there is an important difference between 'blue' in 'He is blue little man' and 'blue' in 'He is a little blue man'. This difference is not indicated in saying that in each case 'blue' is an attributive adjective modifying 'man'. Notice that the ambiguity of 'He is blue' indicating either colour or sadness, is related to the fact that 'he is blue' may be a derivative of either, 'He is a little blue man' or 'He is a blue little man'. Again the attribution and predication problems as involved in adjectives in English are worthy of cognition in this context. It has been rightly pointed out in a well-documented article that the traditional relative-clause transformation failed to account for many, if not most, instances of attributive adjectives.[8]

However, our contention would be that a predicative adjective modifies the complete syntactic subject it is in construction with, and the adjective is determined in turn, in its meaning and significance, by the position it occupies in the syntactic whole. Sri Aurobindo made this point amply clear, and his reference was not only to adjectives but to nouns as well. Let us revert to our old illustration of 'good painting', wherein 'good' modifies painting. In the sentence (1) That painting is good, 'good' modifies not 'painting' but 'that painting'. Thus the attributive adjective may be taken to modify the constituent it is in construction with. Thus 'good' in (2) 'That is a good bright painting', modifies not 'painting' but 'a bright painting'. On the other hand 'bright' in (2) modifies 'a painting'. The difference between 'blue' in 'He is a blue little man' and 'blue' in 'He is a little blue man' is then that in the former case 'blue' modifies a 'little man' whereas in the latter case, it simply modifies a 'man'. To say that in each case 'blue' modifies 'man' would be to introduce an ambiguity. 'Good' not only modifies other elements but the constructions it enters into are often modified, and 'good' itself is often modified directly. Thus in a construction that 'good' enters into in (3) That is a real good table, viz. a

'good table' is modified by 'real'. 'Good' itself is directly modified in

(4) That is good enough,

by 'enough'; by 'for you' in (5)

(5) That is good for you.

and by the comparative affix '—er' in (6)

(6) That is better,

for better in (6) is analyzable as 'good'+er.

Again, let us consider the two remarks :

(7) This is a good strawberry.

(8) This is a good lemon.

Now, for (7) to be true we suppose that what is in question must be sweet or if not sweet, then at least not sour. Whereas for (8) would suggest contradictory conditions. But consider:

(9) This is a good carving knife.

If we suppose that a good carving knife must be sharp, but that a good strawberry need be neither sharp nor not sharp, (7) and (9) would suggest independent conditions.

Utterance (7) contrasts with 'This is a (good) strawberry'/'Sour' and (8) contrasts with 'This is a (good) lemon'/'Sour'. If 'good' does not differ in meaning in each case then we can expect the relevant difference between ('This is a good strawberry') and ('This is a sour strawberry') to be identical or virtually identical with relevant difference between ('This is a good lemon') and ('This is a sour lemon'), but there is bound to be a considerable difference between ('This is a good strawberry') and ('This is a sour strawberry'). Consequently, we must either say that (8) cannot have associated with it the condition of being sour or that (7) cannot have associated with if the condition of not being sour, or that 'good' in (7) differs in meaning from 'good' in (8).

The ambiguity with regard to 'good' may be discovered in other adjectives such as 'heavy'. 'A heavy car' and 'A heavy pencil' illustrate the point at issue. If we consider some other examples of the use of 'good'[9] (as a modifier,e.g., in combination with a noun in an endocentric construction), the problem of expounding the meaning of 'good' would appear to be that of saying how it modifies whatever it does modify. Or to put the matter in another way: 'good' (or for that matter any high ranking adjective) can be thought of as analogous to a numerical function, while the various elements that it modifies can be thought of as so many arguments to the function yielding different

values in different cases. The problem then is, as it were, to state the rule whereby one passes from the argument to the value of the function for the given argument. A great deal of contemporary philosophy has been concerned with the fruitless task of attempting to correlate single words with types of situations, or with episodes, events and occurrences, actions and so forth, that occur either in the context of utterance or elsewhere in the world. This has resulted in the classification of words as 'evaluative', 'descriptive', 'prescriptive', 'performative', etc. All these classifications are of doubtful value. Words and the world do not connect in any such direct fashion. This leads to ambiguity and suggestions to diverse directions from a simple expression language, without a definite word of reference to be cognized by the speaker and the person spoken to, leads to confusion. Ionesco's absurd play 'The Lesson' is to the point. Semantic difficulties in referring to the self-same referrent cause many of our embarrassments in life; this is evident in the under notice. Ionesco himself referred to his famous play 'Rhinoceros' (1958) and said: "When you can no longer make yourself understood by them you have the impression of being confronted with monsters-rhinos, for example". Now, we may ask once again, why is this inadequacy of words?

Korzybski's theory of abstraction points unequivocally to this inadequacy of words. It was the considered opinion of many[10] that the topic of abstraction was of crucial importance in any systematic semantics. The world seems full of objects and relationships which cannot be adequately described in words; nor is this merely a deficiency of vocabulary—an absence of enough names to be used. Korzybski's neurological standpoint gives us an apple which is just a 'relation between the external physical event and the reactions in the nervous system of the person who preceives that apple'.[11] He further tells us that if we use a language of adjectives and subject-predicate forms pertaining to 'sense' impressions, we are using a language which deals with entities inside our skin and characteristics entirely non-existent in the outside world. Thus, the events outside our skin are neither cold nor warm, green nor red, sweet or bitter, but these characteristics are manufactured by our nervous system inside our skins, as responses only to different energy manifestations, physico-chemical processes. When we use such terms, we are dealing with characteristics which are absent in the external world, and build up an anthropomorphic and delusional world non-similar in structure to the world around us,so Korzybski's account does speak of the'word' and the 'reference account', and the 'referent' is hardly of much sequence except that the whole complex looks like the Kantian 'thing-in-itself'. However, we may also profitably recall Richard-Ogden's triangle of 'Symbol-Reference-Referent' as suggesting an indirect relation between the three. Consequently, we do not accept any rigid syntactic classification as Ryle's 'achievement' and 'task' verbs.[12] It is simply an approximation to the verb aspects of Slavic grammar. Such aspects as momentaneous, durative, continuative,

inceptive, cessative, interative, resultative, durative-inceptive. We do not also agree to the suggestion that there is a significant correlation between the uttering of 'good' and the act of commending in the sense of a necessary invariable relation. The utility of a word or phrase may be said to be varying with the strength of its correlation with a particular social situation, action, event and so forth; the language-gestalt is also very important in this context. They have been regarded by some as 'context of utterance' and this context of utterance determines the conditions of answering to certain interests associated with 'good'. Now, the question of 'whose interests' leads to the problem of the syntactic whole which determines the meaning of the constituent words. The attitude to the 'intrinsically good' is essentially rooted in a difference in persons, a difference of sensibility and of interests. We might tantatively conclude that apart from certain minor, derivative or deviant cases, 'good' may mean answering to 'certain interests' which are included in the syntactic whole. And this concept of the whole gave the primary meaning to the word, and its 'suggestiveness' or *vyanjana* was also determined by it. That point was ably brought out by Sri Aurobindo, and he is quite in keeping with the trends of thought in Modern Semantics, so ably reflected in the writings of modern writers such as Cummings. Old day precision wrought by conventional grammar has not been much sought for, as new modes of building up this 'syntactic wholes' responding to some definite interests were found out. Punctuation and their known laws were considered inadequate for the image of this poet, and he used symbols not conforming to the dotted lines of conventional images. To complete his own 'image' he sometimes breaks a word and 'scatters' it all over the phrase to make the whole 'suggestive' : "SP RIN, k, Ling an instant with sunlight". It has been called 'Typographical Onometopoeia'. He refuses to accept grammar as such and writes all ungrammatical sentences to make the 'whole meaning' more pronounced. To take some of his expressions :

(1) "With up so floating many bells down".
(With so many bells floating up and down)

(2) "Shining this our now must come to then"
(Our shining present must come to an end)

(3) "i thank you God for most this amazing a day"
(For the leaping greenly spirits of trees and a blue true dream of sky; and for everything which is natural which is infinite which is yes)

For the sake of 'suggestiveness' as working through a complete image, words were often broken arbitrarily and an image was inserted to give it a semblance of 'L (a leaf falls) oneliness. The individual character-pattern of

languages (independent of sounds) has thus been further individualized in words and phrases used therein. So the insistent demands on the word-meaning have been gradually shifting to the meaning of the total sentence, and in some cases even beyond it, thus giving a new dimension and meaning to the age-old concept of a grammatical sentence. This process, as is evident by now, makes—

(*a*) translation from one language into another difficult,
(*b*) adoption of words, meanings and images from one language to another quite irksome,
(*c*) it is imperative to recruit better men as language teachers as their task would be not so much to parrot certain grammatical rules, canons and dicta as to delve deep into the character of the language they would be expected to teach.

We may make out that the modern semantic problem is a problem revolving round the expanding 'meaning concept' and its correlation with the semantic situation.

Thus the modern semantic predicament in a way takes us back to ancient Indian Semantics. Cumming's 'Scattering' of words, Aurobindo's notion of an *a priori* language-frame and all the other devices (such as using small 'i' for 'I' as is found in Cummings and other) suggest that an "objective meaning" is sought to be conveyed by all these linguistic devices. The meaning as sought to be conveyed through a language-symbol is an *a priori* idea and this is inherently related to a particular language-gestalt. The Indian grammarians were careful enough to distinguish between *prākṛta-dhvani* and *vaikṛta-dhvani*, the former being a pattern of the permanent *varṇas* (analogous to the modern phoneme), and the latter being *dhvani*. The Naiyayikas considered the former as a class (*jāti*) of which the latter was an instance. Bhartṛhari's enunciation of the *sphota* doctrine makes the word-meaning situation all the more clearer. According to his analysis, first, we have the actual sounds of the words uttered; this was known as *vaikṛta dhvani*. They revealed the permanent *prākṛta-dhvani* (which was taken to be an abstraction from the various *vaikṛta-dhvani*) or the linguistically normal form devoid of the personal variations which were linguistically irrelevant. The third stage was the *sphota* which was the whole utterance considered as an integral unit, as an indivisible language-symbol. It is this *sphota* that reveals the meaning which is in the form of an intuition. Strictly, both the *sphota* and the meaning are different aspects of the same speech-principle. Bhartṛhari synthesized all these various aspects of speech with three-fold nature of the revelation of speech: *pasyanti*, *madhyamā* and the *vaikhari* stages corresponding respectively to *sphota*, *prākṛta-dhvani* and *vaikṛta-dhvani*. Divested of all the metaphysical elements, the *sphota* doctrine advocated by Bhartṛhari emphasized the importance of considering the sentence as an indivisible, integral, language symbol, and this sentence is complete in its own overall

language-structure. The 'sentence' in one language loses its character when translated into the frame-work of another language, and this was emphasised by Bhartṛhari and Aurobindo and was arrived at by some modern linguistics through a process of analysis. We may recall with profit the recent experiments conducted by Lawson[13] on translation work. The experiment speaks of interference with the 'output language' when the 'irrelevant message' is considered capable of interfering with the 'gestalt' of the 'output' language. Lawson's findings indirectly corroborate what Bhartṛhari postulated long ago and was reaffirmed by Sri Aurobindo in the recent past.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Ref. my presidential address "On Aesthetic and Ethical Values", at the Chandigarh Session of the Indian Philosophical Congress, held in 1963.
2. Paul Ziff, *Semantic Analysis.*
3. Sri Aurobindo, *On Translating Kalidasa.*
4. Sri Aurobindo himself admits of this guilt. See Kalidasa (Second series), p. 26.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.
6. See any traditional grammar, e.g. G. L. Kittredge and F. E. Farley, *An Advanced English Grammar.*
7. Paul Ziff in his book, *Semantic Analysis*, notes these defects.
8. For a detailed study of the position see, Dwight Bolinger's 'Adjectives in English : Attribution and Predication' in *Lingua,* Vol. 18, No. 1.
9. See, *Semantic Analysis* by Paul Ziff, pp. 200-247, for a detailed study of such examples.
10. See for example *Language and Philosophy*, Max Black, pp. 230-35.
11. Alfred Korzybski, *Science and Sanity*, p. 384.
12. *Concept of Mind.*
13. See, Everdina A. Lawson's, 'Attention and Simultaneous Translation' in *Language and Speech,* Jan-Mar. 1967.

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Logistics of Language Development

DESPITE the extremes of regionalist and nationalist positions arising from ignorance of language dynamics, this much is commonly accepted: the regional languages can alone be an effective link between the élite and the masses belonging to their own region. The link between the élite and its speech community means sharing in each other's world-view and universe of experience. It should be possible to render the totality of human experience—literary as well as scientific—in one's mother tongue; because for better or for worse, the language and culture of a region are coterminous. The culture of a people is not developed in isolation from its language, but in any social system, any one link is not as such instrument of the other. Language, by itself as an instrument of promoting culture, is a mirage we have been running after for the last two decades. Language is an accompaniment rather than an instrument; in that sense scientific culture is, more truthfully, an instrument of scientific language. In fact, neither the one nor the other is an instrument. The instrument, if any, is language-contact or culture-contact which subsumes language-contact.

The pan-Indian culture, to the extent that it exists, is also a spontaneous product of such inter-regional contact of languages and cultures through various layers of overlapping areas of regional bilingualism and biculturism or joint participation, in varied facets of intra-national life.

The dynamics of any regional language-culture system has its lessons for what can be the effective strategy for the development of languages: one must know how and where to induce growth and, more realistically, how to accelerate (or at least emancipate) the process which is taking place, despite our

lack of correct policies.

A commonsense pronouncement on development of language runs as follows: The English language has enough words and phrases to enable its user to express refined notion of physics, psychology, and similar other sciences; it has precise labels and definitions for notions in law and administration; it has a body of literature—ever growing—on which one can always draw for verification of any usage. Bengali, Hindi or Tamil, for example, do not have such stock of words or phrases, nor do they have a body of literature for such areas of human knowledge. Therefore, the English language is a developed language, while Bengali, Hindi and Tamil are not. When these languages come to have words and phrases similar to that of the English, they will be considered as developed languages.

This commonsense view of under development is correct but it is superficial, for it overlooks the in-built mechanism of all languages to fit the felt needs.

Language continuously draws on its own resources to cope with the changing needs to verbalise ever expanding human experiences. Over a period of time, a community may acquire more information, more knowledge, and that may cause various changes in its mode of life; the language of the community also would undergo change. The words and expressions may occur in newer contexts and acquire newer meanings; thus a word, such as, goli—'pill', may occur in a newer context, after the invention ofgun, and come to mean 'bullet' when used in the context of gunfire. Similarly, the existing elements 'put' and 'up' in the English were collocated, when a notion of nominating a candidate for elections had to be expressed. No new coinage was necessary when a different type of strike—*hartāl*—came into existence a few years back: the conventional *hartāl* meant a dispute that could be resolved by negotiations between the employer and the employees; when a united opposition against the ruling party had to be specially emphasized and verbalised the word—*bandh*—was harnessed; it is by no means a new word, but by collocating it, suffixing it (*e.g. Bhārat bandh, Kerala bandh etc.*), in a novel way, we have got a series of new expressions.

The pace of newer collocations in a language is accelerated in a bilingual community or in a community which consists of a sizeable number of bilinguals. The Gujarati expression—*paglā leva*—'to take legal action' is a result of a Gujarati-English bilingual speakers effort to render the English collocation of 'step' and 'take' into the Gujarati collocation of—*paglū*—'step' and —Levū 'to take'; it has worked. The words—*paglū*—in Gujarati and 'step' in English share some collocations 'one step' 'two steps' ,—*ek paglū*—,—*be paglū*—; they have some unique collocations, such as English 'step-mother', 'step in', and Gujarati—*pagli no paḍnar*—'male-child', lit. 'the one who toddles'. Two words of two languages may share some contexts and may not share some other

contexts; no two words would share all the contexts. A bilingual speaker, a human being manipulating two languages, some of whose elements have partially overlapping contexts, will always tend to superpose the contexts of one element over the contexts of the other, and thereby create newer collocations. New expressions may come into existence even without any overtly new coinage or direct borrowing.

There are greater possibilities of newer expressions in a language under the conditions of active bilingualism. Major Indian languages have acquired many a new expression during the past two centuries under the conditions of active bilingualism with English. It would be an error to say that our languages have not been influenced by English, if and where they do not display direct borrowings from English. Our languages, which had only a belles-lettres tradition and which did not have scientific and serious prose, have acquired newer expressions and traditions under the constant influence of bilingualism with English. This is a major factor in the development of Indian languages. This could happen because we have had genuine bilingual authors and speakers like Mahatma Gandhi, Tagore, Rajaji and almost all the 19th century members of our intelligentsia, who believed in sharing their experiences with the people, by way of an autobiography or diary, by if nothing else.

Development of Indian languages would mean an ever expanding use of Indian languages by functional bilinguals, by persons who know and use English and also use the mother tongue not for home purposes alone but also for public consumption in all contexts. During the last two hundred years the academicians have managed to miss this bilingual interaction. In the British period, they used English but did not make an effort to extend the use of the mother-tongue. In the post-British period, those who want to extend the use of the mother-tongue think only in terms of a total switch! Language policy seems to focus on a phased departure of English as a 'language' !

This notion of language rivalry, namely that unless the richer language disappears, the poorer one will not 'get a chance'—has clouded much of our thinking in language. Our goal in the education system should be not to remove English from the system, but to ensure that a discourse in Indian languages begins. Such a discourse will gain momentum only by interaction with English. Knowledge of English, and not its absence, is a precondition for the development of Indian languages.

The education system must be so designed as to enable us to use our languages and at the same time also to continue to use English. A versatile interaction between these two languages by functional bilingualism will accelerate the pace of new expressions in our language, without burdening them with new coinages. The 'development' to take place presupposes mature minds trained to use and manipulate languages. Probably, it would be more convenient to change the post-graduate level first before coming down to the under-

graduate level. It is at the post-graduate level that there are greater chances of student-teacher interaction; and subject, like chemistry or psychology, could be partially discussed and examined in an Indian language, say one paper or one section to begin with, the rest being in English. This would require and ensure the students' participation in the process of language transfer. The goal at this stage would not be to remove English eventually, for that would not be the goal at any stage of education, but to ensure that the student and teacher could discuss the subject in two languages, the mother-tongue and English. This would also ensure maintenance or even improvement of standards. Post-graduate students, who may eventually become teachers at the undergraduate levels, can follow the same model, namely, introducing the subject partly in the mother-tongue and retaining English in active use at the same time.

There is a hazard in starting with the undergraduate and cutting him off from English at the undergraduate level; as this undergraduate, cut off from English and nourished on premature text books, goes to the post-graduate level, he will find it impossible to read English or to understand lectures in English. This will precipitate a premature total transfer to the mother-tongue at the post-graduate level. Holding on to English medium in such a predicament would also mean only an illusion of standards.

Many universities have already 'switched over' to the mother-tongue at the undergraduate level. The damage cannot be undone. This can partly be repaired by testing English language competence while admitting students to the post-graduate classes.

This brings us to the position of English in the universities. If we want an effective bilingualism at all stages of our education, English should be strengthened as a medium, and not just as a 'library language'. The professors of English are not reporters about a foreign language, but rather transmitters of English life and letters; they belong to the early years of British education in India when they were the carriers of liberal education and the sole professors of literature *par excellence*. They did not teach English language to the pupils; it was rather the professor of history, philosophy, mathematics etc. who taught them how to manipulate English with its subtleties and nuances in communication. Now, at many universities, other professors already prefer to teach in the mother-tongue, and the professor of English alone has to bear the burden of teaching English language—a task which he neither likes, nor is trained to perform. But he goes on lecturing in English, and we go on believing that this will improve the student's competence in English. It is high time we removed this comic farcical show of English teaching and replaced it by a reasonable amount of language teaching by those who are trained to do it, and leave the rest of English at the college level to be taught by subject-professors, i.e., an economics professor discussing even a bit of economics in English will

provide a meaningful context to English and contribute more to the functional command of English of the student of economics than the professors of English lecturing at him on 'Mid Summer Night's Dream'. At the moment, 'compulsory' English has become a major problem—unpleasant to the students as well as to the professors of English. The departments of English must change to produce real language teachers in the changed context. Their reorientation is of strategic significance.

The strategy of development suggested here is considerably different from what we have preached and practised during the last two decades. It did not occur to us that continuance of English could be a basic objective for the development of Indian languages. By making English a truly associate language in education, we could have created a favourable ground to accelerate the pace of enrichment of our own languages. Instead, we wanted to stuff our languages with bizarre synthetic coinages, we created Terminology Commissions, and thought that as soon as we would be able to supply sufficient ready-made technical terms, our languages would be adequately enriched. Our only strategy was to wait for the pan-Indian terminology turned out from the factories of words (mainly in the public sector). This obsession with terminology has blocked all channels of normal growth of expression in our languages. It is necessary, therefore, to understand the process by which a language acquires technical terms.

What is a technical term? 'A technical term replaces long phrases, or a complicated discourse, and its meaning is fixed by an agreement of definition which in science receives explicit formulation and strict adherence'. All languages have technical terms; the jargons of the fisherman and the carpenter, of the smiths and the weavers, are such examples; in simpler societies, the usefulness of close approximation is limited; as civilisation advances, the demand for closer approximation is felt and finer distinctions develop. The discourse of a physicist or that of a biologist, of a lawyer or that of a doctor, is an example of development of such finer distinctions.

Scientific terms are embedded in common language. Words like *energy*, *mass*, *particle*, or *force* in English, are common words; but with the growth of scientific knowledge, they have come to represent a very complicated discourse in a sort of abbreviations; etymological meanings of these words hardly convey their scientific meanings. When we want similar expressions in our language we are really faced with a difficulty. We do not have a body of literature in which the cumulation of meanings of these terms can be seen. We lack scientific discourse in our languages, and I have witnessed, to my dismay, futile etymological discussions or futile efforts to build up an argument with the help of some strange coinages. In translating common words, we can use common words of our own language, and depend upon the scientific discourse to give them a precise meaning. What has happened in recent coinages is that a

common word is discarded—for it had been known to us in a rough, crude way, and we had never looked upon it as having a precise meaning—and a Sanskrit term whose etymological meaning is supposed to convey the desired meaning, is brought into use. Here is an example: 'grit' in physical geography is defined as 'coarse sandstone of angular grain'; it is rendered by our technical terminology commission as *koṇiya-bāluka̅-aśma*. This is a ridiculous attempt to stretch a term to contain its definition. Common words such as 'circulation' (Hindi *phelāvā*), 'inversion' (*ulṭā honā*) and 'loosening' (*ḍhilā honā*) are rendered as—*parisamcārana*, *pratilomana* or *adhovartana*-and-*shlathana*!

The total effect is disastrous. We get a jargon which is completely cut off from the common language; it is unintelligible. For the process by which a particular term acquires a precise connotation is not governed by the structure of the word, but is totally dependent on the amount and quality of discourse in which the term is employed again and again. Language only provides pegs to start off exposition, the quality of discourse alone must determine the precision of the meaning. What should be done in rendering such terms is not to coin a new term outright but to use a common term in an altered meaning, or to retain the English term, and then write a paragraph or more explaining the concept in the regional language. It is the scientific exposition that is vital, not the term.

There is a language of science. One needs science and not the terminology to begin a scientific discourse in any language. All languages have enough resources and generative power to supply words and phrases; language stops there. Science has to fill in the precise meaning and forge its own terminology out of the language and beyond it. The terminology is neither the beginning nor the end of science. Our terminology commissions are at once the cause and the effect of inertia in our academic world. The university men have evaded the exposition in regional languages. It is not because of the poverty of our languages but because of the poverty of our bookish knowledge and word-bound concepts, that there has been no exposition of science so far.

The strategy suggested here clearly puts the burden now on the university élite. This is a challenge. Let there be some scientific discourse before freezing the word in the text books. Let the regional languages enter into a partnership with English at the universities.

When we think of the development of Indian languages, let us be clear that continued co-existence with English is a part of this development process. It is the quality of scientific discourse in any subject that will contribute to the language development we are aiming at. The subject professors, and not the language professors, will have to be the main initiators. Language development depends on those who use the language in newer contexts.

PUNYA SLOKA RAY

The Economics for and against English in India

SINCE paradox is the salt of life, a study of monopoly capitalism may yet prove the best way to an understanding of democratic socialism. One of the most successful instances of monopoly capitalism has been the Bell Telephone System of the U.S.A., the only developed country where voice communication over distance is in the private sector. This had happened not because the U.S.A. is singularly indifferent to its adult franchise voters, but because the particular private monopoly business had, at a decisive moment of history, a genius for a manager. At the time of Theodore Vail's decision, the states constituent of the U.S.A. had already set up statutory bodies for the purpose of regulating what they recognized to be a public utility service. But these agencies were still quite underrated and undersupported, were in fact little better than dispensaries of sinecures. It was not yet difficult to brush past or buy up those miserable public servants. Vail's genius was in recognizing the whirlpool beneath the scum, in understanding that time-gaining tactics, if persisted with, will gain nothing more than a little bit of time. So, in the second decade of this century, Vail decided to take over on himself the task others generally have preferred to leave to one's enemies, and redefined the business to include the job of helping one's critics. The mixture of cooperation and competition that business rivals might have provided would be assured thence by local public authorities.

A simile may perhaps help us here. A billiards player cannot improve his play if he cannot practise with a comparable but friendly opponent. If he is forced to practise alone, or only with immature beginners, his play deteriorates, much as it would if he did not practise at all other than in the tournaments.

It is for this reason that the country clubs I used to visit a few years ago made it a custom to keep what they called a marker, a man whose job it was to stimulate one's play. The daily effort to meet capable but still well-meant criticism is a necessary condition to develop the ability to survive eventual encounter with even more capable and not so well-meant competition. A critic is an insurance taken out against an enemy, as much as inoculation in relation to epidemics.

English has at this moment something very much like a monopoly in this country, so far as serious negotiations in administration, commerce, and education above the level of villages and small towns are concerned. Figures cannot be cited to prove this, but are really not necessary at all. Nor is this fact of a monopoly hard to explain, given the inheritance of an empire.

The monopoly has so far been a good thing. Firstly, the English language is well spread among the various regions and communities of the country. Secondly, it is also the language of our best trading partners in science no less than in industry. The monopoly has in fact dispensed an even-handed and inexpensive justice by developing a large common market.

The difficulty that we are nevertheless faced with is that English has not been growing fast enough to supplant the other languages of India, although it has in fact been growing fairly rapidly. The other languages have been threatened enough to become rivals but not enough to become disheartened. In other words, English has proved strong enough to challenge but not to win. The appropriate piece of wisdom under these circumstances can only be that in the saying : If you can't lick 'em, join 'em.

It is at this point that we should consider the proper role of any government answerable to all adults of the country. This nation had already made up its mind to be a mixed economy and a social democracy. The only new thing that has happened in the last two years is the realization that, in the kind of society we are going to have, local public authorities cannot play the role of a market leader as often as that of a friendly critic. The power of the state is essentially a corrective power, a countervailing power, an agency of questioning and restraining.

Now, if it were really true that English was in danger in India as a threatened but vital minority element, then we could invoke the corrective power of the state for its protection and assistance. To take a related but contrasting example, if the position of the English language were similar to that of the Anglo-Indian community, constitutional safeguards could be provided for English similar to those long provided to the Anglo-Indians. But of course no other observation of the Indian situation would be less realistic.

It is to the weaker factors that the corrective power of the state should go. Foremost of all these is Hindi. It is clear by this time that unless the constitutional priority granted to Hindi is taken seriously, this most promising of

critics will be turned into the most destructive of enemies. Hindi is not likely to disappear from the scene through wishes. An increasingly literate one-third and geographical centre of the country is not something in outer space. A virtual coalition of Urdu grammar and Sanskrit vocabulary as Hindi is, it offers benefit of the continuity of our civilization. But Hindi is not strong enough to do without support from local public authorities. Only if the Union government as well as the five state governments take it into precedence and partnership, can Hindi begin to play its part in uniting and developing the country.

The same is true, with appropriate changes of detail, of the other languages. The role to be played by the Indian languages must necessarily be of a corrective nature, moving from field to field as and when required to set aright such local imbalances as English might unintentionally have caused. The clearest conception of this solution is to be found in the settlement negotiated by the late Lal Bahadur Shastri of the Cachar problem of Assam. As I interpret the scanty and slanted reports published, the district was to have Bengali OR English, the state was to have Assamese OR English, and the Union was to have Hindi OR English. The thing to note is that English came into the picture at every step as the permitted though not preferred choice, as well as that the second choice at every step had to be English.

This is true democratic thinking as opposed to autocratic thinking, genuine republican thinking as distinct from monarchical thinking. The factor that unites must not be the universal first choice, but the universal second choice. Only a ruler by divine right could be expected to come out first at every choice, the best judge over disputes and the best teller of jokes, the best amateur dramatist as well as the best amateur cook.

Only people who are of a totalitarian or royalist frame of mind can imagine that taking English out of their offices or even making it play second fiddle, there would be the very disaster foretold by 'old India hands'. I really wonder if it would be necessary to have some more 'gheraos' to convince these gentlemen that their offices do happen to have an outside even in India. It is not a sign of ability to fail to distinguish between vaccination fever and small pox.

To sum up, the future of English in India is quite bright, and would be even brighter were the so-called change-over effected sooner. If the threat of an English-speaking ruling race could be removed earlier, the mythical 1 per cent of the Indian people who know English would be seen to be actually many times than even now, and would have grown faster towards a majority. But of course a numerical majority should be quite unnecessary a target to aim at, if only the idea of exclusive dominance were given up. It should be quite enough that English will stay and grow in the increasingly more self-confident private sector. For all that matters is steady rise.

STATISTICAL APPENDIX

Sources of raw data : India Yearbook 1959. India Yearbook 1966. Infa Press and Advertisers Yearbook 1966. Seminar 67, p. 14, September 1967.
All absolute figures are in hundred thousands.

Table 1. Circulation of newspapers

Year	Total	English	Hindi	Urdu	Marathi	Guja-rati	Tamil
1957 ..	112.6	25	20.2	7.8	6.5	7.2	10.2
1964 ..	207.4	52.9	39.2	10.9	13.6	12.7	23.6
increase in per cents.							
	+84	+112	+93	+39	+107	+75	+131
gain in per cents over 7-year growth of population.							
	+46	+65	+52	+16	+61	+40	+77

Table 2. Relative shares of books published

Year	Total	English	Hindi	Marathi	Guja-rati	Tamil	Bengali
1957 ..	100	40.8	17.5	5.4	4.9	6.7	7.2
1964 ..	100	51.2	12.8	8.6	5.6	3.3	5.8
increase in per cents of relative shares.							
		+25	—37	+59	+14	—51	—26

Table 3. Literates per cent of population

Year	India	Delhi	Rajas-than	U.P.	Bihar	Orissa	Kerala	Maha-rashtra
1951	17	38	14	11	12	16	41	22
1961	24	53	15	18	18	22	47	30
increase in per cents.								
	+44	+37	+6	+63	+52	+37	+14	+36

L. P. VIDYARTHI

Cultural Linguistic Regions in India: Bihar a case study

COMPETENT scholars like Bacon (1946) and Kroeber (1947), from the point of view of the comparison of cultures, view India as a separate and definable culture-area different from the cultures of South-east Asia, Central Asia or the Middle East. As a broad generalisation, keeping in mind the question of Indian nationhood, the socio-religious structure of Hinduism, and the overall predominance of the caste system as an organising principle, the fundamental unity of Indian civilisation seems acceptable. On the other hand, the concept of diversity within Indian unity can be carried to an extreme point, where one might consider it impossible to make any valid generalisation at all, since even one village differs significantly in many respects from all the others.

Those anthropologists who have looked closely at India, though convinced both of civilisational unity as well as of tremendous diversity, have attempted an intermediate approach in order to link the local traits with the regions, and the regional traits with an all-India pattern. Such as approach, intermediate between all-India abstractions and village-level uniqueness, seems to be more acceptable, and I will review some of these works before I refer to my attempt to develop criteria to carve out cultural linguistic regions in Bihar.

Area approach is well known to the disciplines dealing with the distribution of land, climate, natural vegetation, and other ecological conditions. In the anthropological context, the three spheres of racial, linguistic, and cultural characteristics in relation to area-approach or geographical distribution deserve consideration.

RACIAL CLASSIFICATIONS

Though the racial classification has been one of the most obscure area

of Indian ethnography, anthropologists see India's population as forming basically one race with varying substocks or at best two races. (Keith, 1936, p. 19; Hooton, 1946, pp. 612-14; Coon et. al, 1950, pp. 122-29; Boyd, 1954, pp. 400-403.) A number of anthropologists like Risley (1915), Hutton (1933, pp. 439-61), Von Eickstedt (1935, 3-80), B. S. Guha (1935, 1937, 1944), S. S. Sarkar (1954), have made extensive studies of the racial history and ethnic composition of India. Risley, basing his classification on metric criteria, viewed undivided India as being made up of seven racial groups, occupying specific blocks of territory :

(i) Turko-Iranian—Baluchistan and Northwest Frontier Provinces, now in Pakistan.
(ii) Indo-Aryan—Punjab, Rajputana and Kashmir.
(iii) Scytho-Dravidian—Gujarat, Southwest Sindh, Bombay.
(iv) Aryo-Dravidian—Gujarat, Southwest Sindh, Bombay.
(v) Mongolo-Dravidian—Bengal and Coastal Orissa.
(vi) Mongoloid Type—Himalayas, Assam and Nepal.
(vii) Dravidian—Madras, Andhra, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Highland Orissa, Southern Bihar, Hyderabad.

Risley, as is evident from the classificatory nomenclature, was convinced of a direct relationship between physical types and languages. He also took the relationship between race, language and culture as an established fact, and attempted to use linguistic and cultural criteria in delineating his racial groups. Risley's classification continued to be accepted until an alternative and more acceptable classification was proposed by Guha. He essentially reversed Risley's approach to the relations between race and geography, and first examined geographic areas to find out the racial composition in a specific area (Guha, 1931, pp. x-lx). From his analysis of the measurements, Guha postulated two types of races—aboriginal races and the progressive races. He traced one or more of these racial strains in contemporary Indian population. In his later writing, he mapped out areas in terms of the respective racial strains; 1) Nordic (Hills in Travancore-Cochin), 2) Proto-Austroloid (Tribal areas in central and southern India), 3) Mongoloid (Himalayan fringe, Assam), 4) Paleo-Mediterranean (South-India, lower classes in the North), 5) Mediterranean (North India), 6) Oriental type (Punjab, Sind, Rajputana and Western U. P.), 7) Western Brachycephals (South Baluchistan, Sind, Kathiawar, Gujarat, Maharashtra), and 8) Nordic (North-western India).

Guha has given us a very detailed classification for the Indian population. He has viewed India's population essentially as a basic type with regional variations, which are due to inter-mixture, and combination and recombination of invading groups with the basic type.

Among the critics of Guha's classification, S. S. Sarkar deserves a special

mention, because in many of his writings he has proposed an alternative classification of the following racial groups occupying specified areas, (1) Austroloid, (2) Indo-Aryan, (3) Irano-Scythian, (4) Mundari-speaking, (5) Malayo-Polynesia, (6) Mongoloid (1961, 29-30). Sarkar's classification denies the Negrito element as the basic substratum in the Indian population as was proposed by Guha. His insistence on linguistic categories in the racial classification revives the importance of Risley's classification, and leads up to reconsider the relationship between language and race in the light of recent evidences explored by him.

LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION

Though many battles are being fought on the issues of language, it continues to be the least studied phenomenon in India. Except the census figures, Grierson's Linguistic Survey volumes and some sporadic works of general nature (Chatterjee, 1944; Emeneau, 1950, 1956), there are wide gaps to be covered in the theoretical and descriptive studies of the languages in India.

Recently Emeneau (1956) has marshalled considerable evidence, and has pointed out that India is a linguistic area; meaning thereby an area which includes languages belonging to more than one family, but showing traits in common which are found not to belong to the other members of one of the families. Chatterjee (1953, 1951) previously came to a similar conclusion and also found evidence of the influence of Austric languages on Sanskrit.

It is not of course suggested that the influence of the various language families on one another sets up a situation in which communication is facilitated; for, India still is a land of many languages and dialects which are mutually unintelligible. However, owing to their mutual contacts for over 3000 years or so, major similarities in structure have evolved, and we have to view India in terms of its languages and races as sharing many things in common. For this reason, at a level of abstraction, the aforesaid linguists talk of India as a linguistic area.

Within the framework of India as a linguistic area, several regional linguistic areas may be carved out. In India, three major language stocks have been discerned. They are Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, and Austro-Asiatic (Grierson, 1927). Indo-Aryan, to follow Grierson, is divided into the following literary and vernacular languages—Assamese, Bengali, Bihari, Oriya, Eastern Hindi, Western Hindi, Rajasthani, Gujarati, Marathi, Punjabi and Pahari. These, in turn, are divided into dialects or 'regional standards'. For example, Bihari Hindi is divided into three dialects—Bhojpuri, Maithili and Magahi. Gumperz (1957) discovers further variations in a 'regional standard' which he terms local dialect. The principal Dravidian languages are—Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. Other minor Dravidian languagues are—Tulu, Kodagu and a number of tribal languages such as Gondi, Toda, Kurukh, Malto. The Austric-Asiatic languages are spoken by tribal people, the principal ones

being Mundari, Santali, Ho, Khasi, Bhili. The tribals of north-eastern border areas, except the Khasi, speak dialects related to the Tibetan and Burmese languages.

It has been established that the language classifications are basic to discussions of cultural regions. In all discussions of regionalism, either political or cultural, language has been the factor most consistently taken into consideration (Karve, 1953; Cohn, 1957). Risley and Sarkar, as referred to above, postulated a very close relation between race, language and culture. Chatterjee (1951, 1953) relates Guha's physical types to language families and tries to determine the contribution of these language-culture groups.

CULTURAL AREAS

In the sphere of society and culture, it has been rightly developed by Redfield and Milton Singer that Indian civilisation has a number of cultural patterns. Reflecting on civilisation, Redfield has developed the idea of 'historical geology' which fits in the study of civilisation. To quote him : "I think of the civilisation as one of a limited number of great peaks of culture or of human achievement shouldering itself upward, like a mountain among hills and plains" (Redfield, 1957, p.13).

Milton Singer (1956) develops in more specific and contextual manner Redfield's ideas about civilisation in terms of cultural contents, social structure and personality types, to bring out the regional interactions among regional traditions in the civilisational framework of the great traditions of India. Other researches and publications (Marriott-Cohn, 1958) of this school of thought have also emphasised that, inspite of the unity at a civilisational level of abstraction, in reality, a tremendous amount of diversity exists in the ethnic, linguistic, and cultural spheres of Indian population, both at the synchronic as well as diachronic levels.

At the diachronic level, the data of archaeology point to an early differentiation of cultures in the Indian sub-continent. Krishnaswami (1947), Movius (1948) and Sen (1960) point to a Pleistocene-tool tradition found in the North and a core-tool tradition found in the Southern Peninsular India.

A survey of the traits of the material culture of Indian villages (i. e. village plans, oil presses, house-types, plough, dress, bullock carts) undertaken by the Anthropological Survey of India under the guidance of Prof. Bose (1961) also suggests a rough distinction between the northern and peninsular types.

Dr. Karve's extensive researches in kinship pattern have brought to her notice two distinct systems, which she calls the northern and the southern kinship systems. Among many distinctive features, the northern kinship organisation is based on "generation principles", while the southern kinship system is based on a "chronological order" with age in the centre.

When it comes to trying to characterise regional areas within the major

divisions of North and South India, there is little agreement. Karve, from the point of view of kinship systems, sets up a typology of twenty-nine linguistic-cultural regions (Karve, 1953). Her linguistic-cultural regions are characterised by (1) easy communication, (2) the widest extension of marital connections, (3) common folklore and higher literature, and (4) a characteristic caste structure.

Patterson develops a typology of fifteen linguistic-cultural areas taking into consideration the primary criterion of regional languages as well as a set of ten secondary factors: (1) geographical features, (2) racial stocks, (3) common historical traditions and folk heroes, (4) common literary heritage in the regional language, folk songs, ballads, etc., (5) a distinctive set of religious cults and sects, (6) a distinctive caste-system and social structure, (7) distinctive forms of music, drama, art, etc., (8) distinctive diets, (9) distinctive modes of dress and ornamentation, and (10) a characteristic world view, which is hard to define but which can be felt or inferred from behaviour (Patterson, 1956).

On the basis of these primary and secondary factors, within the larger framework of the Indian nation and the top-level of Indian civilisation, a set of fifteen major cultural-linguistic regions (with several sub-regions and cultural types in each), may, of course tentatively, be suggested : (1) Kashmir and Jammu, (2) Punjab, (3) Uttar Pradesh, (4) Bihar, (5) Bengal, (6) Assam, (7) Orissa, (8) Madhya Pradesh, (9) Rajasthan, (10) Gujarat, (11) Maharashtra, (12) Andhra, (13) Karnatak, (14) Kerala, and (15) Tamil Nad.

In the absence of adequate data on the primary and especially secondary criteria for the cultural-area approach, these regions, perhaps, provide workable and fruitful units for further researches.

BIHAR : A CASE STUDY FOR SUB-AREAS AND TYPES

Taking Bihar as a case study in this regional analysis, I shall indicate its linguistic characteristics and try to show how on the basis of regional dialects, a cultural sub-area and cultural type can be carved out. My primary aim, here, will not be of a descriptive linguist but that of a socio-linguist.

Bihar is one of the older states of India, and linguistically it falls in the Eastern Group of the Indo-Aryan Family (Grierson, 1905). The regional language that is spoken in Bihar and the adjacent areas has been named as Bihari by Grierson. According to him, it covers an area of 90,000 square miles and is spoken by 36,000,000 people from the Himalayas on the north to Singhbhum on the south, and from Manbhum on the south-east to Basti on the north-west.

Bihari is bounded on the north by Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayas, on the east by Bengali, on the south by Oriya and on the west by Chhattisgarhi, Begheli and Awadhi dialects of Eastern Hindi.

Like Bengali, Oriya and Assamese, Bihari is a direct descendant of the old form of speech known as Magadhi Prākrit. Owing to this common heritage,

it shares similar grammatical forms with these languages. But owing to constant ethnic, historical and cultural contacts with Uttar Pradesh on the west, it has been exposed to the influence of what Grierson calls Eastern Hindi. In respect of phonology, grammatical forms, and vocabulary, perhaps, Bihari now occupies a middle place between Bengali and Eastern Hindi.

Bihari consists of three important regional dialects, and the term Bihari, as used by Grierson, can be understood to indicate a group of related dialects, sharing certain common characteristics (Grierson, 1903). These three main dialects are : (1) Maithili, (2) Magahi, (3) Bhojpuri. In each dialect, again, there are local variations, and Grierson, on the basis of pronunciation and grammatical forms, has indicated three sub-dialects in each. Gumperz in a recent paper reports about dialectic differences that exist between the social groups of the same village (Gumperz, n.d.). However, without referring to these sub-dialects, I will discuss the importance of the concept of sub-areas in a cultural or regional approach.

The three dialects are spoken in three geographical regions of Bihar, and they differ from each other on the phonetic, phonemic and grammatical levels. Phonetically, nothing is so characteristic as the pronunciation of the vowel 'a' and of the consonant 's'. The first is sounded like the 'o' in the English word 'not', and it is of frequent occurrence. This gives the predominating tone-colour of the Maithili sentence. As we go westward, the broad pronunciation is gradually lost and disappears entirely in the most westerly dialect of Bhojpuri. As regards the 's' sound, the ancient Magadhi could not use it, and substituted for it a sound approaching that of 'sh'. The Maithili speaking people make special distinction between these two sounds. In general, Maithili is considered to be a very sweet, womanish speech; Bhojpuri a very coarse, 'police speech'; while Magahi occupies a position in between.

On the grammatical level, special mention may be made of the verb substantive. The verb substantive in Maithili is usually 'chhai' or 'acchi', he is. In Magahi, it is usually 'hai' and in Bhojpuri it is usually 'bate', 'bare' or 'have'. The three dialects all agree in forming the present tense definite by adding the verb substantive to the present participle. Thus, Maithili 'dekhaitacch', Magahi 'dekhait-hai', Bhojpuri, 'dekhait-bate', he is seeing. But Magahi has also a special form of the present, viz., 'dekha-hai' and so has Bhojpuri, 'dekhe-la', he sees or will see. Finally, the whole system of verbal conjugation is amazingly complex in Maithili and Magahi, but it is as simple and straightforward in Bhojpuri as it is in Bengali and Hindi. There are minor differences between the three dialects, but they need not detain us here. Let us move on to discuss each dialect separately.

Maithili : Sub-area

Maithili is, properly speaking, the language of Mithila. According to

Mithila Mahatmya, a Sanskrit work of considerable merit, Mithila is bounded on the north by the Himalaya mountains, on the south by the Ganges, on the west by the river Gandak, and on the east by the river Kosi. It, thus, includes the present districts of Champaran, Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga, as well as the strip of the Nepal Tarai which runs between these districts and the lower ranges of the Himalayas. Maithili, however, extends farther beyond the river Kosi and occupies the greater part of the district of Purnea, and has, moreover, crossed the Ganges, and is now spoken over the whole of the south Gangetic portion of the Bhagalpur district, the eastern part of the south Gangetic portion of the Monghyr district, and in the north and west of the Santal Parganas.

Maithili is the only one of the Bihari dialects which has a literary history. For centuries the Pundits of Mithila have been famous for their learning, and many of their works were written in Sanskrit. The earliest writer of Maithili of whom we have any record was the celebrated Vidyapati. He was the first of the old master singers whose short religious poems dealing principally with the Radha and Krishna myth exercised powerful influence on the religious history of Eastern India. Vidyapati had many imitators in Mithila itself, among whom may be mentioned Umapati, Nandipati, Ramapati, Mahapati, Jayananda, etc. who wrote volumes of devotional songs and hymns. A number of Maithili dramatists and poets also contributed to this tradition. During the last seventy years, Maithili has witnessed a remarkable revival under the enlightened guidance and literary patronage of the Maithili Maharaja of Darbhanga. It has a good literature, and in course of the last twenty years it has been included as a subject for under-graduate teaching not only in Mithila but in other places also. In Calcutta, Patna and Allahabad, for example, it is taught at the university level.

Culturally, Mithila is a region of glorious tradition and rich history, which it retains even to the present day. The Brahmanic way of life has always dominated this area. The Maithili Brahmans, famous for their orthodoxy and pious way of life throughout India, have maintained their ancestral characteristics inspite of several conquests. This Brahmanical domination has left ineffaceable marks upon the rest of the population. The Maithili Brahmans marry among their own caste as well as within their linguistic territory. They consider it derogatory to marry outside it. They are proud of their heritage, their language, their mythological heroes as well as of the sacred places that fall within their territory. However, they show great regard for places of pilgrimage that are recognised as sacred by tradition. Though they are located in other parts of the country, they frequently visit such religious places.

Sober and polite, orthodox and fatalistic, the Maithili-speaking people are highly tradition and religion-oriented. It might be of special interest to the supporters of Whorfian concept that in Maithili, there are no words and gramma-

tical forms to address anybody without respect and hospitality. Even the small babies, the low untouchables, and persons who have committed some crime or sin are addressed in respectable terms. In the other two dialects, the situation is different. In Magahi, there is practically no word for respect, and 're' which is used to refer to inferior persons in Bhojpuri, is very frequently used in Magahi.

Magadhi or Magahi : Sub-areas

Magahi is originally the language of the people inhabiting the ancient Kingdom of Magadha (now often called Magah) corresponding to what now constitutes, roughly speaking, the district of Patna, together with the northern half of the district of Gaya. It contained at different times three famous capital cities. The oldest was Rajgriha, the modern village Rajgir, whose most celebrated king was Jara-Sandha who ruled over the central part of India. In the middle of the sixth century B.C., it was ruled by Bimbisara, famous as a patron of Buddhism. Bimbisara's son and successor founded the city of Patliputra (now known as Patna) which, later, became the capital of Magadh in succession to Rajgriha. Here, in the latter half of the third century B.C., were the headquarters of the Great Asoka under whom Buddhism was finally adopted as the State religion. In the two districts of Patna and Gaya, Magadhi in some form or the other was spoken.

Magahi, as the native language, however, is not confined to the country of Magadha only. It is also spoken all over the rest of Gaya and the district of Hazaribagh; as also in some areas in the districts of Palamau, Monghyr and Bhagalpur, and in the Dhanbad district in the south-east. Over the whole of this area it is practically one and the same dialect, even though there are some local variations.

Near the city of Patna it is full of idioms belonging to the North-Western provinces because of the strong Muslim elements prevalent there. On the eastern border, Magahi meets Bengali. The two languages do not combine, but the meeting place is a bilingual one where they live side by side. Actually this marks the area of linguistic transition, and recently, on the recommendation of the States Reorganisation Commission, the Government of India transferred a portion of it to the Bengali-speaking State.

Magahi has no indigenous written literature. There are many popular songs current throughout the area in which the language is spoken, and strolling bards recite various long epic poems which are known more or less over the whole of northern India. One of the songs of Gopi Chandra has been published by Grierson, with an English translation in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Grierson, 1855). Portions of another popular folk song, known as Lorik, has been published, in *Notes on the District of Gaya*. Christian missionaries have published a series of religious works including the Bible in Magahi.

A band of Magahi scholars are now making efforts to revive Magahi, and folk songs are being collected and published. An organisation has been formed to collect old manuscripts, and a Magahi journal is also published from Patna. However, at present, it is not considered as effective a dialect as the other two, Maithili and Bhojpuri.

Both Magadha as a seat of ancient Hindu Kings, and Magadhi as their State language were well-known. But their old pride and heritage are now lost. Magahi nowadays is condemned by speakers of other Indian languages as being rude and uncouth like the people who use it. In fact, the principal difference between it and Maithili is that the latter has been under the influence of learned Brahmans for centuries, while the former has been the language of the people who have been dubbed as 'a boor, low and uncultured' since the Vedic times (*Atharva Veda* V. xxii). Moreover, this area has always been the cockpit of foreign invasions, and so could not develop and maintain its ancient glory. To an Indian, one of its most objectionable features is its habit of winding up every question, even when addressed to a person held in respect, with the word 're'. In other parts of India this word is used in addressing inferior or younger people or when speaking contemptuously.

We do not have much data to demonstrate the differences in customs and manners of these three sub-groups. But even superficial observation gives an impression of the regional specialization. Owing to geographical bottlenecks, linguistic differentiations, and regional cultural traditions, there is seldom any case of marriage relations between the Magahi-speaking and the Maithili-speaking people. The Magahis also practise regional endogamy. Only in the last twenty years a few inter-regional marriages have been recorded.

Bhojpuri : Sub-area

Bhojpuri is, properly speaking, the language of Bhojpur, the name of a town and pargana in the north-west of the district of Shahabad. It is a place of some importance in the history of modern India. The town was the original headquarters of the Dumraon 'King', and the famous battle of Buxar was fought a few miles west of it.

The language called after Bhojpur has spread far beyond its limits. It reaches on the north, across the Ganges, and even beyond the Nepal frontier, up to the lower ranges of the Himalayas from Champaran to Basti. On the south, it has crossed the Sone and covers the great Ranchi Plateau of Chotanagpur, where it finds itself in contact with Bengali of Manbhum, with Oriya of Singhbhum and the scattered tribal languages of Chotanagpur plateau.

The area covered by Bhojpuri is some fifty thousand square miles. According to the 1961 Census, the number of people speaking Bhojpuri, Magahi and Maithili come to be 7,842,722; 2,818,492; and 4,982,615, respectively. So, from numerical strength, Bhojpuri is more important than the other two dialects

put together.

Bhojpuri has hardly any indigenous literature. A few books have been printed in it. Grierson has published its grammar and compared it with other regional dialects. The famous epic poem, *Allaha Uddal*, is also available in print. Numerous folk songs and tales are current over the Bhojpuri area and some of them have been collected by both the foreign and Indian scholars and folklorists.

The Bhojpuri speaking region is inhabited by a people curiously different from the other two groups who speak the other Bihari dialects. They are a fighting or warrior group. Most of them are Rajputs (Kshatriya), who, according to tradition, are specialists in war, and give protection to other varṇas or castes. An alert and active group, loving a fight for mere fighting's sake, they are now spread all over Northern India, each man ready to carve his fortune out of any opportunity which may present itself to him.

These people have penetrated into the big cities and towns of India, and are usually recruited in the police or military services, or as private watchmen. With them they have brought their simple but virile dialect, Bhojpuri, which has become very popular among these professional groups and are spoken by them, though they may not belong to the native Bhojpuri area. Opler, Cohn, Planalp, Singh, have studied villages in the Bhojpuri-speaking areas and they have noticed the amount of feuds, rivalry, boldness, and virility that characterise this area. It is left for the linguist to establish the relationship between their language and culture; it remains to be studied, how far 'code influences cognition or vice versa'.

Tribal : Sub-area

In addition to the Bihari language and dialects discussed above, the geographically, ethnically, and linguistically distinct part of the Chotanagpur is characterised by the tribal languages of Mundari and Dravidian families.

The tribal population now concentrated in the once isolated districts constitutes another sub-area in the analysis of culture-areas of Bihar, with more or less subsistence economy, animistic rituals, 'primitive' customs, and, above all, a distinct style of life and world-view. This tribal belt is geologically one continuous unit of the Chotanagpur and Rajmahal Plateau, and cover the administrative districts of Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Palamau, Dhanbad, Singhbhum, and the Santal Parganas. According to the 1951 census, about four million tribal people inhabit these districts, which is approximately 30 per cent of the total population of the area. In some of these districts, namely, Ranchi (60 per cent), the Santal Parganas (44 per cent) and Hazaribagh (36 per cent), the tribal population is high. The 1941 census report enumerated forty-five tribes of various sizes, but in the later censuses, 29 tribes have been declared as scheduled tribes. They are also found scattered in some other districts, but this may be

ignored for the present. Some of the more important of these tribes are the Santal (15,534,646), the Oraon (638,490), the Munda (519,743), the Ho (349,645), the Bhumij (152,992), the Kharia (88,777), the Savaria Paharia (68,654), the Asur (4,388), and the Birhor (2,499).

Racially, these tribes have been classified as Proto-Austroloid (Guha, 1944), and linguistically, most of the tribal languages except Kurukh and Malto belong to the Mundari-group. In a comprehensive study of their cultural ecology, level of socio-cultural integration, and, above all, the nature-man-spirit complex, these tribes have been classified into four cultural types—(1) Forest hunting type, (2) Hill-cultivation type, (3) Plains-Agriculture type, (4) Simple artisan type.

While it is not possible to go into the ethnographic details of each type, which has been done elsewhere (Vidyarthi, 1958), it may, however, be pointed out that the terms used for classification indicate roughly the ecological environment as well as the economic occupation of each type. With each type goes a particular type of settlement pattern and socio-cultural integration.

To conclude, this paper emphasises the importance of area approach for correct understanding of the unity as also of the varieties of Indian civilization in all its complexities. The hurried review of the classification researches on the racial, linguistic and cultural characteristics of the Indian population establishes certain overlapping areas in respect of distribution of race, language and culture. With the case study of Bihar as one of the cultural-linguistic areas, the study establishes a set of primary and secondary criteria for determining such a cultural area, cultural sub-area and cultural type. This paper also refers to the applicability of the cultural-ecological approach to the study of tribal groups living in the same geographic regions but having contrasting environments. It is also hoped that this general framework and methodology applicable to the study of Bihar cultural area, may prove applicable for a similar study in other parts of India, with appropriate modifications, wherever necessary.

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SACHCHIDANANDA H. VATSYAYAN

Language and Identity

THE Japanese have no word for 'man'. The word they use is made up of two elements meaning 'human' and 'between'; so that man is merely the 'human between'. In Hindi—in the Indian languages generally—it may be said that there is no exact equivalent for the English word 'duty'; the words used carry rather more the meaning of repayment of a debt.

Now it is possible to conclude that the Indian, therefore, has no sense of duty; certainly Baden-Powell drew a similar conclusion from his assertion that 'the Indian languages had no word for honesty'. By the same token, one may conclude that the Japanese do not visualise themselves as men. But without carrying the point to absurdity one may consider how exactly 'Man doing his Duty' would be conceptualised within this Indo-Japanese framework. 'The human between retrieving his debt'. Between what and what? Between whom and whom? Whose debt or to what?

Of course, there are answers. There generally are answers to questions of this kind. In fact one might even say that the more complex the questions the more elaborate the answers. But such answers are rarely easy ones and almost never very brief ones. And that is what makes language, for any serious or sensitive user, an expression of identity.

When I told a western friend that to the Japanese 'man' was only the 'human between', he asked the inevitable question which I had also earlier put to Japanese friends : 'Between what and what?' For myself, I had vaguely thought that it might refer to man's position between heaven and earth, the human between joining (or separating) the divine and the mundane. To make this notion plausible an analogy was available in the traditional

Japanese flower arrangement: in it there are always three levels or directions integrating the 'three principles'—the sky-principle, the man-principle, and the earth-principle. But I was told by my Japanese friends that the 'between' referred to other human beings—other 'human betweens'—and that it emphasised the social aspect of man. I am not sure if this is entirely true—I mean I am not convinced that the between-ness is to be understood as referring only to man's need of community, though certainly this must be one of the relationships connoted by the word. But if it were true, or even if it were true, the second question which again my western friend put to me would seem inevitably to arise : wasn't there a self-reference there—one which seemed to my western friend to be characteristic of the 'inscrutable' Japanese ? The 'human between' between other 'human betweens' : really, really . . .

The pursuit of the predicative part is no less mystifying. Retrieving a debt to whom? Both the Japanese and the Indian conceive of duty as part of a code of cosmic relationships in which one is endlessly incurring and repaying debts—debts to the gods, to the race, to society, to the parents, to the teacher—in short to everybody with whom one ever has or has had anything to do.

This is not a preface to an exercise in metaphysics. It is a preface to a statement about language. The point is that when I say "Man doing his Duty", and when I say "the human between retrieving a debt", I am on the one hand making interchangeable and seemingly identical statements, translating one statement into the other; but on the other hand, I am simultaneously making two completely different statements also—two profounder and more far-reaching statements too. Each carries with it a statement of a world-view of which I may or may not be conscious, but which cannot be separated from the words in which it is expressed. The man who naturally talks of 'Man doing his Duty' lives in a different world-order from the man who thinks of 'the human between repaying his debts'.

It is through the language I speak that I choose the world-order in which I live; or rather I am chosen by the world-order to which I belong : I am chosen, I am assigned a place, given a function, given the freedom to fulfil it.

Language is the most powerful and the most effective instrument of culture, because it is the most important vehicle for the sense of belonging. It follows negatively, of course, that language can be a powerful divisive force. We would not have to go far to seek illustrations of this negative power. But such power stems from an exaggerated sense of threatened identity. That sense of identity itself is wedded to language and a product of language *in use*. For, before one begins to belong to language, language must belong to him; and this belonging comes neither by birth nor by the study of grammar but by use. The deeper, the more extensive, the more comprehensive the use of language, the richer it becomes and the more it enriches its users. And such a use of language is not an exigent or a concomitant use; nor the use that an adminis-

trator, or a public relations man, a merchant or even a scholar might make. It is only when a commitment to language means a commitment to experience in that language, that the use of language is enriching; only language so used may be considered an instrument of culture and of identity.

I am convinced that such a view of language and its contribution to the identity of the user is valid at all times and places. To say so *could* imply that it need not be argued from time to time, or even asserted at all. We do not go about proving that two and two make four. But it seems to me that there is a present context in which we do need to re-assert this, a context in which we not only have to claim again that two and two make four, but to try and *prove* it; because there is a very real sense in which it has ceased to be true. For the twos have continuously been whittled down while the fours have been steadily inflated. We will all remember George Orwell's wry comment about certain kinds of socialism in which 'all men are equal but some are more equal than others'.

While it would be my effort to concentrate on the writer's or the creative use of language and its bearing on the defence or the achievement of identity, the argument cannot be limited to literature because it is impossible today to consider literature in isolation. Politics and its techniques for creating mass opinionon the one hand, and the totally apolitical world of Big Business creating patterns of mass responses on the other, have set up inflationary spirals in the world of language currency which a writer is pitted against. One need not mention journalism and state bureaucracy separately here: they fall into their places in one or the other of the two categories named above. Journalism may sometimes seem to belong in one, and at others in the other category, but is seldom seen to be outside the ambit of both. On rare occasions, when journalists or editors have shown a concern for language as an intrinsic value, they have been regarded as moving outside their proper field, or indulging in snobbism to inveigle a particular kind of client, or just putting on airs ! In short, it is recognised that Politics and Business do and must destroy value in terms of language; the 'man in the street' tends also to accept this as inevitable, and therefore somehow right: what is he to do anyway, if he is in what turns out to be only a one-way street?

However acute the dislike of the writer today may be for the stance of a literary St. George rescuing the linguistic damsel-in-distress, there is no escape from the realisation that the Rape of the Mind is in essence the Rape of Language and that language is today subject to the grossest violence and abuse all over the world.

The writer resents having to strike heroic poses. It is not only that the temper of the times is against such an attitude, or that the individual has been cut down to size (or perhaps to less than size) in a modern world and also been made so acutely conscious of his puny stature. It is also that so far as language

is concerned, he cannot forget that language is not and cannot be his exclusive estate: that besides being the means for the creative pursuit of values and the communication of intrinsic experience, words are, have been, and must continue to be, the vehicles of countless ordinary, commonplace and even insignificant purposes and activities. Not only that, the writer cannot dismiss either these activities or such uses. For, besides the fact that these are often the material of his own creations, in dismissing them he would run the risk of preciosity, and even incomprehensibleness. Thus, though he fights an enemy, he cannot barricade himself against the enemy: he has to allow his defences to be infiltrated, to establish rapport and even a *modus vivendi* with the enemy. It need hardly be said that these additional compulsions do not go to make a situation palatable that was distasteful to begin with.

Is there something new in the writers' situation today, or have these pressures always existed?

Language has, of course, always been the medium of common place pursuits: in that respect there has not been a fundamental change. But while in the past language so used still recognised precision, a certain congruence of word and meaning, as a value, it seems no longer the case today. I am not referring to the hypocrisies of polite intercourse, or even of orthodox diplomacy, where a set of known conventions enabled people to understand precisely what words stood for, even if they were made to stand for meanings other than the established ones. In such use there was a substitution, but always within a framework of correspondence or equivalence : something that can no longer be said today. Meanings today become relative to the needs and purposes of the user—in this case the State, the political leader, or the business boss—and these purposes are *not made known* to the other side—to the people on whom (I could almost say *against* whom!) words are used: there is no shared or known convention.

Those of us who use cars or hope to own a car one day think of themselves as having a 'big' car or a 'small' car—some choosing on the basis of their needs, others on the basis of what they could afford. But if you are in the U. S. A. you cannot be sure any more, unless of course you share the American compulsion to go for the biggest. Indeed you have to subscribe to it whether you will do it or not : you have the choice of the 'big' car or the 'biggest little compact' car—never the 'small' one. There cannot be anything small in the American dream: or rather the things that *are* small cannot be referred to as being such. You are in a Jumbo-sized rat-race, as it were: you may be allowed to be a "giant-sized midget", if you can figure out what proportions that gives you; but you cannot be just the ordinary little man. Regardless of the measure of your need, you cannot buy anything small: you have the choice of Giant, Jumbo, Economy or Family sizes; you buy not at such-and-such a price but at so much 'off' what you therefore assume the price must be. So that everything offered

to you seems to be *relative* to a standard or norm and bigger or better than that standard or norm; but you never really encounter such an entity because *it does not in fact exist.* You live in a universe that has been *relativised* not just to an *abstraction* but to something *non-existent.* And you are deliberately, calculatingly made increasingly dependent on this basis of evaluation: all your judgments of value have to be referred to something which does not in reality exist, a fictitious something to which a value is assigned from time to time based on the businessman's idea of what constitutes a fair profit—for *him.* How much better would be the simple self-reference of the 'human between'—even if that, really were merely a self-referent term!

We know that an analogous situation exists in politics. It is not only the climate of the cold war that debases language, as words of abuse are flung across sensitive geographical or ideological frontiers, whether it be a word-war between the East and the West, or a mud-slinging match between the two colossi of the so-called East, or whether it be the counterparts of these antinomies within a country. We can recognise a double process going on all the time : words being used to mean what they do not ordinarily mean but creating a semblance of convention by maintaining a uniform level of aggressive violence or hysteria; and again words being used in a kind of code to which others have no key at all. Orwell talked of 'newspeak' and 'doublethink'; what we are witnessing is a super double-doublethink. One of the obvious consequences is that while in the past we could fall back on a dictionary to find the meaning of an unfamiliar word or two, discover unfamiliar recorded meanings of known words, today we run from one political interpreter to another discovering not meanings but theories regarding meanings—systems as elaborate and no less speculative than those perfected by compulsive gamblers. At school I had read the story of the Riddle of Countess Runa; it ended with what today seems a naive reassurance that 'though a woman does not mean what she says and does not say what she means, yet she always does mean something when she says something'. Today I would wonder if even the Countess could be quite sure of her meaning—or if she could even be sure of being the Countess! Wallace Stevens says :

> I am what is around me.
> Women understand this.
> One is not a duchess
> A hundred yards from a carriage.
>
> —'Theory', (Collected Poems, p. 86)

In India the debasement of language by politics and business has not gone so far. One might say that this is because India has not developed or advanced so far. 'Viva for the underdeveloped countries!' as a friend once wrote to me, changing from paper napkins to real linen as she changed from an American

airline to a South American one. We learn of these phenomena only through our acquaintance with English and what is being done to it and to other advanced languages around the world. An increasing knowledge of this debasement of language as a part of the West's progress—and in this context Russia is as much 'the west' for us as Europe or the U. S. A.—seems as inevitable a part of our education as English has been and continues to be.

When almost fifty years ago, a number of Indian writers began to chafe against the inadequacy of the Indian languages, their impatience was with what was to some extent a real inadequacy. Words and connotations did not exist in these languages, because the language had not been called upon to provide them. Scientific and developmental advance opened up new avenues of thought which demanded a new vocabulary. Where and the degree to which Indian languages were used to meet these demands, they rose to them; after all it is only use that creates language. The Indian writers of the 'twenties' were aware of the limitations of their languages and simultaneously removing those limitations. Amongst the major Hindi poets, for example, both Sumitra Nandan Pant and Suryakant Tripathi ('Nirala') complained that the language they inherited was inadequate; both at the same time enriched it by their use so that to us their protests might even seem excessive. They found, they *created* the language they needed for what they had to say.

Those of my generation repeated the protest. The language we were inheriting from Nirala and Pant and others seemed no longer adequate for our needs. Of course, we were making fresh demands on language, demands which were qualitatively different from those made by them. But in one vital sense we were together and shared the same concern. We did not in our impatience with Hindi consider that another language was or could be more adequate. In other words, our anguish was not that of a failure to translate, a failure attendant upon the inadequacy of the receiving language—our language. It did not even occur to us—it could not have occurred to us—that it might be possible for us to experience in one language what we were seeking to express in another. We struggled with our language, we fought it, in our anger and frustration we sometimes trampled upon it or tore it to shreds; but it was never anything but ours. Any hope of expression or communication we had could only be fulfilled through it. And so it was fulfilled. I have spent some forty-odd years being impatient with my language, an impatience I have frequently expressed in prose and verse, but I have never found the language inadequate for anything that I felt deeply enough and wanted strongly enough to say. I continue to be impatient; I continue to find the means in my language to say what I want to say. Each impatient struggle had brought me something new, something beautiful, rich, significant, for my growth and well-being; with each has come added confidence that this is how it can and must be. In order to make my language make me what I can be, I have to go on making my lan-

guage what it can be.

And thus I continue to have an identity, a sense of wholeness, of confidence that I *am*, that it is *I* who am, and that I am effective. I continue to have a language.

Others have felt impatient too; younger people, people who should have been more confident and effective; people who, if they had the greater demands to make on language, had also a slightly better-equipped medium at hand to serve their needs. Not all of them, however, have achieved the same relationship with their language. May I be permitted to observe that they have also not achieved the sense of identity or wholeness; and that the two things are related. The reason for failure has been that they have not struggled with their own language hard enough, or with faith enough that it could rise to their needs. It may seem a cruel observation, and I should hate to be cruel to people younger than myself, but more and more of them appear to have been content with a situation in which they try to express in one language what they have only found possible to experience—what they believe can only be experienced—in or through another language. It is not language that has proved inadequate; it is they themselves who have been content to remain inadequate.

I said that the observation may seem cruel: it is in fact only a sad one. The delusion of the hope, held too long, too pathetically, by too many people, of finding complete adequacy in a foreign language has at last brought full punishment. A society *cannot* begin to live in a foreign language, the success of a few nothwithstanding; it can do so even less when such an attempt is being made simultaneously with a struggle for freedom and for dignity in freedom. It must live in its own language—or suffer alienation and a loss of identity. The English-speaking West may dismiss this view as linguistic chauvinism: its opinion would be suspect, to say the very least. And against it there is a mass of historical experience: the experience of every country that has been through a comparable situation. Notable contemporary examples are the Philippines and Indonesia; perhaps also several of the African countries could be quoted. The Philippines is perhaps the closest parallel; it provides also the most telling proof of my assertion.

The most important feature of creative writing by the new generation in India, the generation of the fifties and after, is this very sense of alienation and loss of identity. And it is difficult to say that the reasons might be identical with those of similar manifestations abroad. The Indian citizen has not yet been reduced to the insignificance and impotence *vis-a-vis* the machine, the Establishment, the State, the soulless and inhumanly efficient organisation of mass technology and industry which characterises western societies. Of course, the statement is relative and one can see the same inexorable trends here, but *it hasn't happened yet*. So that, while there is reason for Indian apprehension of the fearful *future* prospects, there is none whatever for moans of present

suffering. Either there is the *simulation* of western attitudes which deserves no more respect than the simulated labour pains that some over-sensitive husbands are said to suffer in sympathy with their wives; or the cause of the feeling of alienation and loss of identity is elsewhere. I suggest that it *is* elsewhere, and that it is in an unsatisfactory, a barren relationship with language. Almost a whole generation is, if one may be permitted to put it thus, living in *translation* rather than in original. And they are living in translation without knowing the original, and doubtful whether it exists or could have existed at all. Well might one exclaim with Shakespeare, 'Bottom, thou art Translated indeed!'

Why should a writer, a creater, make such a mistake? Has he been duped or caught unawares? No. It cannot be that there is a decline in intelligence; on the contrary, it is probably true to say that there has been a continuous development of intelligence and that a younger writer is by and large more intelligent and alert than his precursor. It is not a failure of the *intelligence* that is involved; the question is one of a dysfunction or underfunction of *sensibility*. The young writer has been educated into an inability to feel rather than an inability to think; the loss of identity is an emotional failure rather than an intellectual one. That this diagnosis is correct as shown by the presence of all the symptoms that go with emotional failure : anger, bitterness, the rage of impotence, the violence of frustration, the flaunting of perverted attitudes, an almost infantile exhibitionism, an overweening contempt that might even have had some positive value if its ultimate object were not the subject himself.

One may yet ask why. Why has the new writer allowed himself to be caught in this trap? And here, having made the cruel objective assessment of the malady, I want my view of his predicament to be a deeply sympathetic one. He will spurn sympathy, I know, and perhaps he *should*; but my sympathy is not something *given* to him, it is a recognition of experience shared at least in part. It is more; it is also a recognition that he is not entirely to blame. Indeed when the blame is apportioned it has to be admitted that he has been given less than a fair chance.

First of all, the demands of the non-creative uses of language have grown immensely and with great speed. The problems that Pant and Nirala faced were of the language that *they* would use; the problems that we faced were also those of our language though the peripheral problems of more general needs kept forcing itself into our consciousness. The writer today is all but swept off his feet by these problems—extraneous to creation in one sense but never to language, and therefore on one plane not to creative use either. We all learned our language anew from day to day, but the young writer today has more to learn every day, and is more oppressed by the fear of being outstripped. Those who appreciate the pressures of modern education will easily understand the

implications.

Secondly, the people who set themselves to solve—or who were employed to solve—these problems were not creators: they were often not even intensive common users of the language they were set to build. Inevitably they adopted the brick-and-mortar approach: weren't they *building* a language? Few, if any of them, had any real idea of how language grows and develops, how unpredictably and illogically some words find acceptance and others don't. They were scholars, linguists, specialists in different fields : they were eminently qualified to be invited to sit on committees. But when it came to making sentences, these makers of words were woefully inadequate and unspeakably dull. And I *mean* unspeakably dull : the dullness was sometimes relieved by the absurdity of their coinage, but the unspeakableness was as it were a hall-mark.

Thus we, with fewer problems, if never helped by experts, were never hindered. The younger writer with *theoretically* a much larger stock of words at hand, had in practice to go back to foreign words, because such new coinage as was offered obviously did not have the value-content it claimed. Let down too often by counterfeit coinage, he appears finally to have resigned himself to an estrangement with his language. The values he pursues seem to be found only in alien words; the words he has given seem all to have alien meanings. It is thus that he lives a life in translation, out of touch with the original and in inevitable uncertainty about the rendition.

The point is that *he need not do so*. There is no inevitable reason why he should fall back on the sterile expertise of the specialist or drink the brew from the scholar's cauldron. The case for coining scientific vocabulary does not apply to literature or to the humanities; it does not even apply fully to the quasi-scientific disciplines with which the modern writer has to be acquainted. The writer has merely lapsed into a habit of mind which looks to translation terminology. What is worse, he rarely reminds himself that translation is a two-way traffic and that finding precise and adequate English equivalents to Indian language terms is no less challenging and necessary a task. It may be that it is not *his* task; but that is not the point. The point is that it must not automatically be supposed—as all common Indian readers tend today to suppose, vitiating the climate and infecting also the writer's mind with their feeling of inadequacy and incompetence—that if there is a stalemate in translation the failure is necessarily that of the receiving language. I should refer also to the equally baseless if equally common assumption that if a stalemate in translation is being discussed, the translation in question must be from English into an Indian language—a tragic prejudgment of the capacities of Indian languages to which, unfortunately, too many young writers seem to subscribe, even if some only secretly.

I have said enough : perhaps more than enough. And of course I have said less than enough, because I have somewhat simplified what is really a

more complex process, projecting only the language aspect of the sense of alienation which is a feature of writing today. But this was the subject I had set myself, and this is an approach to language as well as to literary criticism that has suffered much neglect, with depressing consequences for both. We need to look at language afresh, not as a political issue or an inter-state issue, but a most important link with what is around us and as the means of self-recognition, indeed of self-creation, for that is what a discovery of identity is.

Perhaps I may now return to the Japanese word I began with : *nin-gen*—the 'human between'. Perhaps it is not necessary to become immediately involved with the second element and a better answer might be found in the first element. The crucial question is perhaps not what the human between is *between* but what makes him *human* so that he can be between. It is not the between-ness that is man's distinguishing feature, it is his humanness that makes him unique while yet keeping him between. And it is language that provides the basis for both : language is the most precious attainment of human culture, and the most valuable tool of living in community—living between. *It is the articulate human animal that is the human between : having language, man has identity.*

Problems of the Languages of the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution

S. MAQBUL AHMAD

The Position of Urdu in India today

URDU originated and grew up in India some centuries ago, most probably during the Sultanate period, in the bazars and military camps of northern India, (hence the term "Urdu", from Turkish *Orte*, meaning a military camp; in English "horde", etc.). It had a spontaneous and natural growth, being evolved as a means of simple and direct communication between the speakers of Persian and other languages. Over the centuries, it developed and flourished, ultimately acquiring literary forms, developing a diction, symbols, metaphors and similies, but its basic grammar and syntax remaining Prākrit, which it still has today. It was in the nineteenth century that Urdu developed a rich literature of its own. It was during this period that the great literateurs of Urdu enriched the language with their contributions to poetry, fiction, prose, essays and other aspects of literature. It was during this period, again, that prose writers like Mirza Ghalib and Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan gave Urdu prose a simple and popular touch. They simplified the prose style, so as to make the language comprehensible to the common masses, while in the earlier periods literary Urdu was heavy and loaded with difficult grammatical combinations. This was the early formative period of the language. It was enriched not only by Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit terminology (specially nouns and adjectives), but it also derived linguistic vigour, rich literary forms and colour from the various dialects as spoken in the so-called Hindi-speaking areas of today.

Another aspect of Urdu's growth was the development of the legal, scientific, philosophical, political and diplomatic literature. In this respect also, the growth was natural because of the needs and requirements of the time. After the fall of the Mughal Empire, Persian gradually receded into oblivion

as the official language of the government. Urdu was growing fast and due to its inherent dynamic character, it was developing into a multi-purpose language, apart from being the language of mass communication (in its simpler form). Some of the Indian states like that of the Nizam of Hyderabad, made abortive attempts to raise its calibre and tried to use it in the Osmania University as the medium of instruction. But these attempts failed due to the mechanical methods of implementing the translated forms and for other reasons.

Hindi-Urdu controversy was first raised during the nineteenth century at the Fort William College, Calcutta, and for the first time a distinction was made between Hindi and Urdu as two separate languages. But by this time English had taken the official position in some Presidencies of the Indian Empire. However, Urdu and Hindi continued to grow side by side, and like communal politics, the two languages gradually became the source and basis of communal outlook, and in the modern times, became deeply involved in the politics of the two-nation theory. However, neither could replace English in official administrative work, except that Urdu was used by certain states like Rampur, Bhopal and Hyderabad as the language of administration, just as Hindi was used by some other states like Gwalior, Indore, etc., for official purposes. However, until Independence, neither Hindi nor Urdu was fully developed to be used for purposes of education, though each had its own literature, and administrative and legal terminologies.

With the dawn of Independence, both Hindi and Urdu entered new phases of their life. As both were involved in communal politics of the time, the natural growth of a common link language was held in check; nay, the would be link language was mutilated in its very infancy. The dream of Gandhiji for a *lingua franca*, Hindustani or Hindi, was never fulfilled. During the twenty years of our independence, thanks to the policy followed by some of the states, a greater gulf than ever before has been created between Hindi and Urdu on the one hand, and between Hindi and the masses, between Urdu and the masses, on the other. Though Hindi and Urdu have a common source, the former took the role of the vanquisher, and the latter, that of the vanquished. Hindi has been given official as well as political support, but it has grown and continues to grow in its present form as a language of anybody but the masses. The more the problem of Hindi is sought to be solved from the official quarter, the more problems the solutions create. Hindi has become heavily Sanskritized, and hence incomprehensible to a large majority of the people, who in their common parlance speak their own local dialects. Political agitators in the Hindi-speaking areas must use the local dialects of the villagers to whom they have promised a new paradise. Briefly speaking, although Hindi literature has advanced, the present form of Hindi has not yet become the link language of the Hindi-speaking areas. The local dialects still persist. On the other hand, Urdu which vied with Hindi till 1947, was pushed back to a subordinate

position after Independence. It became a martyr to the political manoeuverings, communal prejudices, and administrative jugglery in many states, especially Uttar Pradesh, which is the home and cradle of the language. Urdu is hardly the language of any of the regions of Pakistan, where Panjabi, Sindhi, Pushto, Baluchi, Bengali and other languages are spoken. It has been given an official status no doubt, but apart from the refugees who have gone there from U. P. and Bihar, it is hardly spoken by the masses, though it has flourished there, especially in the Punjab, as a literary language.

India is the homeland of Urdu and will remain so. But, unfortunately, in its own home it has been given a step-motherly treatment. There has been a systematic effort to eliminate it from the Indian scene. In U. P., the three-language formula was so interpreted as to oust Urdu at the high school level. The third language, besides Hindi and English, was not Urdu, but Sanskrit. It is interesting to note that while in states like Maharashtra, Gujarat and Andhra, Urdu schools continued to exist in the post-Independence period, in U. P. and Bihar, such schools were not encouraged at all. It is surprising that while the state governments subsidized religion-oriented schools like the *madrasas*, Urdu medium schools were not given any financial assistance or encouragement at all. While, on the one hand, the state governments concerned so reorientated their educational policies at the primary and the high school levels that Urdu was gradually ousted and the Urdu-speaking children were obliged to learn Sanskrit in its place, on the other hand, no financial assistance or encouragement was given by the governments for the growth and development of Urdu as a literary or scientific language. The net result of this attitude has been that the number of Urdu-knowing people has substantially decreased. The new generation, especially of the age group between 5 and 25 years or so, hardly knows Urdu. It is very likely that within the next fifteen or twenty years when the present generation of Urdu-knowing people, say of the age group between thirty and sixty, will leave the world of the living, Urdu will also have disappeared from the Indian scene.

The only progress that Urdu seems to have made during this period of its critical existence is in the field of literature. It has produced a number of excellent writers and poets who are trying to evolve a simple and popular form of the language which for political reasons, is being called Hindi. This transformation is taking place in many spheres of our cultural life, but mainly in the film industry. Thanks to the efforts of this elderly group of Urdu writers, Urdu still survives in such fields of our cultural life. But it has not advanced in any other field, either as a medium of instruction, as a scientific language, or even as a journalistic language. Urdu press is very much behind the Hindi press, and once the present generation of Urdu reading public, whether in U.P., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab or Rajasthan, passes away, Urdu press will also be replaced by the Hindi press. Whatever one may desire

or wish, the course of events as they are taking place, is likely to lead to a complete eclipse of Urdu at some stage in the future.

There is a tendency among Urdu writers today to transliterate their works or works of earlier masters into the Devnagri script. This is a good step forward in a way. It will not only popularize Urdu literature among the Hindi-speaking people, but will also enrich Hindi literature. Needless to say that it is done from a commercial point of view, because the present-day younger generation, knows only the Nagri script and the market for the Arabic script is diminishing on the whole.

Another important factor with regard to the future of Urdu in India that must be considered here is that Urdu, like Hindi, has primarily been an urban language. It never took roots in the countryside and the villages where local dialects or various forms of local languages have been current long before these two languages came into being. In fact, Urdu, in its present state of orphanhood, is more likely to die an urban death than to replace any of the dialects anywhere. Although Hindi and Urdu have a common grammatical structure and resemble each other in their simpler forms, each has acquired a distinctive literary form and a special linguistic character, so much so that today they are easily distinguishable from each other and have a particular stamp which can be easily recognized. Hence, it would be a mistake to argue that Hindi and Urdu are two forms of the same language. Urdu literature is quite distinct from Hindi literature.

Apart from the tragic state of affairs described above, the most disturbing factor is the involvement of Urdu in the communal politics of today. Urdu is being used as an excuse for the communal fury of one community against the other. Unfortunately, Urdu has been associated with the Muslims alone. There cannot be a greater untruth than this. The large majority of the Muslims of south, central and western India do not speak Urdu at home. The small minority that does, is devoted to the regional language as much as it is to the mother tongue, namely, Urdu. This politicalization of Urdu is, in my opinion, the most dangerous political trend in the country. Linguistic controversies and regionalism on linguistic basis in the case of other languages like Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali, Assamese, and so on, find their own solutions, even though after a lot of bloodshed, in the form of the language finding its own rightful place in a given region to which it belongs. But in the case of Urdu, it cannot find its home anywhere in India except perhaps in western Uttar Pradesh, but it is precisely in this region that Urdu is being deliberately eliminated. Hence, Urdu in its own home is an orphan without any protection, and one community is singled out as Urdu-speaking and with this excuse, persecuted. In order to maintain communal harmony in the country, it is necessary not to look at the issue of Urdu from a communal point of view, but to judge it from a purely secular and cultural angle.

I will not go into the various controversies that are raging amongst the protagonists of Urdu in the country today, namely, whether or not Urdu should become the second language of a particular state, or whether or not it should be given the status of a regional language. The fact remains that Urdu has suffered severe setbacks during the last twenty years, and the present-day agitations in support of Urdu merely represent the faint hopes of the Urdu-speaking peoples which they have from the newly formed United Front Governments. However, their hopes and aspirations recoiled upon them in the ugly form of communal disturbances and anti-Urdu agitations. Whether or not Urdu is given the status of a second language or that of a regional language, is immaterial. What is important is that it should be given its rightful place and granted safeguards for its healthy growth and development among the people who speak it. It may not be a bad idea for the Government of India and the Parliament to appoint a commission to go into the various aspects of the crisis arising in the name of Urdu and to deliberate upon the future of Urdu itself. Urdu is one of the most precious gems that adorn the linguistic crown of our motherland. If it is allowed to fall, the crown will look ugly and will sparkle less than what it has done so far.

PREM NATH BAZAZ

The Problem of Languages in India

THE Indian Society is composed of over 500 million people speaking nearly 290 different dialects and more than a dozen languages.

Before Independence, the British rulers took little interest in the development of the regional languages. More than 150 years ago English was introduced in the schools and popularised among the educated classes in order that the rulers and the ruled might be able to understand each other for the efficient administration of the Indian subcontinent. The language was no doubt imposed on the subject nation by the alien rulers, but it proved a blessing in disguise in so far as it became an effective force to unify the subcontinent as nothing else had become in its 5000-year old history. But English could not reach the masses who talked in their own dialects; it therefore remained confined to the small fringe of no more than 5% of the population who were educated in schools and colleges established by the British administrators.

During the long drawn struggle for freedom from British Imperialism, the Indian leaders decided that soon after the achievement of independence not only will the different Indian languages be fully developed and the country reorganised on linguistic basis but Hindi or Hindustani will also be made the national language, which will replace English and serve as the link between the different regions to preserve the unity of the vast land and of its big population.

After Independence earnest attempts have been made to implement, among other things, these resolutions on re-organisation and on the language problem; appropriate articles (343 to 351) have been incorporated in Chapter XVII of the Constitution of India and steps taken on the administrative level

to fulfil the aims. The Constitution-makers recommended that the following 14 principal languages should be recognised and accordingly they have been enumerated in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution: 1. Assamese 2. Bengali 3. Gujarati 4. Hindi 5. Kannada 6. Kashmiri 7. Malayalam 8. Marathi 9. Oriya 10. Punjabi 11. Sanskrit 12. Tamil 13. Telegu and 14. Urdu. Recently one more language, Sindhi, has been added to the number making a total of 15 as the regional languages of India. It was also agreed upon by the Constitution-makers, after a good deal of heated discussion, that Hindi in Devnagri script would be the lingua franca to replace English and serve as the link between the different states.

While carrying out these directives and provisions of the Constitution, the national government is encountering considerable difficulties, mostly in connection with the link language.

Hindi in various dialects has been in the past and continues to be at present the mother tongue of the people living in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan and certain adjoining areas. The educated sections in these states are proficient in this language. In the rest of the country it is practically unknown among the masses and very few of the educated can speak it well. Therefore, there is no unanimity in the country to accord to Hindi the status of the lingua franca or the official language. In the south, particularly in Madras, and in Bengal as well as in Kashmir, people stoutly oppose the provision of the Constitution in this behalf. Indeed, the Tamilians have declared in no uncertain terms that they will prefer to secede from the Indian Republic if Hindi becomes the lingua franca and is imposed on them against their wishes. The DMK, which was by no means a big political force a couple of years ago, fought the last general election on the slogan of opposition to Hindi and routed the Congress at the polls.

In 1963 DMK launched a big movement against Hindi paralysing the Congress administrative machinery. The late Prime Minister Nehru had to intervene, and could mollify the Tamilians and others in the non-Hindi states only by giving them a solemn assurance that English would be the associate language and be used for official purposes until the non-Hindi states voluntarily agreed to the constitutional provision of making Hindi as the lingua franca of India. To allay the misgivings of the people living in the non-Hindi states measures are now being adopted to incorporate the assurance in the Constitution.

With the reorganisation of states on linguistic basis a decade ago, the demand for the promotion and development of regional languages became insistent and forceful. These languages were not only made the medium of instruction in primary and secondary stages in schools, but steps are now being taken to replace English by them in the universities. There is a proposal that the state languages should also be the languages of the courts, including

the High Courts of Judicature.

While it is true that some of the state languages like Bengali and Tamil are fairly advanced it would be a travesty of truth to state that any one of them can favourably compare with English. Some of the state languages are not even worthy of being made the medium of instruction at the higher secondary stage. Kashmiri is so backward and undeveloped that it is yet to be introduced as a subject in the primary classes. It is, therefore, obvious that if through a misplaced enthusiasm English is ousted from the universities as the medium of instruction, Indian students will remain at a great disadvantage and their higher education and knowledge will be only in name.

There can be no gainsaying the fact that like every other free and self-respecting nation India must have a national language which will become the medium of instruction in the universities and also serve as the language of the Central Government, Supreme Court, and the High Courts. During the years of struggle for freedom, the Congress leaders envisaged that Hindi or Hindustani could become our lingua franca. At the time of the framing of the Constitution this view was reiterated and adopted by a majority vote in the Constituent Assembly. But Hindi suffers from many shortcomings and inadequacies; it cannot serve the uses of advanced science and technology; it is not a fully developed language, at any rate not as developed as English. Therefore, if the purpose of education is to promote knowledge of science and technology in the rising generations of our society, it is not desirable that Hindi should be forced on the country at this very moment.

Besides, some of the states are opposed to Hindi becoming the official language or the national language. They are stoutly refusing to introduce it as a compulsory subject in the schools. They insist that English should continue indefinitely to be the official and the link language. The people of the non-Hindi states have a fear that if Hindi is allowed to enjoy the high status envisaged for it, they will not be able to compete with the educated candidates from the Hindi-speaking states in the matter of examination for public services and in other walks of life. This fear is not groundless.

Education is in the concurrent list of subjects and both the Centre and the states have jurisdiction over it. So far no uniform policy acceptable to all the states has been evolved by agreement for the guidance of the educational authorities. Unfortunately, different plans have been formulated in different states which are being vigorously implemented. There is a tendency in certain states to make the mother tongue the medium of instruction up to the highest standard, including the universities. In the vain hope that this process will help to uproot English from the Indian soil and clear the way for making Hindi as the lingua franca, the Hindi lovers encourage this tendency. Surely the non-Hindi speaking states are fully aware of this move and by no means prepared to popularise Hindi in their part of the country, even though they are

equally enthusiastic to make the mother tongue the medium of instruction at the highest level. They are determined to continue English as a compulsory subject and as the link language. This will inevitably divide India into two zones after a few years with Hindi as the link language in one and English in the other.

In these circumstances, if the state languages become the media of instruction up to the highest level of education replacing English and if Hindi is taught compulsorily in certain states but not in others, it is bound to lead to chaos, disruption and disintegration of India. After only a few years a situation will arise in which the Indians will be able to talk and correspond only in their mother tongue and either in Hindi or in English. One Indian will become a foreigner to another and will need an interpreter to understand each other. While by learning English as a compulsory subject under the British rule India had been unified, and the Indians, though belonging to distant regions as Kashmir and Kerala, could talk and correspond with each other. In the new situation sought to be created through over-enthusiasm, one Indian will become an alien to another. This will ultimately end in the balkanization of the country, a disaster every patriot would do his best to avoid.

It will thus be seen that it is unwise to oust English, at any rate until Hindi is fit enough to take its place and efficiently serve the different purposes for the conduct of national affairs. English was, as stated earlier, foisted on the Indians by the foreign rulers and made popular during a rule lasting nearly two centuries. There are fanatics among Hindi-lovers who would not hesitate to popularise Hindi in the same manner, forgetting that after the achievement of independence this method cannot be applied and is destined to meet with vigorous resistance from the non-Hindi states.

Proposing the early removal of English some people argue that English cannot become the lingua franca because it will ever remain confined to a fringe of the educated population as it has been in the past; it can never become popular with the masses. It is forgotten that even when Hindi is freely accepted all over the country as the lingua franca, it will not be spoken by the masses in the non-Hindi states but only by the highly educated people. The common men and women will continue to speak and correspond in their provincial tongues. Even the large majority in the countryside of the Hindi states will speak their own respective dialects. Only those who have for any reasons to do inter-state business, political or commercial, will have to be proficient in Hindi as they have to be so in English at present. The vast majority of the people will know their mother tongue and will not bother to learn anything else.

Because English has virtually served as the link language in India for over a century and continues to do so even after twenty years of independence, many leaders and educationists forcefully advocate its retention and do not see any reason for replacing it by a new link language. This is a weighty argument and

the proposal, however irritating and challenging to our national pride, cannot be summarily dismissed as beneath contempt. It has to be seriously considered by balanced intellectuals and wise politicians. English has come to stay and is not only spoken by the educated classes but is also the mother tongue of one important, though small, community of Anglo-Indians. It is a part of our life and culture and attempts to banish it are bound to prove futile. English surely deserves to be included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution as one of our national languages.

In these circumstances perhaps the best course will be to enforce the three-language formula in the schools as accepted by the Government of India after getting the problem examined by expert committees and commissions. Every state should start educating the students by teaching them in their mother tongue, and introduce both Hindi and English as compulsory subjects from the 5th class onwards. The medium of instruction up to the higher secondary stage should be the mother tongue, but in the universities it should be English, to enable the students to derive the innumerable benefits of the rich literature in all subjects, particularly science and technology, about which this language has a rich literature. It will be suicidal if, influenced by blind parochialism, we attach undue importance to state languages or through narrow nationalism we overlook the shortcomings or inadequacies of Hindi. English has to continue as the medium of instruction in our universities and as the language at the Centre as well as in the Supreme and the High Courts till an unforeseable future; it will continue to be the link between the Centre and the states as also the inter-state link.

But though the transition period during which English will continue to hold the present position may be very long, it shall have to come to an end. The duration of the transition will depend on the kind of efforts made to develop Hindi and its literature as well as the method of approach in dealing with the recalcitrant non-Hindi states by the Central Government and the enthusiastic supporters of the language. We need not emphasise the fact that any suggestion to impose the language on unwilling people only complicates the issue and creates greater difficulties in the way of introducing it as the link language all over the country. The best method of inducing non-Hindi people to accept Hindi as the lingua franca and the medium of instruction in the universities is to make vigorous efforts to develop it so that in no branch of literature it remains inferior to English and also becomes popular in every state in the country.

The introduction of Hindi as a compulsory subject at the higher secondary stage will gradually make the educated classes familiar with the language. In course of time the stiff opposition in certain states will disappear. Meanwhile, if the Hindi lovers know their job, the literature will have made long strides and a time will come when there will be no insurmountable difficulty

in making Hindi the lingua franca, the link language or the national language of India whatever we might like to call it.

It is needless to add that no time limit can be fixed for the change over from English to Hindi. It should be obvious that impatience, intolerance and over-enthusiasm can only generate passion, ill will and strife which should be avoided in the interests of the unity of our people. The more Hindi zealots insist on adopting drastic steps the more stiff will grow the resistance against the learning of the language. It is the way to disunity and disintegration of India. Foreseeing this danger, Nehru had assured the non-Hindi sections of the Indian people that, firstly, though Hindi would be recognised as the national language of India as provided in the Constitution, English will enjoy the status of an associate language, and, secondly, that so long as the non-Hindi speaking states do not voluntarily accept to introduce Hindi as the link language, this assurance will hold good and English will continue to be used indefinitely.

Nehru proposed to call English as the associate language but the truth is that because of its merits in possessing unparalleled scientific and technological literature as well as being an international language, it will enjoy the position of the senior sister to Hindi for a pretty long time. There is no reason to feel shy in openly acknowledging that English brought about the unification of heterogeneous elements in this vast land and it is the one big force to maintain that unity. There is no question of discarding English which is the only window through which we can look at the world at large and smoothly conduct our international relations. Time may arrive, and perhaps will arrive, when Hindi can be promoted to the position of senior sister but that day is yet far off. And it is for the Hindi lovers to bring it nearer by patient, sustained and hard labour in the field of creative literature. Over-enthusiasm, impatience and intolerance can be of no avail to solve the problem; indeed, these will only vitiate the atmosphere through the generation of passions.

This Seminar can give a lead to the thinking, balanced and patriotic, in both Hindi and non-Hindi speaking areas by underlining the following essential processes which will enable us to find a sound solution of the language problem without either endangering the unity of India or lowering the required high standard of education :

1. The Indian or regional languages have to be developed and made the medium of instruction in the schools.
2. In order to preserve the unity of India and respect the national sentiment of the people there must be a national language which can be no other than Hindi.
3. The national language should be simple, to enable the people in all parts of the country to understand and speak it; only for scientific or technological purposes words may be borrowed or coined. But every

endeavour should be made to avoid uncommon words and difficult phrases.

4. Until Hindi is fully developed so as to be the effective vehicle for imparting scientific and technological education, it is essential that English should continue to be a compulsory subject in the schools and the medium of instruction in the universities; it should also continue to be the state language for communication between the Centre and the states as well as the language for use in the Supreme and the High Courts. There should be no time limit for changeover from English to Hindi. Even after the changeover English should continue to be a compulsory subject in the schools and an optional subject in the universities. English should also be included as a national language in the Eighth Schedule.
5. Means should be adopted to popularise Hindi in the non-Hindi states. It should be made a compulsory subject in all the schools from the 5th standard onwards. But until non-Hindi speaking states voluntarily agree to its becoming the national language, it should not be imposed upon them.
6. A uniform policy about the languages formulated after deliberation should be firmly implemented by the Centre and the state governments. The dilly dally attitude should be abandoned once and for all. It should be fully realized that the vacillating policy is bound to prove disastrous.

WILLIAM BRIGHT

Diversity and Unity in Languages of India

I MUST begin this paper first by expressing my gratitude for the honour of being invited to attend this seminar, and second by making a disclaimer as to my qualifications for being here. I have been a visitor in India over some period of time, I have been reading Indian books and periodicals for a number of years, and I have explored the structures of several Indian languages. Yet, after all, I am not an Indian, and cannot speak definitively on the problems of language and society in India. Whatever I may say must be taken as the impressions of an outsider, which can at most, only *suggest* alternatives to those Indian scholars and statesmen whose task it is to formulate language policies.

In linguistics, the field in which I work, it has long been recognised that the links between language and society are of the closest sort. Unfortunately, however, this recognition has most often taken the form of mere dutiful pronouncements as to the importance of language for society, and vice versa. Far too few scholars have attempted even to ask, much less answer, such vital questions as these : what is the *exact* nature of the relationship between language and society? Where linguistic structure and social structure are correlated, can we predict that one will dominate and the other follow? If a particular change occurs in language, what reflection of this can we expect to find in society, and vice versa? These are questions of more than academic importance; they are relevant not only to the linguist, the sociologist, the anthropologist, and the social psychologist, but also to the statesman and the government officer who must formulate and implement policies of *language planning*, that is, policies intended to guide linguistic usage in channels which will be most beneficial to the nation.

In the last few years, linguists and sociologists have, however belatedly, begun to focus interest on these topics. We are beginning to get explicit details, rather than vague generalities, about the interrelations between language and society. And we have acquired a new term for this interdisciplinary field: the word is *sociolinguistics*. What, exactly, is sociolinguistics? One may say, allowing maximum latitude, that it comprises all those areas of study in which interest is shared by sociologists and linguists. But our aim is now to leave such vagueness behind, so I will try to be more explicit. Sociolinguistics, I propose, is the study of the patterned co-variation, the regularity of correlation, which exists between diversity of linguistic structure and diversity of social structure.

This definition, like most definitions, requires further explanation. It contains the important words "pattern" and "structure", in which the social scientist expresses his faith that human life is, after all, not entirely a collection of random events, but that it is, in many important ways, governed by consistent principles, principles which can be explicitly formulated as the linguist, for instance, formulates a rule of grammar. An equally important word, however, in this definition of sociolinguistics, is the word *diversity*. And it is this concept of diversity which the new field of sociolinguistics had made its particular subject matter.[1]

In speaking of linguistic diversity, I refer basically to the simple fact that language is not uniform throughout time and space : different people speak differently. This is almost too obvious to need saying, and linguists have indeed given a great deal of attention to one particular kind of linguistic diversity, namely, that which exists between the usage of different historical periods. The study of this kind of diversity—for instance, the differences which we see between Old English, Chaucer's English, Shakespeare's English, and our own—is the subject matter of historical linguistics. What, then, of other types of diversity? What about diversity through space, as in the differences between the Hindi spoken in Delhi as compared with that spoken in Patna, in Nagpur, or for that matter in Calcutta or Bombay? Such differences are the subject matter of dialectology, a long-established branch of linguistics, to be sure, and yet a rather neglected one. And then what if we consider the different types of Hindi spoken by different communal groups within Delhi itself? or the different types of Hindi spoken by a single individual, depending on the circumstances in which he finds himself? These types of diversity, so closely related to social facts, are only now coming to receive detailed study, as sociolinguists turn increasing attention to such matters.

Any classification of sociolinguistic diversity must recognize at least two types of variables: one is the type of factor which conditions different linguistic choices; the other is the *degree* of difference which occurs. As regards conditioning, we may distinguish three principal factors. One is the social

identity of the speaker—or, in written language, the writer: we may adopt the terminology of the communication scientists and simply call him the *sender*. In Indian society, this factor becomes most apparent in the existence of communal dialects, which often permit one to identify the segment of society to which a person belongs if one can simply hear his speech. Similar phenomena of course exist in other countries, but the highly stratified society of India seems to have developed a correspondingly stratified pattern of social dialects, of a type unreported elsewhere. A second factor which conditions sociolinguistic variation is the social identity of the person spoken (or written) to, in other words, the *receiver* of communication. A simple example is the choice between the second person pronouns *tū*, *tum*, and *āp* in Hindi; and more complex cases are found in other Indian languages. Finally, there are elements which condition linguistic choice and which cannot be explained in terms of the individuals involved, but only in terms of the *situational contexts* of the communicative act. Differences between the literary and colloquial form of a language, or between formal and informal styles of speaking, are widespread in the world, and are especially notable in some languages of India; such differences may be described as conditioned by the nature of the situation, which may itself be formal or informal, sacred or secular, public or private. And it should be emphasized that all these types of conditioning factors will operate simultaneously, in a single situation: with every sentence that an individual utters, he is choosing, by the implicit rules of his society, the modes of speaking which are most appropriate to his own social position, the social position of his hearers, and the social situation in which he finds himself.

If we turn our attention to another variable of sociolinguistic diversity, namely its *degree*, we may again make a three-way distinction. The minimum degree of diversity will be that between mutually intelligible social dialects: this can be exemplified, in India, by the difference between caste dialects spoken in a single village. An intermediate degree of diversity is that which is often called *diglossia* : this refers to the coexistence of formal and colloquial styles, where the two have a common historical origin, but have diverged to such a degree that mutual intelligibility begins to break down. Such a situation is found, for instance, in Tamil Nad, where formal and colloquial Tamil are almost different languages; everyone learns a variety of the colloquial, as his mother tongue, but mastery of the formal language is only acquired through schooling. Finally, the greatest degree of diversity is found in those cases where completely separate languages are used in socially-determined alternation. This phenomenon is of course overwhelmingly common in a multilingual nation like India; one might easily find individuals in Delhi, for example, who use Tamil in the home, Hindi in the bazar, English in the school or office, and Sanskrit in the temple.

It is evident that, whatever type of linguistic diversity one wishes to study,

one can find abundant examples in India. Indeed, the degree of socially significant multilingualism and multidialectism in this country is such that scholars have come to speak of India as one of the "sociolinguistic giants" of the world. But while this state of affairs may hold interest and attraction for scholars, it is nevertheless clear that, for national welfare, India's linguistic complexity is more a headache than an asset. The problem of communication, which every nation must recognize as basic in education, in government, and in every other aspect of social life, is undoubtedly made immensely more difficult for India by this factor of sociolinguistic diversity. It is unnecessary to cite examples, since we read them in every morning's newspaper. It is clear that Indian statesmen and educators must give the most serious attention to this problem; it cannot be expected to solve itself.

I would like, however, to point out that we should not be too pessimistic about the problems of linguistic diversity in India. Great though the differences are, there are also elements held in common. There are, in the linguistic panorama of India, elements not only of diversity, but also of unity. In these elements of unity we can find a basis for optimism—and, more than that, a basis for a constructive program of language planning which can triumph over the problems of diversity.

To understand this unity, we must recall the linguistic history of India.[2] It is generally recognized that the major languages of modern North India are the offspring of Sanskrit. But it is also recognized that the Sanskrit language was not originally native to India; its close kinship to Old Persian, and its remoter kinship with the languages of ancient and modern Europe, show that Sanskrit must have been brought into India, from the north-west, during the Vedic times. But the speakers of Sanskrit did not encounter an uninhabited subcontinent when they entered India: on the contrary, the ruins of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa show us that a great pre-Aryan civilization existed in the Indus Valley. What was the language of that civilization? At present we do not know for sure, but we have clues; the existence in South India of an ancient and continuing high culture of Dravidian speech; the present-day existence of Dravidian tribal groups, scattered over Central India; and above all the present existence of the Brahui, a Dravidian-speaking group, in West Pakistan, adjacent to the Indus Valley. This evidence leads us to believe that an ancient Dravidian civilization probably existed in the north, and may have prevailed over most of the subcontinent.

Furthermore, there is linguistic evidence for such a belief. Wherever people of different languages meet, mutual linguistic influence is likely : words, sounds, and grammatical constructions may be borrowed in one direction or both. We would expect the language of the ancient Aryans to be influenced in this way, by the language spoken by the earlier inhabitants of the Indus Valley. And, indeed, we find such influence in the earliest Vedic tradition.

A Sanskrit word such as *phala* "fruit" cannot be traced in the Indo-European family : it is a loan word from Dravidian. The retroflex consonants of Sanskrit—the *ta-varga*—have no parallels in other Indo-European languages; they were evidently taken over from Dravidian, where they are very ancient. The Sanskrit grammatical construction which is sometimes called the gerund or absolutive participle, such as *bhuktvā* "having eaten", is foreign to the Indo-European family as a whole; this must also reflect the existence of a comparable construction in Dravidian.[3]

Such data as these make it plain that, from the earliest period of contact between Aryans and Dravidians, the two languages were interacting. The extent of influence in the direction from Sanskrit to Dravidian is of course very striking, especially in the field of vocabulary: the languages of South India have been borrowing Sanskrit words from ancient times down to the present day. The point that I wish to emphasize, however, is that linguistic influence between Aryan and Dravidian has been in *both* directions, and from the very earliest days. The result of this is that the languages of India, freely taking and giving elements of their neighbour languages over many centuries, have come to share more and more—have come, in fact, to participate in what one might call a common core of pan-Indian structure. The results of this may be seen if one tries to translate a Hindi sentence into Tamil, let us say, and also into English. The translation into Tamil, even if done in a relatively mechanical, word-by-word manner, may nevertheless be fairly satisfactory, because of the structural elements which Hindi and Tamil share. But a similar word-by-word translation into English is likely to produce unintelligible nonsense, because of the profound differences between the two languages. One might say that before a Hindi sentence can be put into English, it must be entirely *re-thought*; this is not necessary to the same degree when translating into Tamil, because the patterns of thought which underlie the two languages are already very similar.

There have, of course, been many factors which have brought the languages of India closer together. Besides the long-standing interchange between Aryan and Dravidian, there have been foreign influences; the Persian loan words which have spread over North India, and in weaker form even to the extreme South, have increased the pan-Indian vocabulary. The introduction of English has had a similar, but even more wide-spread effect: the use of dozens or hundreds of English loan words is now something shared, even by the uneducated, in every linguistic area of India. And in a different way, the spread of Brahmi script and its derivatives has also been a unifying factor, for in spite of the diverse shapes displayed by the modern Indian alphabets, they all (except of course for Persian-derived scripts, such as used for Urdu) are constructed on the same basis, namely that of the *akṣara*, and all use the same basic alphabetic order. Just as the grammatical structures of Indian languages can be

referred to shared principles of organisation, so also can their writing systems.

We may conclude that the linguistic scene is, in India, characterized not only by diversity, but also by elements of unity. It is surely desirable to build on this unity, to take maximum advantage of it in language planning. I would urge the leaders of India to take two steps: first, support should be provided for research by Indian linguists, on the detailed characteristics of this unity. Second, when formulating official language policy, emphasis should be given to *unifying* features, as identified by scholarly investigation, rather than to features which may be divisive. In spite of all India's cultural differences, there are elements of unity in Indian culture, and they have been the strength of the nation. Similarly, in spite of diversity in language, elements of linguistic unity are also there; their identification and utilization should be a task of high priority.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. See my "Introduction: The dimensions of sociolinguistics", in *Sociolinguistics*, ed. W. Bright, The Hague, Mouton, 1967.
2. M. B. Emeneau, "Linguistic prehistory of India", *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, 98, 1954, pp. 282-92.—I have also presented some of these arguments in my paper, "Language and culture in India", in *Milieu*, November 1967, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
3. M. B. Emeneau, "India as a linguistic Area", *Language*, 32, 1956, pp. 3-16.

S. M. KATRE

The Official Language and the National Languages of India

THE linguistic history of India shows, for the known historical period, the singular fact that the official language was never a national language: Sanskrit during the early period, generally recognized as the ancient period, Persian during the medieval period, and English during the modern period, have served the purpose of the official language without themselves becoming at any time truly national languages. Even during the period when Sanskrit could be considered to have been the means of communication among the people and not merely among the literate, as exemplified in Patanjali's Mahābhāṣya (*c.* 150 B. C.) in the discussions between the literate grammarian and the chariot-maker, we have evidence of the first linguistic survey of the country in the inscriptions of Asoka spread in the four corners of the country and representing as nearly as possible the spoken media in these regions, showing the distance between the official language and the truly national languages which ultimately derive from the same common source. History demonstrates that, from times immemorial, India has been a multilingual country, each language having a certain region in which it was supreme, but none of these regions truly constituted a unilingual kingdom or principality. One result of this fact of history is that, through more than four millennia of known history, the linguistic families which coexisted together have continuously interacted and achieved a pan-Indian character which is unique in itself, firstly, in the matter of sentence structure and, secondly, in the number of shared items of vocabulary.

Of the four well-known families of languages, with the single exception of the Tibeto-Burman, the other three, Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic, have contributed significantly to this Indianisation. Already in early post-

Vedic Sanskrit the rich verbal system has been replaced by the nominal system under the stress of this interaction; Indo-Aryan has also absorbed features of both Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic, while contributing in turn to the process of Sanskritisation not only in speech but in other social aspects: witness, for example, the development of a whole series of retroflex stops, nasals and sonants which, starting as conditioned changes under specific environments which could be predicted, became more general through this interaction. Similarly, the Indo-Aryan vocabulary has been affected by loans (through a process of Sanskritisation) until the original inherited forms from Indo-European have been more or less equalled or superseded by this new element. A similar state of affairs is visible in the development of the Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic families, the latter being more or less overwhelmed by that process of Sanskritisation which is still going on. The Indianness of all the three contributing families is a result of their constant interaction, subsuming those elements which link the different families into a common shape sharing the individual features of each family over the whole length and breadth of the country into an unconscious unity, while preserving the individual genius and structure of each family. Nevertheless, at no point in the history of the country did any one language belonging to these families serve as the national language, although we have had through three well recognized periods, Sanskrit, Persian and English as official link languages maintaining a unity amidst diversity. Similarly, the exigencies of history made it necessary for each kingdom or empire to keep in touch with the pulse of the country through more than a single national language. This explains why the pan-Indian character of all Indian languages was achieved through the millennia, a feature which is not repeated outside the Indian sub-continent. Linguistic history elsewhere is different, and has no parallel to this realisation within the Indian domain.

A very curious situation is illustrated by the official language which was current in Khotan during the third century of the Christian Era. These documents written in Kharosti in the Niya territory in Central Asia, a meeting point of many distinct language families, represent a Middle Indo-Aryan vernacular which had achieved a certain type of linguistic evolution in that period equalled only by what the new Indo-Aryan achieved nearly eight centuries later in the Indian sub-continent, while its vocabulary shows loans from all the contributing members of the various families. The quality of the documents testifies to the fact that this was the official language of Kroraina, but cannot be considered as a national language in view of the many features which it exhibits in the nature of a conglomorate. That an Indo-Aryan tongue underlies the official language so far away from the mother sub-continent is an index of the vitality of the people of Indo-Aryan stock who migrated and settled down in that area. But what had happened to that language in the course of its transformation as an official language has lessons for us today, when we are

faced with the problems of the languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution.

The Eighth Schedule [under articles 344(1) and 351] indicates the following 14 languages in their alphabetical order: Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Panjabi, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Since April 1966 Sindhi has been included in this Schedule, making a total of fifteen. It will at once be noted that these fifteen divide themselves into two family groups : (*a*) Indo-Aryan: Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kashmiri, Marathi, Oriya, Panjabi, Sanskrit, Urdu and Sindhi; (*b*) Dravidian: Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil, and Telugu. None of the other families are represented, for the simple reason that only Indo-Aryan and Dravidian comprise literary languages within the sub-continent. It is true that most of our knowledge of Austro-Asiatic languages is drawn from modern sources, since they represent preliterate people whose folk-literature never came to be recorded graphemically, while the Tibeto-Burman family has two languages of literature, Tibetan and Burmese both of which are current outside India. Both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian have affected the Austro-Asiatic family, members of which are at present in the process of complete submersion by the more powerful literary languages surrounding them. This process has gone on for a considerable period until our Government has become conscious of the role of these languages in the development of the tribes themselves, and special efforts are being made to make them literate through their mother tongues, by providing a graphemic system to record their speech forms.

Under the provision of article 345 the Legislature of a state may by law adopt any one or more of the languages in use in the state or Hindi as the language or languages to be used for all or any of the official purposes of that state. Further, on a demand being made in that behalf, the President may, if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a state desire the use of any language spoken by them to be recognized by that state, direct that such language shall also be officially recognized throughout that state or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify (347). Article 350 provides that every person shall be entitled to submit a representation for redress of any grievance to any officer or authority of the Union or a state in any of the languages used in the Union or in the state, as the case may be. Under 350-A it shall be the endeavour of every state and of every local authority within the state to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups; and the President may issue such directions to any state as he considers it necessary or proper for securing the provision of such facilities. In particular section 350-B provides for a Special Officer for linguistic minorities to be appointed by the President to investigate all matters pertaining to the safeguards provided for linguistic minorities under the Constitution and to report

to the President upon those matters at such intervals as the President may direct.

In naming only a few of the hundreds of languages and dialects under Schedule Eight to the Constitution our linguistic problem has not been simplified. Evidently, the framers of our Constitution realized this when they incorporated articles 347 and 350, which provided full scope for languages not included in the Eighth Schedule for purposes stated therein. However, since they represent large language tracts characterised by having a sizeable literary tradition of several centuries (except in the case of Sanskrit which has a history of more than 35 centuries behind it), they may be considered, by and large, as the great national languages of India. In the first place, except for Urdu, which, from a purely linguistic point of view, is only a stylistic variant of languages brought under the generic term of Hindi, most of them have a definite region associated with them. Indeed, it was primarily on this basis that the reorganisation of the country was achieved on linguistic division, except for Sanskrit and Urdu which could be considered as pan-Indian. In other words, these national languages are the great regional languages, derived ultimately from two principal sources: Indo-Aryan and Dravidian. The great dialects which are spoken in Bihar comprise what are generally termed as Eastern Hindi dialects, but really comprise related languages such as Bhojpuri, Maithili and Magahi, with considerable folk literature in each. Similarly, Rajasthan has another group of dialects comprising Rajasthani which is distinct from other dialects of Western Hindi. Linguistically speaking, we may consider all these as distinct languages, though ultimately related to one another. We can envisage situations in which no dialogue is possible between speakers of these dialects, if they are originally separated in geographical spread. It, therefore, follows that languages specified in Schedule Eight are only an arbitrary selection of languages spoken in the Union and state territories, and can be added to from time to time by an amendment to the Constitution. This has already been done for Sindhi, and perhaps pressures are building up for including others as well.

Let us examine the implications of the Eighth Schedule. Except for article 344 (1) under which the President shall constitute a Commission which shall consist of a Chairman and such other members representing the different languages specified in the Eighth Schedule as the President may appoint, there is nothing inherent in such inclusion which gives the languages any specific advantage. On the other hand, no definition has been given of a Regional Language except by implication in section 345 as any one or more of the languages in use in a state. We, must therefore, construe these languages as Regional or State Languages, and in this sense they are all equal to one another. The problems of the languages of the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution are, therefore, problems appertaining to any language spoken in any Union or state territory, and consequently, applicable to hundreds of languages and dialects

enumerated in the decennial censuses and the Linguistic Survey of India. In addition, with the exception of Sanskrit, Sindhi and Urdu, a special place has since been given to the other languages mentioned in this Schedule after the reorganisation of the states in India on linguistic basis. We have thus twelve languages, separated from the rest of the languages of India, which may now be considered as state languages or as national languages, since the majority of people in each of these new states are speakers of that particular speech. By virtue of this majority these languages automatically become the national languages of their particular states, while it is still open to the state to declare any of the other languages spoken in the state as its official language(s).

It is obvious from the reconstitution of our states on linguistic basis that the official language of each state will also function as the national language of that state, since it will serve as the medium of education after the primary stage, and, with the new decisions reached by the Education Commission and the Union and State Ministries of Education, serve also as the official language of the state. If and when the state language also becomes the vehicle for higher university education at all stages, each state may be considered for linguistic purposes as an autonomous nation, and for the first time the national language and the official language will be identical at the state level. The problems here are manifold : the first is the modernisation of the language in order that it may truly communicate all aspects of modern civilisation which is science and technology-oriented; the second is providing the necessary reading material from the secondary school level to the highest reaches of research in every field, and particularly in science and technology, with the production of sufficient reading materials at each stage.

All the Indian languages included in the Eighth Schedule are not inferior to any European language in expression and content, according to the findings of the late Sir George Abraham Grierson, Editor of the Linguistic Survey of India. They are so well developed as to be able to express every nuance of modern thought and achieve precision at the same time. What they lack is equipment to deal adequately with modern developments in science and technology: we are short of the requisite technical terminology which has to grow with the repeated use of each of these languages. On the advice of scientists and technologists, the Union and state governments have done well in adopting very largely the international terminology in this respect, restricting the creation of new terminology only to such items which refer to processes and which consequently need indigenous word material to build on. But even so the number of new words required is so large that one wonders how they can be actually absorbed in the linguistic corpus of each national language. It is here that one requires the production of suitable literature using this terminology so that they take on root in the common language of the people. But the growth and modernisation of a language is not simply the

addition of adequate technical and scientific terminology on the principles stated above. It is based on the constant use of the language at all stages: in education, administration, government, business, and in the law courts : in short, in every aspect of our complicated life. It is probably with this realisation that there has been a steady pressure building up for making the switch-over from English to modern Indian languages in general, and to the regional or national languages in particular, within a stipulated time. While there is understandable controversy on the length of time required for this switch-over, there is general understanding that such a switch over is inevitable in the final analysis.

Assuming, therefore, that this inevitable step has to be taken on whatever time scale that will be finally agreed to on all counts, there is the question of producing sufficient literature which will ease the switch-over without any repercussions, such as lowering of standards. The two are inextricably intertwined : one cannot produce scientific or technological literature in a vacuum, and this takes time in relation to the growing use of a language for such purposes. Even with the expenditure of money the talent necessary for this is strictly limited. Two processes are involved in this : the first is a translation of standard books, particularly text-books in all fields, especially in science and technology, since our future is linked up with such technical development; the second is the production of original work and, especially, research of the highest type. If these two phases cannot keep pace with one another there will be the inevitable lowering of standards. Technical know-how is not confined to the medium one uses to express oneself; but achievement of significant developments in science and technology depends on the control one has not only on the processes but also on the language one uses to communicate one's findings: All such work is corporate, and one needs clarity and precision in communicating with fellow workers. In a civilisation where such technical development is the very basis of stability and prosperity, we cannot afford to experiment and fail. We must assure ourselves of success in full measure and create the conditions in which these two aspects can be fully realised.

It is to be considered whether or not this process can be expedited by a sudden switch-over without consequent loss of standards and direction. If we take a dispassionate view of things, there must be a two-fold approach to this subject. In one direction, the continued use of the regional languages must be encouraged by all the means at our disposal and thus necessary atmosphere should be created in a competitive world, where the regional language will compete with the existing media of instruction in the universities. At the same time, we must ensure that in such a competition the sources of knowledge are available to all who can use them, and that a few institutes with such media should continue to maintain and, if possible, increase the pace of research.

The maintenance of standards is not entirely dependent on the medium

of instruction. The Education Commission Report envisages the acquisition of English as a second or library language, as the case may be, and until the regional language provides the text books and research literature in a given sphere of specialization, recourse must be had to these and to others written in such international languages as Russian and Japanese as well as French, German or Italian or Spanish, etc. It is essential, therefore, that an international library language is acquired by anyone wishing to specialize in any specific field, the choice being determined by the particular field of specialization. There is no escape from this need, and for this purpose modern linguistics have provided suitable intensive courses through which one acquires sufficient knowledge to use a language and acquire the necessary skill to keep in touch with what goes on in his particular field. The mistake many people make is that if the regional languages become media of instruction there would be a decline of standards. The expression can be one's own; but the content of the subject is international and can be acquired with a modicum of knowledge of any language, provided one is good in that particular field and goes to it for its content only and not for expression. It is perhaps true that one's expression is best in the first language one acquires, provided one is not exposed to a second or third language which obliterates the impressions of the first through more consistent and longer usage. It is only in this sense that the continued use of English as a medium of instruction may interfere with the natural growth of the regional languages, and the emphasis laid by our Union Ministry of Education on a quick switch-over is probably based on this realisation.

There is a second dimension to the problem of these national languages, if we apply the term *national* to languages included in the Eighth Schedule of our Constitution. This has naturally to deal with simultaneous development of all these languages, bearing in mind, however, that they are part and parcel of a larger unity which is represented in the Union of States symbolised by India, that is Bharat, according to the very first article of the Constitution. While these national languages may grow and satisfy every need of administration, law, literature, mass communication within its own territory, and the media of instruction from primary school level to the highest form of post-graduate studies and research, we must take note of two fundamental aspects which are interlinked with such development : (a) international, and (b) inter-state. With regard to the first it is absolutely essential that we have some control of international languages to the extent that we can keep up a dialogue in all fields of mutual understanding in general, and in technological and scientific development and education in particular. The choice of such international media and the degree of control required will depend on each individual subject; but we have already in this country the presence of English, which during the past one hundred years had been the sole link between our national leaders coming from different states. English, moreover, since World War II,

has become the main international language the world over, and is studied as a second language in most countries; it has a rich literature and provides, by and large, a window to all the researches conducted in different world areas and published in various languages of the world. Instead of duplicating this kind of translation of scientific and technical material, recourse to English is a time saving short-cut, and clearly establishes its supremacy in the international world.

Recognising this essential factor of history which has made English the main vehicle of international communication, and its continued presence in India even after the British had left, its place in the curriculum at the school and college level needs to be considered carefully.

Unless one wishes to specialize in a language and study its literature (apart from science and technology), it is essential that training for the acquisition of skills of expression and comprehension must be modified to suit the purposes involved in such an acquisition. The older method of spending a large number of years and using the classics as the basis for special study requires to be modified considerably. Modern methods of language learning and teaching have simplified the process of learning in relation to the purpose one has in mind, and can considerably save the load that a child has to bear in its school and college studies. Unless the methodology is linked up with modern needs, we cannot bring about the transformation which is needed to reach complete modernisation in our standards and aims. Utilising these newer resources we can acquire skill in the use of more than three or four languages without undergoing additional burdens in our curricular activities. The new methods of teaching science subjects has achieved considerable success in the advanced countries, and India also has taken up this matter seriously and organises special summer institutes for training teachers. But it is time that in matters of linguistic attainments and the need for quickly learning both the national and the specific international languages, we provided the modern know-how to the teaching profession. Not much has been done in this area, although the Education Commission has indicated the pattern of teaching a second and third language during the school years.

Our educational system, as it exists today, is as much language-ridden as our political system is conscious of the language-problems, for which different solutions are propounded without realising the implications of such solutions. A reform is indicated in the very process of acquiring language skill by defining the aims and standards of competence in each case. By and large, historically we are a nation of multilinguals, and the unification of India under British rule and administration during the past 200 years has consolidated this multilingual feature. No attention has been paid to the degree of natural competence that one gets in the skilful use of such media, and consequently, we have no basis for framing our language policy on the sound evidence of what had happened

through the natural process of different languages coming into contact. Once these basic factors are available, we can direct our language policy in a manner which will tend towards solving many of the problems of which we are aware but solutions for which we are unable to provide satisfactorily.

With regard to inter-state communication we have been faced with a number of situations already recognised in our Constitution. Article 343 provides that the official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devnagri script. Originally it was also provided that from the commencement of the Constitution, for a period of fifteen years, English shall continue to be used for all official purposes of the Union; Parliament was authorised, to provide if necessary, by law for the continued use of English after the said period of 15 years. It is hardly necessary at this point to say more than that conditions have imposed the necessity for the use of English as an associate link language as well as associate official language. So long as this situation lasts, English has a claim either to be the second or the third language of every educated person at the school level. One need not dwell on the controversy of a two or three-language formula, since, in spite of the reorganisation of our states on linguistic basis, multilingualism has a firm basis in the facts of life.

It is primarily with reference to the development of Hindi as the official language of the Union and ultimately as the link language between various linguistic groups in the Union, that the principal difficulty will be encountered. Article 351 reads : It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating *without interfering with its genius* (italics ours), the forms, style and expressions, used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on *other* (italics ours) languages. In this article, for the first time, we meet with the expression Hindustani which is not included in the Eighth Schedule (where, however, Urdu is included). It is any body's guess what this expression is intended to convey; secondly, the transformation of the official language of the Union ultimately as the national language of the Union is linked up with the assimilation by Hindi of the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and other languages specified in the Eighth Schedule. Now, in a country where more than 800 languages and dialects are spoken, and even within the state territories which have Hindi as the regional language, the dialects spoken are so very distinct from Khaṛī Bolī, a proper analysis would probably bring out the unsavoury factor that those who can speak and understand standard Khaṛī Bolī are but a very small proportion of those who speak dialects of both Western and Eastern Hindi as defined by linguists. If Hindi were to develop as a national language within the states where it is the regional language, it will be submitted to pressures

from speakers of these dialects, and is likely to develop in a manner which will be peculiar to each such state. We shall have distinct varieties of Hindi as a national or regional language in each of the official Hindi states, and in opposition if, as envisaged in the Constitution, Hindi is to be developed according to the directive principles of article 351, we are likely to develop a style which will differ completely from what is likely to develop in the states where Hindi is predominantly utilised for official purposes.

The emphasis on the words "without interfering with its genius" requires some comment. What is the genius of Hindi? Linguistically speaking, it is the linguistic structure : Phonology, morphology and morpho-phonemics and the repertory of morphemes (lexemes) regarding which the enrichment envisages loans from Sanskrit and other languages (of India?). This is bound to change under the normal pressures of the large number of languages which are mother tongues of their speakers, and these go beyond the languages enumerated in the Eighth Schedule. This large substratum, which acquires skill in the use of Hindi as modified by their individual mother tongues, will bring in at least some structural changes which will differentiate this Hindi from the Hindi which will develop as a national language in its regional states. What these structural changes will be cannot be predicted unless a great deal of research in contact areas is conducted to see the actual effects of language interference with languages in contact. It is evident that this aspect of what is likely to happen under the directive principles of article 351 was not clearly visualised when it was framed.

This brings us to a very vital consideration involved in the total development of the languages included in the Eighth Schedule. The enrichment of each in the context of its serving as a national language as well as official language within its specific region is not a haphazard process, but one which has to be planned and engineered. The need for the Union official language to serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India necessitates its close link up with the individual development of each of these national languages. If we analyse what we have before us, we note at once that they separate themselves into two language families, Indo-Aryan and Dravidian. It has already been pointed in the early part of this paper that they, along with Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman, have reacted on each other, for well nigh four millennia to fashion a pan-Indian system in sentence-structure and partly in vocabulary. The common features which they share in vocabulary lend themselves for enrichment. But, unfortunately, the literary languages in India have never really been the vernaculars : there is a considerable gap between them. Existing lexicons of modern Indian languages merely catalogue a lot of expressions which are never found in ordinary speech forms, while the large unrecorded dialectal material in each language has not been taken note of except casually by language scientists studying unrecorded speech forms.

The enrichment process can be two-fold : borrowing from a superstratum (as from Sanskrit or Persian, etc.) or from a substratum (as from dialects). The first is generally followed in formal literary compositions and formal speech, and consequently gets recognition as acceptable in the normal language; the latter is considered as not standard, and so lacks the prestige which makes it acceptable to the élite. Now, if planning and engineering are involved in the enrichment and modernisation of our national languages, it should not be difficult to give recognition to these substratum elements and bring them within the standard form of each language. The dialects are the real feeders of the standard languages, if they are to be enriched; superstrata can only add to this in a minor key, if the languages are not to lose their soul.

It will be very often observed that the dialects preserve forms which are older than those generally in current use in the standard form of the language; they also show some other features such as criscrossing linguistic boundaries. Dialects of Marathi and Gujarati, for instance, share a larger number of common vocables than their standard forms; indeed, these dialectal forms go beyond even two or three language frontiers. One advantage of incorporating them in the standard linguistic stock and giving them academic recognition is to solve at least one problem of intercommunication between different languages. Both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian share a large number of common vocables, subject only to the phonological framework of each individual member ; but this is nothing when compared to what their dialects share with each other, and if these forms enrich the standard forms of the accepted literary languages, one dimension of the problem of intercommunication is automatically reduced to its minimum form. If this enrichment can be accomplished through planning and engineering, a great deal will have been achieved in the integration of the Union.

Language creates a barrier but can also be a means of interaction, and consequently, of integration. We have unnecessarily created a bogey of the language problem in India by giving it political significance. The Official Language Commission in their report (p. 218, para 7) have said in an inspiring passage as follows :

> "The variety of Indian linguistic media is not a national skeleton to be ashamed of and to be somehow hidden away. It is a wealth of inheritance in keeping with the continental size, ancient history and the distinctive tradition of assimilating and harmonising diverse cultural and racial elements, of which this country can be justly proud.
>
> "Indological researches, hitherto only a scholarly pursuit for academicians, are now potent with practical moment of the highest consequence to this country. Here is a tremendous challenge to the Indian linguists and a like opportunity to help in forging linguistic ties to match and sustain the cultural and political unities of the community of Indian peoples.

Nowhere in history could philologists and linguists have ever been called to a greater duty !"

The Integration suggested by the two significant words 'assimilation' and 'harmony' in the first paragraph can only be achieved if we are fully conscious of the magnitude of our linguistic inheritance, even if it is found only in a dialect spoken by insignificant numbers. This untold and unrecorded wealth is the source from which we must ensure our enrichment. Sanskrit itself has shown us how it had grown during the millennia, since its separation from its sister languages of the Indo-European family. It has assimilated and incorporated a vast mass of linguistic wealth by the slow process of 'Sanskritisation' and is sufficiently pan-Indian, as the source of the inspiration to all the languages in the country, as to have made our Constitution-makers look towards it for the enrichment of the official language, Hindi. If one looks at the recently published *Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan* by Sir Ralph Turner one would be convinced of the large number of pure Indo-Aryan reconstructions for which the Sanskrit lexicon has no corresponding form, while the new Indo-Aryan languages show a large mass of corresponding forms. Some of them could be loans from Dravidian or Austro-Asiatic, but in any case not from Sanskrit. That such a large non-Sanskritic element exists in our present day languages is but another pointer to the variegated linguistic wealth which has built up our modern languages.

The plea, therefore, which follows from these arguments is that while developing the plans for the enrichment of our national and official languages, we must keep in mind the basic factor that we are one nation inheriting this vast linguistic wealth. Each of these elements has contributed to the variegated culture of our country, and, while maintaining its individuality, each derives from a common substratum its basic strength. If by language-planning and language-engineering, based not only on what is desirable in achieving modernisation and integration, but also on possibilities of mutual understanding through the many unrecognized commonly shared elements which should be resuscitated and brought into currency, we can achieve our goal, the less we talk of the language problem the sooner shall we reach our destined goal. Language-planning will involve, in the first instance, the discovery and recording of our linguistic wealth which is in the process of quick disappearance : a massive linguistic survey which can record and tape every single feature of that inheritance. Language-engineering will direct the selection of such material and its incorporation in graded vocabularies for expression as well as comprehension : with this task accomplished, that of the link language is simplified, and overt communication becomes possible between any two linguistic areas. All this, however, requires an adequate organisation.

It is good news, therefore, to hear that on the recommendation of the Education Commission's Report, Government are proposing to set up Lan-

guage Institutes both in the Union and at state levels to take care of some of these problems. The challenge indicated by the Official Language Commission in 1956 has still not been met properly, though contributing research has been under way for some time. It is to be hoped that with the national policy of education defined, we can move forward towards the destined goal without creating divisions and dissensions.

LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI

Functional Importance of Hindi and English in India

INDIA has become proverbial for the diversity of languages and cultures of its inhabitants. Bilingualism is a marked feature of India. It serves as the communication bridge between two or more mother tongue groups. It has been growing steadily since Independence, due to increased mobility among people resulting from industrialisation.

In an urban situation in India, Hindi or English or both are commonly used in communication with those who do not speak them as their native language but have learnt them later. The present paper aims at stating the functional importance of Hindi-Urdu and English in the different states of India. The coverage of bilingualism by the Census of India since 1931 is an event of major significance for the study of language contact, and perhaps for the sociology of communication in general.

On the basis of social identification and literary status, Hindi (H), Urdu (U), and Punjabi (P) are recognised as separate languages. But considering the mutual intelligibility in day-to-day communication, areas where these languages are predominant are considered as one unified region—called Broad Hindustani Region or HUP Region, distinguishing it from the remaining areas where languages other than HUP are predominant. Though Bihari and Rajasthani are linguistically quite distinct from Standard Hindi (Khaṛī Bolī), the regions where these languages are predominant are also included in the HUP Region, as native speakers of these languages accept H for formal communication and socially identify themselves with the H group.

Out of 15 States (at the time of 1961 Census), the following five States are covered in the HUP Region: U. P., M. P., Bihar, Rajasthan and Punjab.[1]

In remaining 10 States in the non-Hindi Region, 5 States have other Indo-Aryan languages as predominant—Assamese *A*, Bengali *B*,Oriya *O*, Marathi *Mr*, and Gujarati *G*, one State has Dardic language—Kashmiri *Kash*, and 4 States have Dravidian languages—Tamil *Tm*, Telugu *Tg*, Kannada *Kn* and Malayalam *Ml*, with predominant status. The population position of the first 3 mother tongue (L1) groups in these states is as under :

TABLE 1

(In percentage)

Broad Hindustani Region						
U. P.	H	85.39	U	10.70	Kumauni	1.39
M. P.	H	78.07	Rajasth.	4.98	Mr	3.89
Bihar	H	44.30	Bihari	35.39	U	8.93
Rajasthan	Rajas-thani	56.49	H	33.32	Bhili	4.13
Punjab	H	55.64	P	41.09	U	1.26
Non Hindustani Region						
(*a*) Assam	A	57.14	B	17.60	H	4.41
Bengal	B	84.24	H	5.43	Santali	3.27
Orissa	O	82.31	Kui	3.92	Tg	2.24
Maharashtra	Mr	86.58	U	6.89	H	3.11
Gujarat	G	90.50	U	2.88	Sindhi	2.42
(*b*) J. & K.	Ksh	54.42	P	27.48	Pahari	6.84
(*c*) A. P.	Tg	85.97	U	7.10	Rajasth.	1.62
Madras	Tm	83.17	Tg	13.92	Kn	2.81
Mysore	Kn	65.17	Tg	8.68	U	8.63
Kerala	Ml	95.04	Tm	3.12	Konkani	0.46

The above table shows that the mother tongue groups of the HUP Region have second or third positions in many states of the non-Hindi Region as well :

1. HUP languages having second position in Bengal, Maharashtra, Gujarat, J. & K. and A. P.
2. HUP languages having third position in Assam, Maharashtra, A. P. and Mysore.
3. HUP languages not covered in the first three positions in Orissa, Madras and Kerala.

According to the 1961 Census, out of India's total population of 439 millions, 120 millions, i.e., 45.5 % speak H, U, P or socially allied languages—

Hindustani, Bihari, Rajasthani as L1, are spread in both Broad Hindustani and non-Hindustani regions as under :

TABLE 2

(in thousands)

L1		Total	Broad Hindustani Region	Non-Hindustani Region
H	..	133,435	129,042	4,393
U	..	23,324	13,686	9,638
P	..	10,951	9,753	1,198
		167,710	152,481	15,229
Hindustani		123		
Bihari		16,807		
Rajasthani		14,933		
		199,573		

The percentages of H, U, and P L1 speakers outside Broad Hindustani Region are as follows :

U 63.2%, H 28.9%, P 7.9%

The 1961 returns of H, U and P as the first subsidiary language, L2, are as follows :

TABLE 3

(In thousands)

L2		Total	Broad Hindustani Region	Non-Hindustani Region
H	..	9,363	4,850	4,513
U	..	2,006	1,064	942
P	..	465	454	11
		11,834	6,368	5,466

English, E, as L1 is spoken by only 224 thousand people throughout the country and is declared as L2 by 11,238 thousand people. The number of E

L2 speakers in 15 states is 10,423 thousands : 3,919 thousands (37.5%) in Broad Hindustani Region and 6,504 thousands (62.5 %) in non-Hindustani Region.

There are various socio-cultural and numerical factors which determine the incidence of bilingualism in a society, e.g., size of the mother tongue group, attitudes of speakers, status of the mother tongue group, contact with particular language(s) in the socio-political set up. The returns of 12 regional languages (RL) as L2, in proportion to their size as L1, give a general picture regarding the functional load carried by these languages in inter-group communication :

TABLE 4

RL		L1 speakers (in thousands)	L2 speakers (in thousands)	Proportion (percentage) $\frac{L1}{L2}$
A	..	6,803	1,649	23.94
Kn	..	17,416	3,551	20.39
Tm	..	30,563	3,659	11.96
Tg	..	37,668	3,279	8.70
U	..	23,324	2,006	8.60
Mr	..	33,287	2,724	8.24
H	..	133,435	9,363	7.01
O	..	15,719	1,075	6.84
B	..	33,889	1,907	5.63
P	..	10,951	465	4.24
G	..	20,305	558	2.74
Ml	..	17,016	218	1.28
Ksh	..	1,956	25	1.27

Here I must point out that the Census reports give a rather conservative account of bilingualism among Indian population due to various psychological influences which vitiate the correctness of individual returns. A layman in India generally associates knowing of a L2 with ability of writing the particular language in its prevalent script. Thus, these figures do not reveal the extent to which these subsidiary languages are spoken or merely understood. Relatively high incidence of *A* 23.94% and *Kn* 20.39% bilingualism reveals linguistic non-homogeneity in their regions and functional importance of these languages as contact languages for linguistic minorities in their regions. Low incidence of bilingualism in case of other languages could mean either

linguistic homogeneity of the population in a region or low functional value of the regional language for linguistic minorities in the region.

The returns of English and Sanskrit as L2, in proportion to the size of their L1 speakers, reveal that both these languages enjoy very important positions in the Indian set up :

TABLE 5

(in thousands)

	L1 Speakers	L2 speakers
English	244	11,238
Sanskrit	3	194

Total number of L2 speakers in English and 14 major Indian languages recognised in the Constitution (1961 Census) throughout the country is 41,911 thousands. Language-wise figures are as under :

TABLE 6

	L2 speakers (in thousands)	Percentage of total L2 speakers
E	11,238	26.8
H	9,363	22.3
Tm	3,659	8.7
Kn	3,551	8.5
Tg	3,279	7.8
Mr	2,724	6.5
U	2,006	4.8
B	1,907	4.6
A	1,649	3.9
O	1,075	2.6
G	558	1.3
P	165	1.1
Ml	218	0.5
Skt	194	0.5
Ksh	25	0.1
	41,911	100.0

The above table shows that E and H play relatively more important role than the remaining Indian languages as contact languages outside their mother tongue groups. E ranks first with 26.8% L2 speakers and H close second with 22.3% L2 speakers. The combined total of H-U-P L2 speakers comes to 28.2% and it surpasses E L2 population. Both groups together cover 55.0% of the entire bilingual population.

Generally, occupational speciality and functional superiority are prominent factors attributed to the high incidence of English bilingualism. English, in the present set up, still continues to be an important part of the communication matrix of urban India. Hindi bilingualism can generally be attributed to (1) the mobility of uneducated or little educated population, and (2) its use in trade, employment and entertainment at the level of 'non-élite' urban population. Weinreich, in his paper, 'Functional Aspects of Indian Bilingualism', has also confirmed the functional importance of Hindi in metropolitan cities, such as Calcutta (functional importance index : 23), Bombay (29), Madras (88) and Bangalore (109), based on the 1951 Census returns.

Functional importance of a language in a state can be judged from the number of speakers speaking a particular language as L2. Comparing the L1 and the L2 speaking population in different states, we find that either the RL or E, H, U are the primary languages of contact :

1. RL at the primary L2 in 7 states, with E or neighbouring language as the second L2 (in Assam *B* and in Mysore *Tg*).
2. E as the primary L2 in 5 states, with RL as the second L2.
3. H as the primary L2 in 2 states with RL as the second L2.
4. U as the primary L2 in 1 state, with H as the second L2.

TABLE 7

State	*RL*		*H*		*U*		*E*	
	L1	L2	L1	L2	L1	L2	L1	L2
			(in thousands)					
(1)								
A. P.	30,932	2,006	139	301	2,553	333	13	870
Madras	28,011	3,405	39	30	615	36	34	1,224
Mysore	15,361	3,063	82	219	2,034	99	19	473
Assam	6,784	1,631	524	275	11	0	2	288
Orissa	14,435	961	219	139	213	×	1	235
Bihar	20,581	1,712	..	..	4,149	71	8	754
M. P.	24,674	1,607	..	..	740	51	6	390

(2)								
Kerala	16,065	133	7	35	9	2	7	679
Bengal	29,408	945	1,898	434	833	77	40	1,468
U.P.	62,974	631	..	..	7,892	383	24	1,793
Rajasthan	11,386	×	6,715	169	510	45	1	248
Punjab	11,299	472	..	..	255	444	2	733
(3)								
Maharashtra	30,233	2,308	1,230	2,436	2,726	90	61	965
Gujarat	18,672	430	192	525	594	60	2	285
(4)								
J. & K.	1,896	25	22	62	13	244	0	17
(5) *Districts*								
Greater-Bombay	1,775	146	331	744	402	27	49	563
Sangli	1,016	114	2	30	72	1	×	12

'×' represents speakers less than 300.

It is significant to note that

1. In 3 states of the HUP Region—U. P., Rajasthan and Punjab—and in two states of the non-Hindustani Region—Bengal and Kerala—English is the primary L2. And in 3 non-Hindustani states—Maharashtra, Gujarat and J. & K—H or U is the primary L2.
2. English as L2 exceeds L1 in all states. U.P. has the maximum number of E L2 speakers (1,793 thousands), second and third in rank are Bengal (1,468 thousands) and Madras (1,224 thousands) respectively.
3. Hindi as L2 exceeds L1 only in 6 states—A. P., Mysore, Kerala, Maharashtra, Gujarat, and J. & K., Urdu as L2 exceeds L1 only in Punjab and J. & K.
4. In 4 Dravidian states, Maharashtra and Gujarat U L1 speakers are more than H L1 speakers. In J. & K., A. P., and Madras U L2 speakers are more than H L2 speakers.

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

Bilingualism is quite unevenly distributed in India. The functional importance of the pan-Indian languages—E and H—varies from one region to another, and from one mother tongue group to another. Several mother tongue groups in the same state differ widely as to the incidence and the pattern of bilingual depending on the extent of contact with non-native language groups. The speakers' declarations regarding their L2 must be regarded critically. Very often these indicate the pressures of social identification on them for associating with a particular language group, rather than their proficiency of

or use in the declared L2. In this respect these returns present a valuable picture of the attitudes of bilingual groups to a particular language.

A sample study of the incidence of bilingualism among Tamil, Bengali and Sindhi L1 speakers throws some light on the functional importance of E, H, and RLs.

TABLE 8

	L1 speakers (in thousands)	Bilinguals (in thousands)	Bilingualism percentage
Tm ..	30,563	2,471	8.1
B ..	33,889	2,923	8.6
Sindhi	977	351	35.9

High incidence of bilingualism among Sindhi, S, L1 speakers can be attributed to relatively small size of the mother tongue group and to the greater mobility of population in search of settlement, resulting in quick urbanisation of people after their uprootment from Sind in the wake of partition of the country. Sindhi is not predominant in any region. Hence a small linguistic minority must have a higher incidence of bilingualism than large predominant groups, if they are to communicate with the rest of the population just as effectively.

Bilingualism among these three language groups is distributed throughout the country as under :

TABLE 9

L2	Tamil (thousands)	%	L2	Bengali (Thousands)	%	L2	Sindhi (thousands)	%
E	1,262	51.08	E	1,563	53.47	H	219	62.09
Tg	583	24.00	H	615	21.03	E	87	25.05
Kn	285	11.53	A	557	19.02	G	24	6.84
Ml	152	6.15	U	69	2.36	Mr	7	2.00
H	99	4.00	O	47	1.61	U	6	1.71
U	43	1.74	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mr	10	0.40	..	..	..	..	..	..

Among *Tm* bilinguals, after E, neighbouring Dravidian languages enjoy prominent place. Among *B* bilinguals, H is more prominent than neigh-

bouring languages. Among *S* bilinguals, H enjoys the first place and E comes next.

Primary L2 among these language groups in each state is as follows. (Delhi Union Territory and Greater Bombay and Sangli district of Maharashtra State are also included in the Table).

TABLE 10

	TAMIL		BENGALI		SINDHI	
	Primary L2	%	*Primary L2*	%	*Primary L2*	%
(1) *States with RL as the Primary L2 :*						
A. P. ..	RL ..	85.91	E ..	48.92	H ..	42.86
Madras ..	E ..	67.76	E ..	68.41	E ..	50.00
Mysore ..	RL ..	65.68	E ..	66.13	E ..	43.48
Assam ..	H/E ..	25.00 each	RL ..	80.06	H ..	49.14
Orissa ..	..	..	RL ..	76.68	..	..
Bihar ..	RL ..	55.20	RL ..	71.91	RL ..	71.05
M. P. ..	RL ..	62.31	RL ..	62.00	RL ..	87.88
Distt. Sangli	RL ..	34.76	E ..	42.85	RL ..	55.91
(2) *States with E as the Primary L2 :*						
Kerala ..	RL ..	74.33	E ..	70.47	E ..	73.15
Bengal ..	E ..	75.78	E ..	78.68	E ..	65.38
U. P. ..	E ..	60.65	E ..	55.05	RL ..	65.14
Rajasthan ..	H ..	50.26	H ..	49.75	H ..	74.35
Punjab ..	RL ..	51.41	E ..	60.00	E ..	65.85
Delhi ..	E ..	61.70	E ..	62.56	H ..	52.20
(3) *States with H as the Primary L2* :						
Maharashtra	H ..	43.02	H ..	48.04	H ..	57.66
Gujarat ..	E ..	41.35	E ..	48.67	RL ..	48.25
Distt. Greater Bombay ..	E ..	46.30	E ..	50.39	E ..	49.00
(4) *State with U as the Primary L2* :						
J. & K. ..	E ..	46.28	H ..	47.78	H ..	48.65

From the above table, it is significant to note :

1. *Tm* speakers in neighbouring A. P., Mysore and Kerala states have RL as the primary L2, and *B* speakers in neighbouring Assam and Orissa states have RL as the primary L2, mainly due to territorial bilingualism in border districts. In Gujarat, *S* immigrants have penetrated into rural areas where they have picked up RL as the primary L2. The same is the situation in Sangli district for *Tm* and *S* speakers.

2. *Tm* L1 speakers have H as primary L2 in 6 states : 4 states of the HUP Region (excluding U. P.) and Maharashtra and Assam.

B L1 speakers have H as primary L2 in 5 states : 3 states of the HUP Region—Bihar, M. P., Rajasthan; and Maharashtra and J. & K.

S L1 speakers have H as primary L2 in 8 states : 4 states of the HUP Region (excluding Punjab) and J. & K., Maharashtra, Assam and A. P. Also in Delhi.

3. *Tm* L1 speakers have E as primary L2 in 6 states : U. P. in the HUP Region, own state Madras and 4 other non-Hindustani states—Assam, Bengal, Gujarat and J. & K. Also in Delhi territory and Greater Bombay district.

B L1 speakers have E as primary L2 in 8 states : U. P. and Punjab in the HUP Region, own state Bengal, 4 Dravidian states and Gujarat. Also in Greater Bombay and Sangli districts.

S L1 speakers have E as primary L2 in 5 states : Punjab in the HUP Region, Bengal and 3 Dravidian states (excluding A. P.). Also in Greater Bombay distt.

4. In Madras and Bengal and in Greater Bombay district all three language groups have E as primary L2, whereas in Bihar, M. P., Rajasthan and Maharashtra all three groups have H as primary L2.

COMPARISON WITH THE 1951 CENSUS

The 1951 Census reports record the bilingualism of Indian languages only. These reports do not account for E as the first subsidiary language of bilinguals. Hence comparing 1951 returns of bilingualism with those of 1961, we find that bilingualism in H-U and RLs has declined considerably for preference to E. In many cosmopolitan areas it is noticed that a literate urban speaker is usally multilingual, with H/U, E or RL as his first or second subsidiary language. Hence when E bilingualism is not recorded in 1951 Census, the incidence of H/U and RL as primary L2 has shot up which has again dropped in the 1961 Census with the incorporation of non-Indian languages (in most cases E) in the returns.

A comparison of these returns throws some light on the language attitudes of multilingual speakers speaking more than one subsidiary language. In the table below, L2 returns of *Tm*, *B* and *S* speakers from certain states are compared. Of course, between 1951 and 1961, boundaries of various states have

undergone certain changes at the time of State Reorganisation in 1957, which makes this comparison rather approximate but the general trend is, however, represented faithfully.

TABLE 11

L1 Bilinguals : L2 percentage :	TAMIL				BENGALI				SINDHI			
	1951		1961		1951		1961		1651		1961	
BENGAL												
			E	75.78			E	78.68			E	65.38
	H	49.00	H	14.84	H	85.26	H	14.29	H	71.22	H	25.96
	B	32.34							B	9.54		
	Tg	8.00										
	U	..	U	0.40	U	8.47	U	3.63	U	8.62		..
					O	2.71						
					Ne-pali	2.15						
		89.34		91.02		98.59		96.60		89.38		91.34
MADRAS												
			E	67.76			E	68.41				
					Tm	22.73						
		70.11	Tg	21.34	Tg	9.09						
	Ml	13.53	Ml	3.90								
	K	7.25	Kn	2.39								
	H	4.67	H	1.07	H	59.09	H	15.79				
	U	3.81	U	2.08			U	2.62				
		99.37		98.54		90.91		86.82				
MAHARASHTRA												
	SINDHI				BENGALI							
	H	72.89	H	57.66	H	68.73	H	48.04				
			E	32.12			E	44.11				
	U	3.20	U	0.73	U	13.07	U	1.96				
	Mr	2.44	Mr	5.11	Mr	8.41						
	G	17.00	G	2.00	G	4.63						
	P	3.40	P	1.00			O	0.08				
		98.93		98.62		94.84		94.19				

IMPACT OF URBANISATION

The incidence of H and E bilingualism is more prominent in urban areas than in the rural hinterland. In urban areas fewer people are compelled by force of circumstances to resort to the RL. Hence the number of RL bilinguals is very small in urban areas. As a sample study the figures of Greater Bombay and Sangli districts of Maharashtra state are compared below:

TABLE 12

	Greater Bombay				Sangli			
All Lgs.	Total (thousands)	%	Bilinguals (thousands)	%	Total (thousands)	%	Bilinguals (thousands)	%
	4,152		1,583	38.9	1,231		197	16.00
Urban	4,152	100			192	15.64		
Illiterate	1,719	41.45			885	71.91		
	L1		*L2*		*L1*		*L2*	
Mr	1,775	42.85	146	9.30	1,015	82.48	114	57.91
H	331	7.99	744	46.50	2	0.01	30	15.21
U	402	9.71	27	1.69	72	5.83	0.5	0.72
E	49	1.18	563	35.19	×		12	6.26
G	793	19.14	60	3.75	6	0.46	×	
Konkani	193	4.66	..	..	Kn 108	8.81	36	18.45

'×' less than 200 speakers.

This study supports the contention that in urban areas with E or H as L2, generally one does not feel handicapped for not knowing the RL for ordinary contacts. Hindi serves as a pan-Indian common speech even outside the Broad Hindustani Region in states like Maharashtra, Gujarat, and J. & K. and a bilingual, with Hindi as a subsidiary language, does not feel the diversity of local languages to be a problem in ordinary contacts. Tables in the paper support the claim of English and Hindi being considered as pan-Indian languages and their *de facto* functional importance exceeds mere communication necessity.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Union Territories are not included in this analysis as their language-patterns are more-or-less similar to the neighbouring states as far as bilingualist trends are concerned.

LOTHAR LUTZE

English and Hindi

Much if not most of the discussion on languages in India revolves round the respective positions of English and Hindi in the linguistic and political set-up of the country. Let these positions be examined and an eminently practical question such as, 'what language(s) would be the most useful instrument(s) of communication to a foreigner visiting India?', serve as a point of departure.

There will be little disagreement that for the time being at least a moderate knowledge of English will be most useful to the visitor. English seems to be safely entrenched in its position of international contact language of the country. But the possibility can no longer be ignored that even in this role English may sooner or later not be fully satisfactory, in particular for the following reasons :

(1) Growing mutual unintelligibility, i.e., the increasing possibility of the non-Indian speaker not understanding the Indian speaker of English and vice versa. This unintelligibility may be phonic as well as grammatical. Complaints by non-Indian participants in international conferences of finding it extremely difficult to understand the English spoken by their Indian colleagues are becoming more frequent,[1] probably largely due to the more staccato intonation, the reduction of stress distinctions and, consequently, the emergence of quantity distinctions and stress displacements (develop, orga'nize, re'gionalism) in Indian English. Near grammatical unintelligibility may be illustrated by a letter written by one of the candidates in this year's Presidential Election:

"Why you pole vote to me in the election of Rashtrapatti ? Indira Prime Minister and others propagandise vote to minority is victory of secularism. On this principle Sikhs are more a minority than Mohammedan. So

on this ground I, Dr. Man Singh, is more deserving candidate rather than Dr. Zakir Husain" (The *Statesman*, 6-5-67).

This example stands for much of the provincial writing in English, unpublished as well as published. Even in a standard IX text-book of English prose published by the Central Board of Secondary Education the following reference to 'malestorm' can be found on page 160 :

"Malestorm : Note that the word is made up of 'male' and 'storm'.... Many English words are formed by joining a prefix to a word, e.g., malefaction, malevolence. The prefix (sic.) male means evil, ill...." (The *Statesman*, 21-7-67). In everyday spoken or written communication in English, unintelligibility (or reduced intelligibility) will most of the time not be admitted and therefore more difficult to detect. A research student at the University of Delhi may be mentioned here who, when asked in an interview to explain the meaning of 'explosive issue', failed to recognize the figurative use of the adjective and entered into a narration on atomic explosions.

(2) Absence and difficulty of standardization. In 1891 Schuchardt spoke of the Indo-English "der Indier, das nach massgabe der zahlreichen einheimischen sprachen mehr oder weniger variirt".[2] The present state of affairs may well be illustrated by the following Lok Sabha incident :

"When Mr. D.C. Sharma put a question to the Minister of External Affairs about the fate of the Indian High Commission staff, Mr. Kapur Singh commented, "Ungrammatical English".

Mr. Sharma angrily retorted: "This gentleman speaks English with a Punjabi accent. Why should he make such remarks ?"

The Speaker, Mr. Hukam Singh, appealed to the members to calm down. "I am not going to judge whether the English spoken here is correct or not, whether it is the Queen's English or not", he said, "I want members to understand each other" (The *Statesman*, 7-12-65).

Obviously little has changed in this respect since 1891. But even if Mr. Hukam Singh's common sense prevailed, standardization would in the long run be necessary in order to balance the growing regional influences on IE and to ensure the continued usefulness of the language as an instrument of international and internal communication.[3] A Standard Grammar of IE would have to accept, e.g., a new set of rules on the use of the articles, a different system of comparison, the replacement of the Present Perfect by the Present Tense as in "operationally these fronts are inactive for the last two weeks" (*Hindustan Times*, 19-11-62), the extended use of the Past Perfect.

(3) Indian English has been called a 'surface language'.[4] It is so, more explicitly,

(a) intellectually as the language of a genuine élite,

(b) socially as the language of a pseudo-élite,

(c) psychologically as a cerebration language,[5]

(d) linguistically as a projection language, i.e., a language in which speech patterns of a familiar language are projected into an unfamiliar linguistic environment. Idiomatic expressions like 'take out a procession' (common in Statesman English) and the affirmative 'why not' are projections of 'jalus nikālna' and 'kyõ nahī̃'. In Indo-Anglian fiction, Raja Rao has tried to use projection artistically by introducing Sanskrit patterns into his prose style.

The equation English=international contact language=internal contact language, which has been advocated by a number of eminent Indians and would give the country a national language of cosmopolitan dimensions, appears unrealistic for statistical as well as social and linguistic reasons. Structurally, not lexically, English has failed to strike roots in India.[6] It is a irony of history that for the smoothest solution of the country's main language problem, the British should have left India at least a century too soon.

If not English, what then ? The Constitution says Hindi. No other serious proposal has ever been made. Even Tamil or Bengali politicians, some of whom are fanatically anti-Hindi, have not advocated Tamil or Bengali as possible alternatives to English.

Because of the enormous variety of social and linguistic environments in the country, any language which will ultimately grow into the role of internal contact language will fall under a heavy linguistic strain. Would Hindi be able to bear this strain?

The term 'Hindi' cannot easily be defined. It is (1) a regional dialect more precisely called Khaṛī Bolī, which has its historical home in what is now eastern Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, and Delhi State ; and (2) a set of speech form varieties with common structural and exchangeable content elements. The latter are exchanged not so much according to the regional as to the social background of the speaker. Following Ashok R. Kelkar's recommendations,[7] (2) will henceforth be called Hindi-Urdu (or 'Hirdu' in its contracted form).

For the emergence of an internal contact language in India, (1) is of little immediate importance. The question remains which of the speech form varieties of Hindi-Urdu have a genuine chance to hold this position one day.

Certainly not the anaemic formalized highbrow variety of Hindi propagated by All India Radio and other government agencies[8] or, to name the other extreme, 'Bazar Hindustani' (S. K. Chatterjee), which, according to Ashok R. Kelkar, is substandard and not usable.[9] There are, however, two compromise varieties of Hindi-Urdu which deserve particular attention here. One is used in the so-called Hindi films, which are extremely popular in every part of the country, the other, in the Roman script,[10] by the Indian Army. They have been left without normative (i.e., here mainly political) interference and conditioned by considerations of marketability and combat efficiency respectively.

Both of them are formalized/casual middlebrow.

Note that since the beginning of Naī Kavitā (New peotry) and Naī Kahānī (New Story) almost two decades ago most of what is worth reading in Hindi literature has been written in or near this style.

It appears now that the permanent place of English will be in the lexicon of Indian languages, especially in fields like technology, modern warfare, etc. whereas the Sanskrit (or pseudo-Sanskrit) borrowings of 'High' Hindi cannot be considered a reliable link between the different linguistic regions of the country, as has been claimed, because of their generally inflated and regionally variant meanings.

In conclusion, the answer to what language(s) would be the most useful instrument(s) of communication to a foreigner visiting India? should be modified thus :

(1) For surface contact, some English;
(2) for intense contact, (1)+ the local language;
(3) for mobility, (1)+ a compromise variety of Hindi-Urdu.

APPENDIX

LINGUISTIC PROSPECTS OF GROWTH OF AN INTERNAL CONTACT LANGUAGE IN INDIA

NOTE:

(1) The accompanying diagram is applicable under given conditions; it is assumed that

(*a*) some democratic form of government,
(*b*) some form of political unity,
(*c*) some form of social contiguity, and therefore
(*d*) a contact language for purposes of internal communication (migration, economy, defence) remain desirable to the Indian people.

(2) *Content*:

Any language will respond to challenge. In the Indian situation this challenge is: extension of vocabulary. Besides using indigenous means of innovation, a Hindi-Urdu-based internal contact language would have to be open to lexical influx from other languages, Indian as well as non-Indian. Among the latter, English would be prominent. In this way such a language would reflect the cultural-historical growth of the country. English would serve as a lexical link to non-Indo-Aryan languages as well.

(3) *Structure*:

While its lexical content thus makes for diversity, the oneness of Hindi-Urdu is structural. Structurally, Hindi-Urdu is closely related to the other Indo-Aryan languages; it shares structural elements even with a non-Indo-Aryan language like Tamil (cf. William Bright, 'Diversity and Unity in Languages of India', Paper presented to the Seminar on Language and Society in India, Simla, October 1967, p. 4f). The structure of Hindi-Urdu

is highly powerful : even the structure of a structurally non-related language spoken in India, Indian English, is increasingly modified by it on the lower stylistic levels (cf. the Hind-Urdu variety of Indian English shown in the diagram : the closer to (L) the more under structural pressure of Hindi-Urdu). E. g., in connecting (1) 'I don't know' and (2) 'Who is he ?' dependence of (2) is marked by a simple change in its word order : 'I don't know who he is.' In the corresponding Hindi-Urdu pattern, in the place of a word order change in (2), the dependence marker 'ki' is introduced. Thus we receive the following stylistic scale :

(*a*) I don't know who he is.

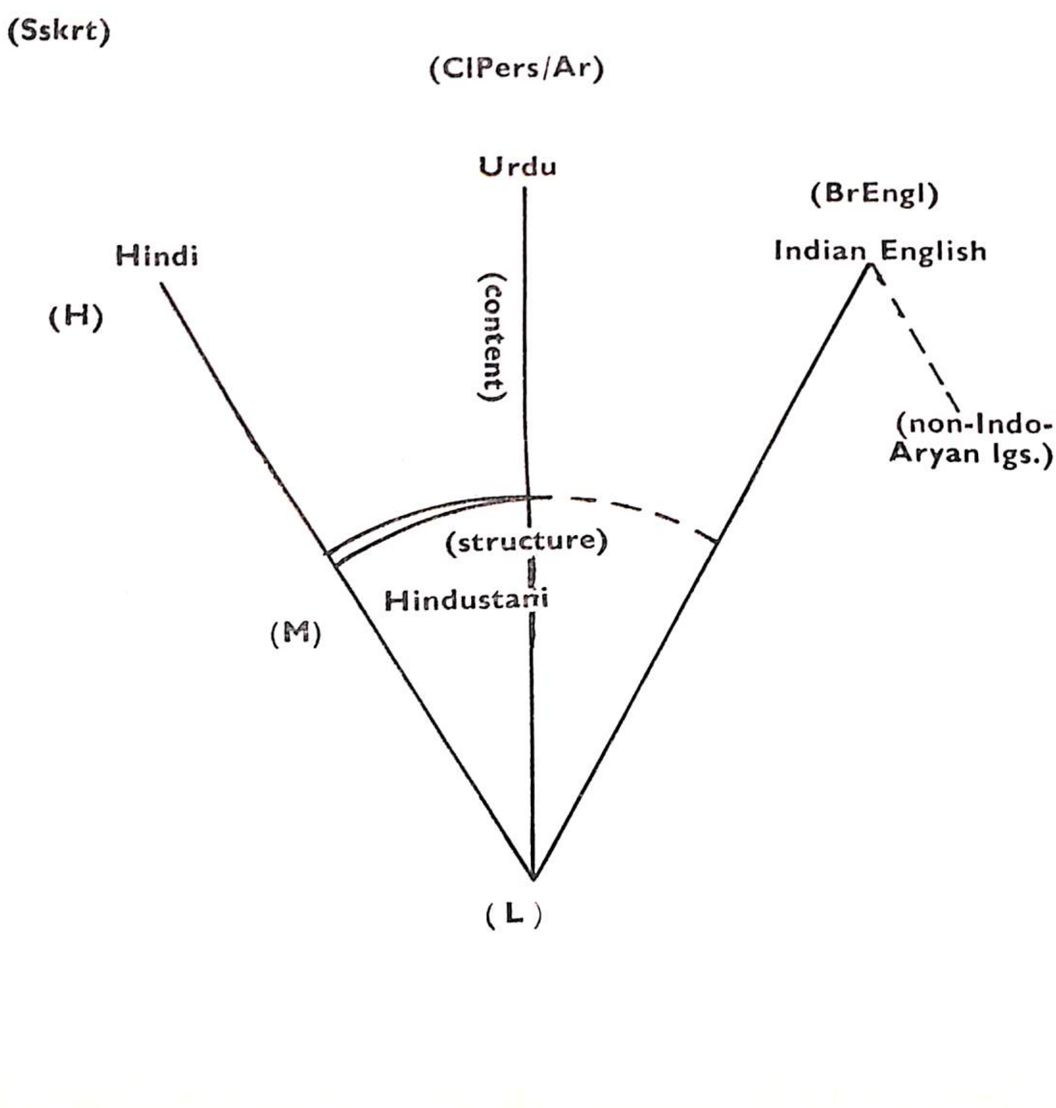
(*b*) I don't know who is he.

(*c*) I don't know ki who is he.

What may be called a structural transfer takes place between (a) and (b)

(4) *Style* :

(H) = high, (M) = middle, (L) = low are levels of style. They should not be indentified with social or intellectual levels : an individual speaker may shift between (H) and (L) according to situational requirements. In the context of style, Sanskrit, Classical Persian/Arabic and British English should be considered orientation languages.



NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Cf. Günter Zehm in his report on the Fifth International Aesthetics Congress ('Die Welt', 1-9-64): "Die eigenwillige Betonung, die die indischen oder japanischen Teilnehmer dem Englischen beziehungsweise dem Deutschen gaben, erschwerte das verständnis sehr."
2. Cf. Schuchardt, H., Das Indo-Englische, Engl. Studien XV, 1891, pp. 286-305.
3. The Central Institute of English, Hyderabad, has only recently initiated the standardization of the sound system of IE.
4. Cf. Lothar Lutze, On the State and Status of Languages in the Hindi-speaking Area of Northern India, International Conference Modern Foreign Language Teaching Preprints—Part 1, Berlin 1964, pp. 327-33.
5. Cf. 'code-switching' in L.M. Khubchandani, "Equipping Major Indian Languages for New Roles", Statement presented to the Seminar on Language and Society in India, Simla, October 1967.
6. The pedagogical conclusion that English, technically speaking, has remained a foreign language and should be taught as such has not yet generally been drawn.
7. "Hindi-Urdu is essentially non-regional, that is regionally unmarked. It has standard as well as substandard varieties : the substandard forms are lowbrow casual and not ordinarily reduced to writing. The standard forms use the Devnagri and Perso-Arabic scripts (don't call the scripts Hindi and Urdu, as some do) : Hindi (by definition standard, formalized highbrow and middlebrow that is H-oriented) uses the former, Urdu (by definition standard, formalized highbrow and middlebrow that is U-oriented) uses the latter, Hindustani (HU-oriented, never highbrow) uses both. Hindustani may even be substandard (lowbrow formalized)" (Ashok R. Kelkar, Recommendations on nomenclature to the Seminar on Language and Society in india, Simla, October 1967).
8. This variety is used in a good deal of Hindi literary criticism, especially of the more orthodox type : occasionally it appears to be a projection language under the influence of English literary criticism.
9. Cf. 'Learnability' and 'Usability' in A.R. Kelkar, "Problems of Unrecognized Speech Forms in India", Paper presented to the Seminar on Language and Society in India, Simla, October 1967, p.6. 'Acceptability' might be more useful than 'usability' in this context; P. S. Ray has introduced 'respectability' into the discussion.
10. S. K. Chatterjee has been a prominent advocate of the introduction of a slightly modified variety of the Roman script on an all-India basis. As an emotional no-man's-land, it might help to neutralize communal prejudices. Also of Punya Sloka Ray, "Language Standardization", *Yanua Linguarum*, No. 29, Mouton & Co., The Hague, 1963, pp. 92-105.

ANIMESH K. PAL

Bengali Speech Community and its Neighbours

SPEAKING about the languages of Eastern India Dr. Grierson commented in the preface to his *Linguistic Survey of India,* Vol. V, Part I—"A well known saying in this country is that the language changes every twenty miles, and such indeed is the fact" (p. 3). To a layman this statement may be quite baffling. If language changes every twenty miles, then how many states with their own legislatures and other paraphernalia are to be created within our Union Republic, is a moot question. As a student engaged in a practical study of the dialects of Bengali, I have often wondered at the truth of Dr. Grierson's comment. Isn't it quite apparent now that the reorganisation of the states cannot go on *ad infinitum,* and isn't it high time that we looked into the matter from the stand point of the science of languages? Politics, at least in this field, seems to owe allegiance to linguistics, and so it is the responsibility of the linguisticians now to come out with the truth. I myself, however, cannot go into this question on an all India basis, but I am also unable to accept the findings of a half-century-old *Linguistic Survey of India* as present-day reality; so I propose to study it within a small sphere only, that is, I have chosen the Bengali speech-community and its neighbours for my observations and analysis.

Before going into the details, certain basic conceptions are to be clearly defined at the outset. It is apparent that three basic elements are deeply involved in the conception of a linguistic state, viz., 1) a population, 2) a speech, and 3) a territory. As is evident from the nomenclature, a speech-community definitely means a community of people or, simply, a population and the adherence of this population to a particular speech. Now, a parti-

cular speech-community does surely occupy a particular territory, but, then, it often does not. The English speaking population is scattered all over the world, and nearer home, the settlements of the speakers of Punjabi may be found all over India. But it is true, that all these people may claim their origin from particular territories with which their mother tongues are generally identified. But there are people at large, like the Gypsies, who seem to have no *terra firma* under their feet.

We shall now examine the Bengali speech-community in order to understand the real significance and the correlation of the three basic elements of a speech-community. The Bengali speech-community, as it is commonly understood at present, includes numerous groups of people who claim Bengali to be their mother tongue, but whose everyday speech differs from region to region and from group to group to a considerable extent in practice. It is to be noted that the Bengali speech-community is scattered among a number of political units, some members of the community permanently belonging to Orissa, Assam and Bihar. The natural habitat of the community being West Bengal and Eastern Pakistan, Bengali is now recognised as the official language in West Bengal, and in the whole of Pakistan it is recognised as the state language together with Urdu. But being the language of minority groups, it is not eligible for any official recognition in Orissa, Bihar, and Assam. Once, there was a popular demand in West Bengal for the unification of those areas with West Bengal where the majority among the population claimed Bengali as their mother tongue. As a result, a part of the former district of Manbhum and a part of the district of Purnea were taken out of Bihar and added to West Bengal. The underlying principle being one state for one language, borders of a number of states were also re-organised in this fashion. But looking at this question from the stand point of the Bengali speech-community it seems that a satisfactory reorganisation of the boundaries of the state of West Bengal is almost impossible. What one is to propose for Tripura, a centrally administered region with an elected legislature where the majority of the population claim Bengali to be their mother tongue and where Bengali is the official language in state matters? Should one suggest that the legislature in Tripura be done away with, and that although it is separated from West Bengal by an altogether alien state, it be incorporated with West Bengal? That surely, is an unreasonable proposition. What then, one proposes to do with the district of Kachar in the state of Assam where Bengali is claimed to be the mother tongue of the majority of population? How can one imagine to connect it with West Bengal administratively? Some people once suggested that Kachar and Tripura which are contiguous, should form yet another linguistic state where Bengali will be the official language in state matters. I refrain from going into the merits of this proposition but I am sure, the Bengali speaking population scattered in the Surma and Brahmaputra valleys of Assam and in some

districts of Orissa and Bihar cannot be asked to resettle in West Bengal, Kachar and Tripura. How then, the interest of these people can be safeguarded by the linguistic reorganisation of the state boundaries?

If a comparatively well integrated speech-community like Bengali cannot be fully and satisfactorily brought into one political unit then the inevitable question is, what do we want a linguistic state for? Well, for one thing, the answer given was never a categorical one, and an attempt to trace the history of the evolution of the idea of one state for one language in the Union Republic of India is of little use now. Whatever be the history of the evolution of this idea and whatever be its merits, I am sure that this idea, when formulated, took only the interest of the major speech-communities into consideration as these were the people who mattered in the practical politics of the country. Quite evidently, in the formulation of this idea the interest of the numerous smaller and backward speech-communities was neither fully appreciated nor properly considered. Thus, one may wonder how far the principle of equal opportunity for all and the principle of one state for one language are compatible with each other. But surely a democratic Republic cannot overlook the interest of the minorities.

Among the linguistic minorities of West Bengal the Santals in the south-west and west, and the Gurkhas in the north are quite important. In Calcutta and in other industrial towns and townships of West Bengal there are various other linguistic minorities. Even if we consider these latter groups as temporary settlers and outsiders, what have we to say about the Santals and the Gurkhas? Do we propose to offer them separate states on the basis of their languages? Needless to say that such a proposition will not be quite popular among the Bengali speaking population, but if a principle is once accepted then surely it should be applicable to all. If the principle of one state for one language is fraught with so many complications and inconveniences and if its potential influence can create indefinite uncertainty in the entire set up of the country, then the twin issues of statehood and language should be reconsidered and that, too, separately. If we need an ideological support for the foundation of our states then we should keep in mind that language is a cord that ties people with one another, and that it is foolish to use it for sowing seeds of discord among neighbours whom, if one cannot love, one must learn to live with in peace.

Now who are the neighbours of the Bengali speech-community? In order to find an answer to this question one has to forget the present day map of West Bengal and try to remember the old map of undivided Bengal. While looking at this map, if one is aware of the people residing in the various regions and the languages they speak, then one can see possibly two concentric circles around the Bengali speech-community. The inner circle is made up of the tribal and the semi-tribal languages, the western part of the circle being composed of the

Kol-Mundā group and the northern and the eastern part being composed of the Tibeto-Burman group. The outer circle is made up of eastern and northern Indo-Aryan languages, viz., Oriya, Hindi, Magahi, Maithili, Gorkhāli, Assamese. Right from Mayurbhanj upto the Himalayas and from the Himalayas down to Ārākān on the Burma border an almost complete circle (almost, because on the south the Bay of Bengal makes a wide gap) of non-Indo-Aryan languages divides the Bengali speech-community from its other Indo-Aryan neighbours. Of these languages Santal, Kol, Mundā are spoken in the south-western and western regions and, as is well known, they are generally included in one group by the linguists. Orāon or Kurukh and Māler or Malto are supposed to be Dravidian languages; the first is spoken in Mayurbhanj and Chotanagpur, the second near Rajmahal. Up north Lepcha, Bhutia, Koch, Mech, Bado and some other little known languages of the Tibeto-Burman group are spoken. Then, in the Eastern, and the south-eastern regions one finds Gāro, Tiprā, Kuki, Kāchāri, Manipuri and some other Tibeto-Burman languages. All the Indo-Aryan languages of the eastern group have a number of non-Indo-Aryan languages in their borders.

The outer circle consisting of the eastern and the northern Indo-Aryan languages are in some ways connected with the Bengali speech-community. The Indo-Aryan speech was first brought to Bengal around the third to first century B. C. It is generally assumed by historians that the Indo-Aryan speech in the middle stage of its development first penetrated into North Bengal from north and Central Bihar and then in successive stages into West and East Bengal. To further east the successive waves of Indo-Aryan speech from Bengal reached the Brahmaputra and the Surma valleys of Assam and to further south-west, Orissa. Thus Magahi, Maithili, Bengali, Oriya and Assamese are intrinsically connected with each other in the very process of their evolution. The neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages of Eastern India not only belong to one family, but should be considered as the children of one mother varying only in maturity. The eastern variety of Prākrit found in the Dhauli edict of Asoka could be the mother-speech which was brought to Bengal from Magadha and Mithilā. This speech developed certain regional characteristics in the north, east, south-east, and south-west. But its midland variety acquired a kind of standard quality among the various groups living in the Gangetic delta and took a distinct shape around the tenth to twelfth century A. D. This speech is now called Bengali. The south-western variety of the speech was taken to Orissa from the coastal Bengal and the northern variety was taken to northern Assam from the Koch-Behar region. It is generally assumed that Oriya and Assamese took the course of independent development a little later than Bengali, Oriya in the 13th-14th century and Assamese in the 15th-16th century. The congenital connection between the four important languages of Eastern India, viz. Maithili, Bengali, Oriya and Assamese is conveniently forgotten by the lin-

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guistic mischief makers and at times their inherent differences only are insisted upon. If we can get rid of this evil design and if we can rouse a little more inquisitiveness for each other's literatures then it will be quite clear to any intelligent person that even now the four languages with their own rich literatures are not far from one another. For the intellectuals of this region it is quite easy to write in all the four or at least in more than one language. It was done in the nineteenth century and is still being done by some people. These languages have a number of identical constructions, usages, words, and in the current phase of their development they have all been leaning heavily on Sanskrit for vocabulary and expression, in the same manner.

The Indo-Aryan speech penetrated into the northern highlands and then into the Gangetic delta from the west, but there had been one more linguistic intrusion from the Tibeto-Burman family into this region from the east. This was a much later event beginning in the 10th century A. D. and then continuing for a few more centuries. Considering the fact that these languages could never advance into the delta but remained on the eastern and the northern fringes of Bengal, this intrusion was a much less vigorous one. Bengali speech-community from the very beginning had three sets of neighbours viz., (1) the speakers of some Kol-Muṇḍā languages, (2) the speakers of the Indo-Aryan languages, and (3) the speakers of some Tibeto-Burman languages. We have already discussed the historical relation of the Bengali speech-community with its Indo-Aryan neighbours. We shall now discuss its relation with its other neighbours.

Race and language were once believed to be interconnected, but because of the many abuses of this belief, few among the modern linguists are inclined to accept it without reservation. For us, it is hardly possible to discover the racial identity of the people who brought the Indo-Aryan speech into the Gangetic delta. But then we can easily guess that the earliest of these people might have been vagrants, nomads, outlaws, adventurers, and, last but not the least, the enterprising merchants. Thereafter, waves of colonizing midlanders followed each other in quick succession in the wake of the military conquests of the house of the Mauryas and of the Imperial Guptas. These latter Indo-Aryan speakers belonged to the warrior class and their camp followers. The Brahmins were the last among the early midland settlers to come into the delta against which they had much prejudice. Evidence of this prejudice was found even in the *Mahābhārata*. However, it can be safely assumed that these Indo-Aryan speakers were far outnumbered by the local population who mostly spoke languages of the Kol-Muṇḍā group. Entire tribes, originally speaking the languages of this group, gradually picked up the language of the new ruling class, and were themselves incorporated into the religious fold of the ruling people as new castes. This process was much augmented by the missionary zeal and the liberal religious approach of Buddhism and Jainism on

the one hand, and the exogamous practice of the midland warriors, on the other. The Brahmins also played an important role in winning over the local population to their own social custom and speech.

In order to understand the process we have to observe the present speech-habits of the non-Indo-Aryan speech-communities living on the fringes of the Bengali speech-community. Take for instance the Santals, who live in the district of Midnapore. They are mostly bilingual, but in their day-to-day contacts with the others they speak the local Bengali dialects. The Santal students who go to high schools and colleges invariably take up Bengali as their vernacular subject. The same practice is current among the Tiprās of Tripura and the Kāchāris of Kāchār, and many other tribal people similarly placed. The Lodha tribe of Midnapore, as well as the Arhi and the Bhumij, now speak the local variants of the Bengali dialects, although their vocabularies contain quite a large number of words belonging to their original speech which is now almost extinct. The Chakmās of the Chittagong hill tracts and the Hajongs of northern Mymensing similarly changed over to Bengali. The process is a long and continuous one, and to the students of social sciences this is nothing unique. On the northern fringes the Koch, Mech and Bodos and a number of other tribal and semi-tribal peoples are going through the same process which can be broadly included in the phenomenon generally known as acculturation. But acculturation is a two way traffic. Two peoples living side by side for a long time are bound to establish various types of contacts at various levels, the economic level being the most important of all. The economic contact is then followed up by other types of social intercourse. Linguistic change-over is the outcome of the entire gamut of social activities between two peoples. Bengali had been deeply indebted to its non-Indo-Aryan neighbours for its vocabulary, and, conversely, it had been influencing the entire structure of the speeches of these people. From the earliest period of infiltration of the Indo-Aryan speech into the Gangetic delta, non-Indo-Aryan speech-communities were being drawn closer and closer to Bengali and then ultimately totally engulfed by it. One may or may not like this process, but this is what happens in the long historical perspective of linguistic development. On the contrary, the original Indo-Aryan speech brought into the Gangetic delta being divided into various dialects took independent courses of development. In this field, the forces of diversification are stronger than the forces of unification. This again may not be liked by many, but here, too, history takes its own course. In conclusion, it is clear enough that the non-Indo-Aryan neighbours are drawing closer to Bengali, but the neo-Indo-Aryan neighbours are drifting away from it.

Now we must examine all the characteristics of the Bengali speech. A language can have two forms, viz. (1) written and (2) oral. A language in its oral form changes fast and is very much a living phenomenon, but a language in its written form is tradition-bound, slow in development and comparatively

archaic in approach. Language in its oral form is a vehicle of everyday-social communication, but transient in nature. Language in its written form is a somewhat permanent record meant for a universal public. First of all we shall study Bengali in all its oral forms and then in its written form.

In ancient times the Indo-Aryan speech was brought to Bengal not as it was written, i.e., not as Sanskrit but as various *prākrits*, i.e., as colloquial Indo-Aryan speech. The midlanders who first brought the eastern *prākrits* into the Gangetic delta enjoyed no reputation in their own milieu and their speech was marked as the speech of the people of low origin, a fact which can be easily attested by the use of Māgadhi Prākrit in the Sanskrit dramas. Māgadhi Prākrit found in the Sanskrit dramas is a highly artificial speech devised by the dramatists and the grammarians to be used in the colloquy of the people of low origin. It is almost canonical in the Sanskrit dramas that thieves, brigands, working people and rustics speak in Māgadhi. It is true that Māgadhi reflects the eastern Indo-Aryan speech to some extent, and there is no doubt that these people of so-called low origin, living on the fringes of the then Indo-Aryan speaking world, first brought the Indo-Aryan speech into the Gangetic delta. Thereafter Indo-Aryan speech in its various dialectal forms struck roots in the various parts of the country. Thus, as Prof. Sukumar Sen observed, Indo-Aryan speech brought to Bengal was never a homogenous one but a conglomeration of closely connected speeches practised only orally. For this simple reason, from the very beginning, the various *prākritic* dialects brought to Bengal lacked cohesion, and as they spread further into Assam and Orissa they naturally developed separately. But in the delta and in the adjoining highlands, after the fall of the Imperial Guptas an Indo-Aryan speaking local nobility took over the administration of the territory and around this political hegemony a kind of standard dialect was evolved, some later specimen of which one can find in the *Caryāpadas*. What were the characteristics which differentiated this speech from the other contemporary Indo-Aryan speeches? Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji listed about a dozen of these in his *Origin and Development of Bengali Language*. But these are not considered enough by some people for establishing the claim of Bengali over the *Caryāpadas*, and opposing claims have been forwarded on behalf of Assamese, Hindi and Oriya. Although the scholars and academicians should be free from parochial approach, it seems that a good part of our scholastic activities are motivated by narrow parochialism. Now what has one got to say about the language of the *Caryāpadas*? There is nothing new, I am afraid, save an observation that the language of the *Caryās* is an indication of the preliminary cohesion of the Indo-Aryan dialects spoken in the Gangetic delta at that time. Bengali can quite naturally claim its ancestry from this speech and so can Assamese and Oriya and possibly Magahi and some other dialects of Bihar and eastern U. P. Surely, the language of the *Caryās* is neither Assamese nor Oriya nor Magahi, although it definitely shows quite a number of

affinities with the later Bengali.

Uptil now we had been discussing the background of Bengali as a neo-Indo-Aryan speech. We should also take another fact into cognizance about the historical process of its development. We have discussed earlier how some non-Indo-Aryan speech-communities forsaking their own speeches gradually took to Bengali. Prof. Chatterji observes that a Mymensing peasant, who claims Bengali as his mother tongue, if somehow finds an opportunity for a chat with his counterpart from Manbhum, who has equal claims over Bengali, will have very little to talk about, as his speech will be totally unintelligible to the other. Tracing the reason Prof. Chatterji rightly points out that the Bengali of the first is modified Bodo, whereas that of the second modified Kol. Indo-Aryan speech as brought to Bengal was itself divided into several dialects, and then, again, because of the gradual inclusion of various non-Indo-Aryan speakers into the Bengali speech-community, further regional dialectal differences cropped up within the community. When Dr. Grierson conducted his survey quite naturally, the people who claimed Bengali to be their mother tongue, differed widely in their everyday speech and thus testified to the existence of a baffling number of dialects of Bengali.

What then is the Bengali speech and who is the actual speaker of Bengali? What standards may a linguist suggest for determining the identity of a language? A native of Chittagong and a native of Burdwan have very little in common in their every day speech, and similarly a native of Contai and a native of Koch-Behar will have ample reasons to wonder who is speaking Bengali and who is not. Prof. Chatterji classified the Bengali dialects into four major groups according to the four territorial divisions of the country, and then each group was further divided and sub-divided until broken up into region-based dialects. Thus, Dr. Grierson's observation that language changes every twenty miles in this country seems appropriate for the speech in the Gangetic delta and the adjoining high lands. As a student, studying the various Bengali dialects for the last ten years, I found the territorial classification of the Bengali dialects inadequate and lacking in precision. A comparison of a dozen or so morphological characteristics listed by Prof. Chatterji as the distinguishing marks of the Bengali speech with such dialects as the one spoken in Chittagong or the one spoken in Sylhet or the one spoken in Contai, will show that the pan-Bengali characteristics mentioned by Prof. Chatterji are not enough to connect all the dialects spoken among the Bengali speech community. Here is what Prof. Chatterji wrote about it in his *Origin and Development of Bengali Language*—"The Bengali dialects cannot be referred to a single primitive speech but they are derived from various local forms of late Maghadhi Apabhranśa, which developed some common characteristics, that may be called pan-Bengali, *e.g.*, 'ila', 'iba' for the past and the future base rather than 'ala'; 'aba', 'iā̃' rather than simple 'i' for the conjunctive; 'era' coming from 'kera' for the genitive; 'ke', 're' for the dative,

rather than 'ku' as in Oriya, *etc*... These pan-Bengali features link the dialects together as members of a group and enable them to be attached to a composite literary language as a matter of course" (p. 139). While studying the dialect of Contai I wondered why it should be called a dialect of Bengali and not of Oriya. The only possible reason for including it among the Bengali dialects is that the people who speak this dialect claim Bengali as their mother tongue. Thus, in the final analysis, for a number of dialects spoken on the fringes of the Bengali speech community there is no other criterion to ascertain which of these dialects belong to the Bengali speech-community and which do not, except what the actual speakers themselves feel about their own speech. Such indeed is the relation between the Bengali speech-community and its neighbours.

But how these dialects are related to each other and to what extent they are related is another interesting point to be considered. That a kind of standard speech developed in the delta much earlier have already been noted. Let us now try to reconstruct the gradual development of this standard speech. It was the fertile midlands that always attracted the outsiders who intended to settle down. As waves after waves of Indo-Aryan speakers rushed to the fertile midlands the earlier settlers were gradually pushed to the fringes. The process in various stages continued even upto the early British period. Due to political and natural upheavals many a time in the history of Bengal, shifting of population occurred in various dimensions as a result of which people had been thrown to fringes remote but safer from the political centre of gravity. Quite often a group of people fled from one remote settlement to another on the opposite frontier of the country. For this reason there exist striking affinities among the fringe dialects. Thus lax pronunciation of the vowels observable in the dialects of Mymensing, Sylhet, Comilla and Dacca are also present in the dialects of Midnapore and Bankura. For a 'bedbug' certain East Bengal dialects have the word 'ulush' which is not used in any of the midland dialects, but it again appears in the dialect of Contai and then in Oriya as 'urush'. In the Chittagong dialect the word 'thia' means 'hey', 'stop', and, astonishingly enough, it appears in the dialect of Contai with the same meaning. Indeed, this field, if properly studied, will yield a wealth of information about the Bengali speech-community. That is why territorial division of the dialects of Bengali is not acceptable to me; on the contrary, I prefer phonological, morphological, and etymological classification of these dialects. It is possible that the Bengali dialects, when divided into an inner group and a number of outer groups, will give a clearer picture of the Bengali speech in general.

What is the element that binds these heterogeneous groups together? It is the literary language, i.e., the written language, which had been held in high esteem by the community from the 15th century onwards, and which yielded a great crop of masterpieces of literature both in the medieval and in the modern periods. With the emergence of the literary language whose written evidences

could be traced back to the 15th century, it did not matter how the people talked among themselves, for they had a powerful literary language for their cultural needs as well as a common medium of communication with the rest of the country. Thus in the courts of Ārākān, Tripurā, Koch-Behar, and Bishnupur, the standard literary Bengali was equally cultivated, although these places were on the fringes and opposite to each other in geographical directions. The literary language found in the *Candimangal* of Mukundaram, a resident of Midnapur and in the *Candimangal* of Dwija Madhab, a resident of Chittagong, is well integrated, and has all the pan-Bengali characteristics. Similarly, the language in *Haft-Paikar,* a book on Muslim theology written by Said Ālāol of Ārākān does not differ much from the language in *Caitanya Caritāmrita,* a book of Vaishnava faith written by Krishnadas Kaviraj of Burdwan. Prof. Chatterji has given a detailed history of the evolution of the early literary Bengali. Thereafter, with the birth of literary prose in the beginning of the 19th century, early literary Bengali reached its climax. This literary language was first based on the dialects spoken around the ancient city of Gaud, and gradually it was influenced by the dialects of Nabadwip, Burdwan, 24-Parganas and Dacca, till it became "eminently representative" of most of the important dialects of the Bengali speech-community. The literary language also generated a feeling of oneness among all the members of the community.

By the second half of the 19th century Calcutta was firmly established as the political, economical and cultural centre of Bengal. Quite naturally, the language of the city of Calcutta asserted itself even in literature. Kaliprasanna Sinha, Pyarichand Mitra, Pramatha Choudhury and finally Rabindra Nath Thakur secured the literary recognition of the speech of the city of Calcutta which in itself was a mixture of many dialects. First of all the dialects of southern 24-Parganas and then of Hooghly and Howrah, then of northern 24-Parganas, Nadia, Burdwan and finally of Dacca, Barishal, Khulna, Jessore influenced the language of the city of Calcutta. Now this language has a prestige value for an individual speaker and for the entire community, it is the Standard Colloquial acceptable even in high literature. Thus, the Bengali language in its oral form possesses elements of diversification, but in its written form it possesses a wonderful capacity for the unification of all the elements of the speech-community. This dual role of a highly developed language like Bengali should never be forgotten. In the year 1960 Prof. Munier Chowdhury of the University of Dacca predicted in his paper on the Eastern Bengali Dialects, published in *International Journal of American Linguistics,* that in the long run the standard speech in Eastern Pakistan would be somewhat different from that of West Bengal. But his predictions have been proved wrong, as the standard literary Bengali is the only form of Bengali current in Eastern Pakistan even now.

This discussion about the Bengali speech-community and its neighbours

offers a few broad hints on the question of language and regionalism in India, and these may be enumerated here one by one :

(1) State and language are not intrinsically connected, and it may not be possible to bring one speech community under one political unit.

(2) Linguistic reorganisation of the states in India does not always safeguard the interest of the linguistic minorities.

(3) Languages do not divide the people but bring them closer to each other in the longer perspective of their historical development.

(4) It is better to look for some binding principle other than language for the foundation of our states within the Union Republic of India in order to avoid further complications.

(5) The forces of diversification may be active within a speech community, but, on a broader perspective, the forces of unification are much more active.

(6) Where there are many speeches the emergence of a standard speech is only a matter of time.

The broad hints derived out of a brief description of the Bengali speech-community and its neighbours are neither new nor novel, yet these simple deductions, based on facts, I believe, have got much broader implications to the language problem of our country.

P. B. PANDIT

Parameters of Speech Variation in an Indian Community

It is only recently that we have been trying to describe speech variation systematically instead of bypassing it with an elegant denial to touch anything 'extralinguistic'. Variations appear as variations only when one is building a micromodel of language structure—the search for constants—and discarding the variants to be appended or brushed aside. But as soon as the linguist learns to outgrow the units of his micromodels and takes an overview of the macrostructure, he may find that what appeared to be variants are structured within a social system. It has been customary to say that greater the verbal interaction lesser the speech variation; that variation marks off boundaries of communication in a speech community. In a model with homogeneity as the underlying assumption there were no barriers other than the barriers of geography to cut off or to restrict communication. This is true within this model, but it was dangerously wrong to assume away the heterogeneity in society; the social barriers of status have ingenious ways of communication without assimilation. Language is not merely a habit, it is a conscious act of distinctive behaviour. Thus, in a given cultural context, one views variation as functional. After all, variation helps preserve one's status: a Brahmin can talk unconsciously with others only in his own group; he consciously displays some social markers to help him retain his special identity. Moreover, speech variation offers an excellent vertical channel of social mobility and recognition. The linguist is not the only beneficiary here; the insights thus obtained are for the area students as well. The status seekers, the new aspirants, highlighted by the linguist, cast doubt on the old versions of stratified equilibrium in a caste system.

Linguistic diversity in India has attracted some attention and a number

of studies have appeared in the last decade; it was almost inevitable that these linguists took for granted the caste system as a structure which intervenes between language and speech in an Indian community. But caste is not the only parameter for a sociolinguistic inquiry, nor should caste be interpreted as a closed group. The fieldworker starting with a selection of linguistic variables and plotting the differences among different groups in an urban or a non-urban environment may be able to present a more meaningful picture of social classes than the one who starts with a readymade scale of caste and plots the variants along that scale.

I have tried to present certain significant parameters of speech variation in Gujarati; this study was planned in 1961 and the field work was completed in 1963.

The linguistic variables selected in this inquiry are:

1. Nasalisation or the loss of nasalisation of the word final and utterance final ã and ũ.
2. Replacement of initial d- by ḍ- in words where the following syllable has a retroflex consonant.
3. Interchange and selection of the allophones ɸ, f and ph of the phoneme /ph/.

The inquiry was conducted in Ahmedabad (Gujarat capital, pop. 1 1/4 million, urban) and in Surendranagar (70 miles north-west of Ahmedabad, pop. 50,000, town, non-urban); the random sample of the population consisted of literate and illiterate men and women and members of the élite caste—Nagar. The data are processed by standard statistical techniques and the correlations specified are within confidence limits.

Nasalisation:

Gujarati has an eight vowel system

i		u
e	ə	o
ɛ	a	ɔ

Of these, ĩ, ɛ̃, ã, ũ, ɔ̃ can occur as nasalised vowels (there is no contrast between nasalised ẽ—ɛ̃ and nasalised õ—ɔ̃. There are further restrictions on the occurrence of the nasalised vowels : ĩ, ɛ̃ and ɔ̃ do not occur in final position in polysyllabic words :

vĩti	'ring'	phɛ̃to	'turban'
cĩ	'chirping'	bhɔ̃	'honking'
bhĩt	'wall'	bhɔ̃ko	'piercing'
bɛ̃	'bleeting.'		

This leaves out two vowels ã and ũ which could occur as nasalised vowels in final as well as nonfinal positions

śũ	'what'	kã	'why'
khũṭo	'(tethering) post'	kãṭo	'thorn'
khaṭũ	'sour' n.sg.	khaṭã	'sour' n.pl.

We have investigated the variation in the nasalised and the nonnasalised final ã and ũ. The difference about the loss of nasalisation in the word-final and utterance-final positions is made because it was noticed that words with nasalised vowels before juncture i.e. final vowels (all vowels have longer allophones before juncture) alternate with nonnasal vowels if they are not prejunctural. This is true not only of the polysyllabic words but also of the monosyllabic words, thus :

śũ vs šuche (che is the auxiliary verb)
khaṭã vs khaṭache

Accordingly, in this investigation, the distinction labelled as medial -ã-, final -ã, medial -ũ- and final -ũ refers to prejunctural and final vowels respectively. It should be noted that the word final ũ or ã in polysyllabic words or in words of CVw (w=semivowel w) structure always marks a morpheme boundary and is a morpheme : -ũ nom. sg.n. or Ist pers. sg.
-a nom. pl. n.

The Gujarati spelling rules require the marking of the nasalised vowels. A historical background of the changes in nasalised vowels in final positions may indicate the direction of change.

OG-ai >MG-e but OG-au>MG-O
OG-aĩ OG-aũ>MG-ũ

Paradigm of the verb kar 'to do' pres. Indicative in OG and MG is as follows :

	OG sg.	OG pl.	MG sg.	MG pl.
Ist pers.	karaũ	karaũ	karũ	karũ ~ karie (karie is an analogical development)
2nd pers.	karai	karau	kare	karo
3rd pers.	karai	karai	kare	kare

This indicates that the final -u and -ũ were phonemically distinct in OG while final-i and -ĩ were not distinct (atleast in one environment).

The questionnaire for the inquiry of these two variables among the literate and the illiterate in the urban area consisted of one hundred questions out of which there were eleven items for which a nasalised vowel (ũ or ã) was expected; other questions contained minimal or near minimal pairs; thus, if sacã 'true' n.pl. and sacãche 'true' n.pl. with auxiliary were the words in the sentences, there would be two other sentences with the words saca m.pl. and sacache m.pl. with auxiliary, in the questionnaire. The fieldworker uttered a sentence and asked the informant to repeat it after him in his normal casual style. The fieldworker had just to note on a sheet of paper whether he heard the nasalised vowel in the sentence. The informants did not know the purpose of the inquiry. The questionnaire was administered to fifty illiterates and fifty literates (an illiterate is defined as one who does not recognize any written symbol

and a literate as one who can at least read a newspaper headline).

The random sample of 50 literate and 50 illiterate from Ahmedabad consisted of men and women who had a continued residence in Ahmedabad; they came from all castes though it is apparent that among the illiterates there is a preponderance of lower castes.

A second sample (population 25 and frequency of the nasalised item 5) was obtained later, from Ahmedabad and Surendranagar; the three groups investigated were illiterate, literate, and Nagar; the Nagars are upper among the urban Brahmins and illiteracy among them is almost nil; informants from all the three groups were women and the fieldworker was also a woman.

A third sample (population 25 and frequency of the nasalised item 10) was obtained from Surendranagar; the three groups investigated were mixed (men and women) illiterate, literate, (a small group of 13 only), and Nagar; the word-final and utterance-final distinction was omitted from this sample and only the word-final -ã and -ũ were investigated from this area.

1. -ã- (tables 1-8) : See tables in Appendix.

The literate-illiterate difference is not significant in the non-urban area; both the groups drop the nasalisation.

The literate-illiterate difference comes at 5% confidence level in the urban area.

-ã- illit. shows a low mean and a low variance, with most of the speakers bunching in the low frequency range while in -ã- lit. there is a greater scatter, and middle frequencies are also filled in.

In one urban sample of women informants, however, though illit. and lit. women are largely bunched in the low frequency range, there is a greater scatter in the illit. -ã-; the mean and variance in illit. women are also higher than those in lit. women; but this difference, again, does not come within confidence level.

The Nagars in the non-urban and the urban area display a distinctly different behaviour; though there is some difference within the Nagars—the non-urban and the urban. The urban Nagars show a high mean and low variance, with more speakers in high frequency range, the non-urban Nagars show a high mean and a high variance. The Nagars, urban or non-urban, definitely show a trend at the retention of -ã- and the rest, illit.-lit., urban-non-urban definitely show non-retention of -ã-.

Utterance-final-ã (tables 9-13) : See tables in Appendix.

Only the urban area data are available.

-ã illit. shows a trend towards > a; more speakers are in the lower frequency range; there is low mean and low variance.

-ã lit. shows the same low mean but there is somewhat greater variance, with a somewhat greater scatter. Though both the lit.-illit. show trend towards non-retention, the difference in the behaviour of lit.-illit, with reference to -ã is at 5 per cent confidence level.

Like -ã- here also a sample from women informants show low mean and variance among the lit. and relatively higher mean and variance among the illit.; but the difference does not come within any significance range.

Nagars show high mean and low variance; more speakers are in the higher frequency range; definitely show retention.

The Nagars show trends towards retention, the lit.-illit. show trends towards non-retention. All the three groups are significantly different along the scale of retention of ã : illit.-lit.-Nagar.

-ã- and -ã

The difference is significant

at 1 per cent level of confidence among lit. and

at 5 per cent level of confidence among illit.

(confidence level among Nagars not counted.)

2. -ũ- (tables 14-21) : See tables in Appendix.

In the urban area -ũ- illit. shows low mean and low variance definitely displays non-retention; variant behaviour is almost non-existent. -ũ- lit. shows higher mean and higher variance, though majority are grouped in a low frequency range, and the tendency is at non-retention.

The difference between lit. and illit. is significant in both, the non-urban and the urban areas. Lit-illit. difference is significant at 1 per cent confidence level.

The lit.-illit. women informants (urban) do not show any significant difference in -ũ->u treatment; both display low mean, low variance.

The Nagars, urban (women) and non-urban differ significantly. In the urban areas they show high mean and low variance, which indicates a definite trend towards retention; in the non-urban area they show high mean and high variance (retention, but indecision).

-ũ (tables 22-26) : See tables in Appendix.

In the urban areas, -ũ- among the literates displays a deviant behaviour at retention/non-retention levels while among the illiterates it displays a deviant behaviour of a different type : both the extremes of frequency are well distributed among the speakers but the majority is showing indecision more in favour of non-retention.

The difference in lit.-illit. behaviour is at 5 per cent level of confidence.

Among the women informants the lit.-illit. difference is not significant.

The Nagars distinctly behave towards retention, high mean and low variation.

-ũ- and ũ :

The difference is significant at 5 per cent level of confidence among the lit. and at 1 per cent level of confidence among the illit. (confidence level among the Nagars not counted).

3. The second variable is an initial d- alternating with an initial ḍ- when

there is a retroflex ṭ, d, or ḷ in the following syllable. There are about ten words in Gujarati with such a structure and all these words were included in the questionnaire; the samples were obtained from Ahmedabad (all women informants) and Surendranagar (mixed) from the three groups, illiterate, literate and Nagar. The items were

daṭ-	'to bury'	daḷia	'roasted chick-peas'
dɔṭ	'run'	dĩṭũ	'stem, stalk'
dũṭi	'navel'	dɔḍh	'1 1/2'
dā̃ḍo	'a stick'	daḍhi	'chin, beard'
daḷ	'lentil'	daḍh	'molar teeth'

The spelling system retains d- in all these cases.

d->ḍ- (tables 27-32) : See tables in Appendix.

There is a greater incidence of d>ḍ in the non-urban areas; in all the three groups : illit.-lit. and Nagars.

Thus, the urban illiterates (women) show about half the population in high frequency range, none in low frequency, and a little less than half in the middle frequency range; the non-urban illiterates (mixed) show most of the speakers in high frequency range, and none in the low frequency range.

Both display a definite trend towards ḍ.

The urban literates (women) show a low mean and high variance with about 1/3 speakers in the high frequency range, 1/4 in the low frequency range and 1/2 in the middle range; this indicates greater indecision and drift in the urban literates; the non-urban literates (mixed) show majority of the speakers in high frequency group.

The urban Nagars (women)show low mean and low variance; there is none in the high frequency range, less than half in the middle frequency range, and more than half in the low frequency range. This indicates a definite trend towards d, and rejection of d>ḍ. Among the non-urban Nagars (mixed) about 1/5 speakers are in high frequency range, 1/5 in the low frequency range, and the rest in the middle frequency range; it indicates greater indecision and drift (somewhat comparable to the urban literates: non-urban Nagars= urban literates).

Gujarati /ph/ has three allophones : [ph], [f] and [ϕ]; ph- occurs initially; medially, all the three vary freely. A sample of twenty items with the medial allophones was obtained from Ahmedabad (urban, women) and Surendranagar (non-urban, mixed). In the sample study, the variation between [ϕ] and [f] was not separated in the non-urban area, both the allophones were transcribed by one symbol [f] whereas in the urban area the allophones were separately transcribed as [ϕ] and [f].

Allophones of /ph/ in non-initial position (tables 33-38): See tables in Appendix.

It is noticed that the Nagars show greater indecision and drift: they

use [f] or [ϕ] for more than half of the occurrences in the urban areas and for 3/5 of the occurrences in the non-urban area.

In the non-urban area, the incidence of -ph- and -f- is

	-ph-	-f-
illit.	245	248
lit.	130	140
Nagar	184	288

which distinguishes the non-urban Nagars from the rest by a noticeable higher frequency of [f] (or [ϕ]) as against the lit. and illit. groups. Moreover, the range of variation in the use of [ph] is from zero to thirteen, and the frequencies in that range are well spread out, which indicates indecision.

In the urban area, the incidence of -ph-, -f- and -ϕ-, is

	-ph-	-f-	-ϕ-
illit. ..	420	41	11
lit. ..	341	48	8
Nagar ..	242	121	131

This brings out the Nagar-non-Nagar difference sharply; the non-Nagars display -ph- almost exclusively with very little variation while the Nagars display -f- or -ϕ- half the time.

Some clear patterns emerge when we correlate the occurrences of these variables among the various strata of the population. The urban-non-urban social situations are different and there is a sharper ran-king in the urban scales:

non-urban illiterate	vs	urban illiterate	↕ vs
non-urban literate	vs	urban literate	↕ vs
non-urban Nagar	vs	urban Nagar	

One would, therefore, like to investigate further in this direction to find out the nature of social classes, which is probably more definitive, with discrete boundaries in the urban areas. In both the cases, urban as well as non-urban, a single group seems to be distinct from the rest, probably serving as the arbiter of linguistic fashions. This group, the Nagars, focuses our attention on the social élite-consciousness of which literacy is probably merely one of the many dimensions, such as : occupation, income, authority-power, etc. The difference within the Nagars (urban *versus* non-urban) on the one hand is a part of the general difference between the urban-non-urban differences and on the other it may stem from the "regional differences" in social recognition: probably, it is only in the older capitals (historically, older seats of power) such as Ahmedabad, Junagarh and Mandvi (Kutch) that Nagar is recognized as the apex; hence the difference between Nagars of Ahmedabad and those of Surendranagar in our present inquiry.

In one variable, (nasalised ã) the behaviour of literate and illiterate women does not fit in the pattern, and seems to suggest that there may be some significant difference in the speech behaviour of men and women in our community.

-ã- and -ã which generally show the tendency of losing their nasalisation along the illiterate-literate scale and retention of nasalisation among the Nagars, appear with a greater scatter and a high mean and variance of -ã- among illiterate women and a high mean and variance of -ã among illiterate women; though, the difference between illiterate and literate women does not come within confidence level.

Before interpreting this deviant behaviour, it may be noticed that no such deviation occurs in u/ũ variation. It is probable that since in u/ũ variation the loss of nasalisation is significant by almost non-existent variant behaviour (at least in one case: -ũ- urban illiterate), the chances of its retention are considerably reduced among illitrerate or literate women.

Some tentative explanations may be offered for this deviant behaviour of women. The illiterate women are surrounded by literate men in the family, particularly in urban households, hence they do not behave like illiterate men. Urban illiterate women are—as women in literate contexts—half-way between literate women and illiterate men. Secondly, literate women in the sample happen to be mostly élite castes and families—not true of the literate men as such in an urban area. The literate women is by definition high caste, if not the highest; on the other hand, even the illiterate women in urban area has intimate literate company of brother, husband and sons and daughters and so on. These factors may be taken into consideration in interpreting our samples. Lastly, I should also take into account the bias of the investigator's universe—a woman—in this case.

The limitations of this study are apparent; the samples in different regions and different strata of population have not been evenly worked out; the samples are not properly refined, i.e. in the nasalisation study, I have worked with only literate-illiterate distinction in one group; each could have been broken down castewise and sexwise. The samples have been quite random. I have not taken into account age differences, nor have I taken into account any other scales of social stratification—income, residence, occupation, etc. Moreover, this fieldwork was done before 1962 and before I had a chance to study some excellent work in sociolinguistics—Labov's studies in New York English; I have not used Labov's style indices.

In spite of these shortcomings, this study may definitively show that simple models of correlations between caste ranking and speech variation cannot explain the complex structure of variation; the parameters are many and complex. The developing urban centres display emerging social classes with considerable vertical mobility, which indicate that variation is functional, variation does not indicate a barrier in communication. Probably a study of speech variation in a country like India, which is rapidly moving away from a traditional society to a modern society, may throw light on the formation of social classes, ancient as well as modern.

APPENDIX

URBAN (MIXED)

[-ã-]

(1)
Illiterate

Speakers	Frequency
8	zero
17	1
10	2
7	3
1	4
2	5
1	6
2	7
1	8
1	9
50	

(2)
Literate

Speakers	Frequency
1	0
9	1
13	2
8	3
6	4
5	5
2	6
3	7
1	8
1	9
0	10
1	11
50	

Mean $= \times$	2.18
Variance $= s^2$	4.5476
ns^2	$227.38 = 50 \times 4.5476$
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	4.6404

Mean	3.38
Variance	5.3556
ns^2	267.78
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	5.4649

Population : 50
Frequency : 11
n = sample size = 50

$1 / \frac{n}{n-1}$: population correction factor : pcf.

$s^2 =$ variance

$\sqrt{s^2} = \sqrt{\text{variance}}$ = standard deviation

Population : 50
Frequency : 11

URBAN (WOMEN)

[-ã-]

(3) Illiterate

Speakers	Frequency
8	zero
7	1
6	2
3	3
0	4
1	5
25	

Mean	1.32
Variance	1.5776
ns^2	39.44
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	1.6433

Population : 25
Frequency : 5

(4) Literate

Speakers	Frequency
12	zero
10	1
3	2
25	

Mean	0.64
Variance	0.4704
ns^2	11.76
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	0.49

Population : 25
Frequency : 5

(5) Nagar

Speakers	Frequency
2	1
2	2
10	3
6	4
5	5
25	

Mean	3.40
Variance	1.28
ns^2	32.00
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	1.3333

Population : 25
Frequency : 5

NON-URBAN (MIXED)

[-ã-]

(6)

Speakers	Frequency
23	zero
1	3
1	7
25	

Mean	0.40
Variance	2.16
ns²	54.0
ns²/n-1	2.25

Population : 25
Frequency : 10

(7)

Speakers	Frequency
11	zero
1	1
1	2
13	

Mean	0.2308
Variance	0.3313
ns²	4.3075
ns²/n-1	0.3590

Population : 13
Frequency : 10

(8)

Speakers	Frequency
3	zero
1	2
1	3
4	4
2	6
3	7
4	8
3	9
3	10
24	

Mean	5.9583
Variance	10.1237
ns²	242.9688
ns²/n-1	10.5639

Population : 24
Frequency : 10

URBAN (MIXED)

[-ã]

(9) Illiterate

Speakers	Frequency
3	zero
4	1
8	2
5	3
13	4
3	5
4	6
3	7
4	8
1	9
1	10
1	11
50	

Mean	4.18
Variance	6.7876
ns^2	339.38
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	6.9261

Population : 50
Frequency : 11

(10) Literate

Speakers	Frequency
2	zero
4	1
4	2
11	3
5	4
6	5
1	6
6	7
5	8
2	9
2	10
2	11
50	

Mean	4.86
Variance	8.4404
ns^2	422.02
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	8.6127

Population : 50
Frequency : 11

URBAN (WOMEN)

[-ã]

(11) Illiterate

Speakers	Frequency
9	zero
4	1
4	2
8	3
2	4
2	5
29	

Mean	1.8621
Variance	2.5326
ns^2	73.4448
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	2.6230

Population : 25
Frequency : 5

(12) Literate

Speakers	Frequency
14	zero
6	1
3	2
0	3
1	4
1	5
25	

Mean	0.84
Variance	1.6544
ns^2	41.36
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	1.7233

Population : 25
Frequency : 5

(13) Nagar

Speakers	Frequency
1	zero
3	1
4	2
5	3
5	4
7	5
25	

Mean	3.24
Variance	2.2624
ns^2	56.56
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	2.3567

Population : 25
Frequency : 5

URBAN (MIXED)

[-ũ-]

(14)
Illiterate

Speakers	Frequency
5	1
17	2
16	3
10	4
0	5
1	6
0	7
1	8
50	

Mean	2.82
Variance	1.5876
ns^2	79.38
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	1.62

Population : 50
Frequency : 11

(15)
Literate

Speakers	Frequency
zero	1
9	2
8	3
11	4
6	5
8	6
2	7
1	8
3	9
1	10
1	11
50	

Mean	4.68
Variance	5.05776
ns^2	252.88
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	5.1608

Population : 50
Frequency : 11

URBAN (WOMEN)

[-ũ-]

(16) Illiterate

Speakers	Frequency
4	zero
7	1
9	2
5	3
25	

Mean	1.60
Variance	0.96
ns^2	24.0
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	1.00

Population : 25
Frequency : 5

(17) Literate

Speakers	Frequency
10	zero
7	1
8	2
25	

Mean	0.92
Variance	0.7136
ns^2	17.84
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	0.7433

Population : 25
Frequency : 5

(18) Nagar

Speakers	Frequency
1	1
7	2
4	3
8	4
5	5
25	

Mean	3.36
Variance	1.4304
ns^2	35.76
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	1.4900

Population : 25
Frequency : 5

NON-URBAN (MIXED)

[-ũ-]

(19)
Illiterate

Speakers	Frequency
19	zero
3	1
1	2
1	3
1	8
25	

(20)
Literate

Speakers	Frequency
3	zero
4	1
3	2
2	3
1	10
13	

(21)
Nagar

Speakers	Frequency
1	zero
2	1
1	2
1	3
2	5
2	6
2	7
4	8
4	9
5	10
24	

Mean	0.64
Variance	2.7904
ns^2	69.76
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	2.9067

Population : 25
Frequency : 10

Mean	2.00
Variance	6.3077
ns^2	32.0
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	6.8333

Population : 13
Frequency : 10

Mean	6.7083
Variance	9.7904
ns^2	234.9688
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	10.2160

Population : 24
Frequency : 10

URBAN (MIXED)

[-ũ]

(22)
Illiterate

Speakers	Frequency
2	0
1	1
6	2
14	3
6	4
11	5
1	6
6	7
1	8
0	9
1	10
1	11
50	

Mean	4.22
Variance	4.9316
ns^2	246.58
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	4.0322

Population : 50
Frequency : 11

(23)
Literate

Speakers	Frequency
4	1
4	2
7	3
5	4
5	5
7	6
4	7
3	8
7	9
2	10
2	11
50	

Mean	5.54
Variance	s^2 : 8.0484
ns^2	402.42
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	8.2127

Population : 50
Frequency : 11

URBAN (WOMEN)

[-ũ]

(24)
Illiterate

Speakers	Frequency
7	zero
8	1
5	2
1	3
4	4
25	

Mean	1.48
Variance	1.8496
ns^2	46.24
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	1.9267

Population : 25
Frequency : 5

(25)
Literate

Speakers	Frequency
9	zero
9	1
2	2
5	3
25	

Mean	1.12
Variance	1.2256
ns^2	30.64
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	1.2767

Population : 25
Frequency : 5

(26)
Nagar

Speakers	Frequency
1	zero
1	1
2	2
5	3
7	4
9	5
25	

Mean	3.72
Variance	1.8016
ns^2	45.04
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	1.8767

Population : 25
Frequency : 5

URBAN (WOMEN)

d- > ḍ-

(27)
Illiterate

Speakers	Frequency
1	3
2	4
3	5
4	6
2	7
3	8
6	9
4	10
25	

Mean	7.28
Variance	4.4416
ns^2	111.04
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	4.6267

Population : 25
Frequency : 10

(28)
Literate

Speakers	Frequency
3	1
1	2
2	3
5	4
1	5
4	6
1	7
4	8
2	9
2	10
25	

Mean	5.48
Variance	7.6096
ns^2	190.24
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	7.9267

Population : 25
Frequency : 10

(29)
Nagar

Speakers	Frequency
1	zero
3	1
4	2
6	3
5	4
4	5
1	6
1	7
25	

Mean	3.28
Variance	2.7616
ns^2	69.04
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	2.8767

Population : 25
Frequency : 10

NON-URBAN (MIXED)

d- > ḍ-

(30)
Illiterate

Speakers	Frequency
1	6
2	8
6	9
7	10
9	11
25	

Population : 25
Frequency : 11

(31)
Literate

Speakers	Frequency
1	3
1	4
3	6
1	7
1	8
2	9
2	10
2	11
13	

Population : 13
Frequency : 11

(32)
Nagar

Speakers	Frequency
3	0
2	1
2	2
1	3
4	4
2	5
5	6
1	7
3	8
1	11
24	

Population : 24
Frequency : 11

NON-URBAN (MIXED)

non-initial [ph]

(33)
Illiterate

Speakers	Frequency
1	3
1	4
1	5
2	6
1	7
1	8
1	9
4	10
5	11
4	12
3	13
1	15
25	

Mean	9.8
Variance	9.12
ns^2	228.0
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	9.5

Population : 25
Frequency : 20

(34)
Literate

Speakers	Frequency
1	2
1	4
1	8
2	9
1	10
3	11
1	12
2	13
1	17
13	

Mean	10.00
Variance	13.8462
ns^2	180.0
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	15.0

Population : 13
Frequency : 20

(35)
Nagar

Speakers	Frequency
1	zero
2	1
1	3
2	5
1	6
1	7
3	8
4	9
5	10
3	11
1	13
24	

Mean	7.6667
Variance	11.8050
ns^2	283.3211
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	12.3183

Population : 24
Frequency : 20

URBAN (WOMEN)

non-initial [ph]

(36)

Illiterate

Speakers	Frequency
4	14
2	15
2	16
3	17
3	18
3	19
7	20
24	

Mean	17.5
Variance	4.9167
ns^2	118.0
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	5.1304

Population : 25
Frequency : 20

(37)

Literate

Speakers	Frequency
1	7
1	9
1	12
1	15
2	16
4	17
2	18
8	19
5	20
25	

Mean	17.24
Variance	10.9024
ns^2	272.36
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	11.3567

Population : 25
Frequency : 20

(38)

Nagar

Speakers	Frequency
1	0
2	5
3	7
2	8
4	9
3	10
2	11
4	12
1	13
2	14
1	18
25	

Mean	9.68
Variance	12.3
ns^2	309.44
$\frac{ns^2}{n-1}$	12.8933

Population : 25
Frequency : 20

KA NAA SUBRAMANYAM

Contemporary Situation in Tamil, a language which finds itself mentioned in the Eighth Schedule

I DO not know whether I am competent to speak as a representative on behalf of the Tamil language. I do not represent any vested interest, educational or institutional, governmental or non-governmental. There are others more competent; still others there are, as in any other language in India, clamouring for our attention and getting it for non-logical reason that I can find out.

And about the idea of being representative, I have my own reservations. I am a creative writer and I do not represent anything except myself and my attitudes, my emotions, etc. It is not the representative in Parliament or in universities who is, to me, the real voice of the Tamil language. I would consider the ill-schooled poet who lisps in numbers as the numbers come but is forced by circumstances to write film-songs for a living, and often achieves an excellent living—whisky, varnish, women and all—for a decade or two, then finding himself dropped by the 10th or, is it the 11th, Muse, but all the time continues to write an occasional poem or two of great excellence and is finally forced to apply via the Sahitya Akademi for a pension which, in the natural course of events, he will not get. He makes the language—whether the educational, institutional and other authorities recognise the fact or not; if they do not recognise it today, they will recognise it a few years later.

It is time however that the poets themselves realised that they have been for too long now the unacknowledged legislators of the world. It is high time that they became the acknowledged legislators.

The Eighth Schedule gives Tamil a status, but what is the status? I am a Brahmin born and that gives me all the disadvantages of birth without any of the advantages of old; it is a sort of status, much like the status of being mentioned

in the Eighth Schedule. Tamil is one of the two classical languages of India, which fact only the Tamils themselves seem to remember in the Indian context. I mean by classical not only the matter of age but all the fact of being 'dead', as dead as Sanskrit if we put the word within quotation marks. It is at the same time as live and as kicking as, say, Hindi; I should perhaps have said, as live and politically as kicking as Hindi. It is a trite and stale phrase but it expresses what I mean. In more than one sense, Tamil is a classical language, with all the defect of the classical as well as all its advantages. In the language as it is being written today I can distinguish the most wooden old expressions long gone out of use as well as the liveliest, reminding us of the folksiest and most racy. And in adapting words from a wide variety of sources, Tamil has been as plaint as, say, English in the contemporary context.

If the Eighth Schedule has a bare suggestion of standardisation of the languages mentioned therein, why, the attempt at standardisation has not been without precedent in the history of the Tamil Language. I am treading on ground not explored fully yet by Tamil scholars; it will be a matter of speculative criticism if I suggest that the earliest strata of Tamil poetry, the so-called Sangam poetry, was a sort of attempt at standardisation. What did not pass the ISI test of the Sangam has not survived. *Sentamil* was equated more or less with the Tamil spoken round about Madurai and the Sangam itself was placed in the city of Madurai in legend and story. In this process of standardisation much that was valuable should have been lost, as might happen once again if Tamil today is standardised on the suggestion of the Eighth Schedule.

In the last decades of the 19th century, again, when prose was beginning to replace verse, an attempt at standardisation proceeded apace striving to make and to keep Tamil inadequate for most contemporary needs. This movement started as a purely linguistic move, later became cultural and social, and later still took effective political form as the non-Brahmin movement and as the Dravida Kazhakam which gave birth to the Dravida Munnetra Kazhakam which has come to power after the last elections in Madras. With its taking note of larger concerns, the movement for standardisation of the language has more or less petered out; the DMK itself has dropped its claims to *pure* Tamil. It is obvious, looking back, to find that the attempt at standardisation was a failure.

If standardisation is to be offered as a sign of development, the reply is obvious; it is not that, it cannot be that. For the glories of a regional language like Tamil, it can be called a totally national language in the strictest sense of the term—forges a unity among its speakers allowing for wide variations for local colourfulness and nuances. I mean that the man from Madras, from Madurai, from Tirunelveli, from Thanjavur do not all speak the same way, the same words though they speak in effect the same language, and this adds to the richness of the language. This might necessitate a glossary at the end of a

contemporary regional novel, but the attempt to keep these differences is worthwhile and linguistically profitable. The majority of Tamil writers feel along with me that this is as it should be; and any attempt at standardisation would be resisted by writers, whatever the politicians' opinion of it might be.

Language has of late in India, been developed as a tool of politicians; it is high time that writers and journalists and other creative users of language refused to play the politicians' game.

The Eighth Schedule contemplated the development of Tamil as well as of the other languages as regional media, and not merely as a tool of politicians, let us hope. In what ways was this development to be made to come into being, to accelerate, to take the right directions and the like? And therein lies the tragedy of the last two decades as far as the languages of India, and Tamil in particular, are concerned.

When a bureaucrat thinks of development, he simultaneously thinks of money. This can be exemplified among other things by the recent offer of 8 crores, or was it 18, for a programme of translations of textbooks into Indian languages, as if that would solve the problem of textbooks. In India, any planning, any project, immediately attracts the administrator and the bureaucrat. And we have the unedifying examples of scholars and writers turning administrators, politicians and bureaucrats. Administrative, political and other skills are admirable in certain given contexts, but in matters of culture, language, art and the like, one should have the courage and conviction to say: 'Hands off'.

There is no language in the world of 1967 that will be adequate for all the contemporary purposes of 1980. In this sense all the languages are developing languages. But they are developing by natural means while in India we find the process of development hastened by quack shots into the withered arm of the patient. Whether the quack is homeopath, allopath, naturopath or just psychopath, you can best describe for yourself.

In Tamil, in the process of this artificial development, we have achieved a complete encyclopaedia, but we have no primers of any department of knowledge. I do not say that this is the case in Tamil alone; I know that this is the case with most Indian languages, that they contemplate encyclopaedias without any thought of primers. Primers are unimpressive and mean very little by way of rupees and paise to those engaged in making them or to the officialdom which handles these things. Encyclopaedias mean more and hence encyclopaedias are planned. This is the basic elementary malaise with our attempts at education in the regional languages. The failure so far is not linguistic but bureaucratic, official, governmental.

For example, if I want to refer to some item in the Tamil Encyclopaedia, unless it were an item on politics by Prof. R. Bhakaran or on literature by the Chairman Prof. T. P. Minakshisundaram or some such rare entry—I would

have to retranslate the whole thing into English before I can understand it. This happens because officialdom has by lack of foresight not presented primers in any field of knowledge to make the work of an encyclopaedia meaningful. I would submit that more and more primers to suit the common man, and later the students also, are necessary before we can tackle successfully the problem of education all through in any one of the languages of the Eighth Schedule. And it will have to be recognised that it is as difficult and as important to write primers as to write grand textbooks, at least in the earlier stages. If the 18, or is it only 8, crores are wisely spent on the production of primers we might be well set on the way of instruction in regional languages at all levels, primary, secondary and higher.

This is not to say that the Tamil language is inadequate today for today's purposes. It is as adequate or as inadequate as its writers, journalists, professors make it; it is they who are using it day after day for given purposes, let it be said, emphatically, effectively. It is not as adequate or as inadequate as warring party-men and pseudo-educationists make it out to be. I merely submit that it would have been more adequate, and adequate by a natural growth, if the government had not interfered. Governmental and political effort has hindered, yes positively hindered, the growth of the language, for such effort has helped the chauvinists instead of the real writers and intellectuals, and has taken such wrong turns as make us despair of ever achieving adequacy. But a writer can never despair of his medium, language; for real despair and pessimism would lead to suicide; there have been no suicides among the writers of Tamilnadu even though most governmental outlay of money in the development of Tamil has been misdirected and wrongheaded.

These are general considerations, but a few particular aspects can be brought into the consideration of Tamil. Ever since the eighties of the last century attempts are being made to equip the Tamil language with books on the humanities and sciences. A few of them were successful in their day though due to lack of proper encouragement by the educationists and the universities, they petered out after a few attempts. Even an one-man encyclopaedia called the *Abhidhana Chintamani* was written, it is still a more useful book than the Tamil Encyclopaedia I have already mentioned. It was a labour of love whereas the other was a labour for wages, though in M.P. Periaswamy Thooran it had the best possible editor. Even Rajaji in the thirties wrote three excellent primers, on botany, on chemistry, on physics, just to demonstrate that it could be done. But since 1947, finding money in the projects of making Tamil adequate, the process has been longdrawn out to keep this man or that in office, like the good doctor who has to see to it, in the interests of his bill that the illness is prolonged. I do not want to say more about this as the standard of public morality is the same everywhere in India.

The modern Greek so I was told by a modern Greek novelist, has disad-

vantage in handling his language and he achieves his effectiveness by a complete break with the past. But the Tamils are a conservative people and the Tamils try to achieve modernity by keeping the past and harking back to it even though the past does sit on the shoulders of the non-creative writers of Tamilnadu like the old man of the Sea, a dead and evergrowing weight. A critical look at the past is discouraged by those who have vested interest and who are afraid of unlearning much that they have learnt rather laboriously. As an attempt at enlarging the frontiers of the Tamil language I would mention two specific movements, one of new verse and the other of regional fictional writing, or should I say sub-regional writing. The new verse movement derives its inspiration from the Sangam poems, especially from their intellectuality, humanism, and emotionlessness. The regional fiction first made familiar to the Tamil reader in the work of Pudumaippittan, a shortlived writer of some of the best short stories of the Tamil language, achieving great depth linguistically in the longer fiction of Thi Jaanakiraman (from the Thanjavur District) and of R. Shanmugasundaram (of Coimbatore) and in the shorter fiction of Jaanakiraman, Jeyakaanthan (Madras) and Sundaram Ramaswamy (Kanyakumari). Both movements are fraught with great consequences for Tamil as a language and both merit serious attention today, both by quality and by quantum of change in the manner of using language. To this regional output of fiction, I should add the work of Vanamamalai in collection regionwise of folkpoems of the immediate past; two such admirable collections have come out and can conceivably have valuable influence on the adequacy of the Tamil language.

One other attempt to achieve adequacy in Tamil should be mentioned, and that is the journalistic writing of which the greatest exponent is the Tamil poet Subramanya Bharathi, who was great both as a prose writer and as a poet and who was both in his prose and in his poetry essentially a journalist. His writing was always timely and eternal, a brilliant precursor to all modern writing. He made Tamil prose adequate for all the uses to which he put it, and the present generation can learn many lessons from him, all of a salutary nature. I would like to mention also the work in journalism of the late Tiru Vi Ka and the late T. S. Chockalingam as well as of the continuing work of A. N. Sivaraman.

One other thing peculiar to the Tamil situation is the pure-Tamil movement, which is the expression of a chauvinism born, to my mind, of a great guilt-consciousness consequent upon centuries-long neglect of the past glories of the Tamils. The chauvinism so generated has been exploited by political parties though the pure Tamil scholars are just in a cloud of unknowing. The cloud of unknowing can be pardoned: but the scholars' world of the Tamils refuses to make attempts to know. In this complex situation, the responsibility of the writers of Tamilnadu increases. But the majority of the writers of Tamil are happily ignorant of the problems of critical evaluation of the past or of the

present. The cleavage between the scholars and the writers of Tamil is sharp and increasing : neither the scholars nor the writers are doing anything to close this gap.

I have been presenting the problems in the Tamil language today as a writer. I am not an educationist or a linguist, but a poet, a fictionist, a critic. More than anything else critical evaluation is what is most needed in Tamil today not only in literature but in the language itself. And with more and more of critical awareness we shall be able to achieve more and more adequacy and make Tamil both as a language and as a literature worthy of its classical past. As a writer I do not despair, inspite of what our benign governments are doing, with the help of their yes-men.

S. K. ZAIDI

Urdu in India: Problems and Prospects

In this land of paradoxes called India, the language issue has tended to generate more heat than light, especially of late. One may add, parenthetically, that it is most gratifying to note that in this Seminar at least the trend is reversed. Unfortunately, however, language, which is one of the greatest glories and prerogatives of *homo sapiens*, and as such should act as the most humanizing and civilizing force in the individual and collective life of man, has often been used as an instrument of division and disintegration in our country by the combined forces of ignorance, prejudice and vested interest. Undoubtedly, the peculiar historical circumstances have rendered the language problem in India extremely difficult and complex. The great diversity of full-fledged languages, a veritable plethora of dialects, coupled with the unenviable position of Indian languages under centuries of foreign domination, have contributed to making a knotty problem still knottier. Moreover, language is vital to a people's life and culture, being the embodiment of its aspirations and achievements, the vehicle of its self-expression, and the means of preserving its identity. Hence, anything pertaining to the language question is likely to have emotional overtones. However, none of this should be a justification for the failure to tackle the language problem in a spirit of sanity and objectivity. History, is, sometimes, invoked to prove that Indians are not the only culprits in this respect, and that other peoples and communities have often engaged in crusades over the thorny issue of language. That others have revealed similar follies, or committed similar sins, can hardly be a consolation, let alone a justification for our doing the same ! If anything, we must learn this lesson from history that passion and prejudice in this context are suicidal, and that the best approach is through

understanding, imaginativeness and tolerance.

The place and position of Urdu in a secular, democratic, united India is an important fact of the wider language issue, which has been covered with a miasma of misunderstanding and misrepresentation for quite some time. The deeper and infinitely more significant psychological, pedagogical and cultural aspects of the issue usually receive an abrupt, cavalier treatment at the hands of professional politicians, and the whole thing is often turned into a petty, political squabble. The recent unseemly—nay, unfortunate!—opposition to the suggestion that Urdu be given an official status in U.P. and Bihar, is a case in point. The abuse and misapplication of the three-language formula in U. P. to keep Urdu out of the mainstream of education is another glaring example of how sound academic principles as well as the larger cultural interests of the nation as a whole can be sacrificed at the alter of the goddess of politics !

The anomalous position that Urdu occupies in India, to-day, can be understood in the light of the fact that though it is a language widely spoken and understood over large parts of the Indian union as also one that enjoys the status of a recognized language under the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution, it is a homeless waif, with no region which it can officially call its own. It is ironical that Urdu is looked upon as an alien in the country of its origin by some vociferous and powerful groups, while it has found a foster home in a country where only 7 per cent of the population can claim it as its mother-tongue ! The absurdity of the argument that Urdu is a language alien to Indian soil and spirit, being fathered and fostered by a foreign horde, would be hilarious, if it were not so tragic. Contrary to an artificially-kept-alive prejudice and pernicious insinuations and innuendoes, Urdu has never served as a religious shibboleth for Muslims, as perhaps Arabic might be considered to have done. Here it might be helpful to refresh our memory about what Jawaharlal Nehru said in this connection. During a press conference held at Vigyan Bhawan, in reply to a question put by one of the correspondents, Nehru made the following impassioned and emphatic comment : "Urdu is an Indian language; it is a language of our country and even if there is not a single Muslim in India, Urdu will remain our cherished language".

An impartial study of the origin of Urdu and an objective perusal of its structure—its grammar and syntax—would unmistakably reveal the utter fallacy of the notion that Urdu is un-Indian, unlike the 'pure' Indian languages! The very idea of the absolute 'purity' of language is predicated on a faulty understanding of the nature of human languages as static, self-contained, frozen entities, devoid of any capacity to develop dynamically and to assimilate new elements in consonance with their over-all character. Thus, an inadequate knowledge of the laws operating in the development of a living language, together with an unwarranted prejudice constantly fed by nefarious political and communal interests, has given some currency to the unfounded belief that

Urdu is an importation into, hence a super-imposition upon, the indigenous Indian culture. However, facts speak for themselves. Scholars who have made a thorough study of the origin of Urdu, have proved beyond a shadow of doubt that *Khaṛī Bolī* is the parent language of modern Hindustani. Hindi and Urdu, the latter two developing as its literary forms, one assimilating more Sanskrit words and the other incorporating Arabic and Persian influences to a considerable extent. As a result of the close association of Muslim saints and others—pioneers in the creation of a literature in the language—which, to begin with, was purely colloquial-Arabic, Persian and, to a lesser degree, Turkish words and sounds were freely fused into it, thus laying the foundation of Urdu. Even modern Hindustani and Hindi adjusted themselves somewhat to assimilate these elements though, undoubtedly to a much lesser degree than did Urdu. It is noteworthy that despite an abundance, though not a preponderance, of Arabic and Persian words in Urdu, the latter has an unmistakable structural affinity with Hindi which even the most die-hard Hindi-or-Urdu-zealots cannot deny, without doing violence to reason and reality.

However, the necessary and justified stress on the close kinship between Hindi and Urdu should not mislead one into believing and preaching that, as these two languages stand today, one can be assimilated into the other. The fact that two languages, even genetically close to one another, can diverge and follow independent lines of development, is borne out by the history of many a language. In the same way, Hindi and Urdu have embarked upon considerably different paths and developed in accordance with their respective temperaments. Creative literature in each language has its peculiar tone, texture and flavour. Hence, it would be arbitrary and artificial to try to press the two into one and the same mould. Apart from the near-impossibility of attaining such a goal at present, the moment such a course is advocated, a bitter controversy as to which of the two moulds is superior and why, is bound to spring up with remarkable alacrity. And, in the name of sanity and national harmony, all invidious comparisons between different languages should be assiduously avoided. Hence, both common sense and justice demand that, while recognizing these two languages as close kins, each should be allowed full and free scope for developing and progressing in harmony with its own genius. Any attempt towards the subjugation of one language by the other would be both unscientific and undemocratic. On the other hand, any attempt to tear asunder these sister languages is as wrong and harmful as to impose a rigid uniformity on them or to enforce a complete domination of one by the other.

The very unequal position and privileges enjoyed at present by these languages notwithstanding, it is not unwarranted to assume that their future lies in closer collaboration and deeper affinities and not in mutual antagonism and exclusiveness. Neither the highly Sanskritized, self-conscious, tongue-twisting Hindi, nor the ornate, high-flown Urdu, replete with bizarre words

and expressions borrowed from Arabic and Persian, can serve as a satisfactory medium of communication even between all sections of the Hindustani-speaking people, let alone fulfil the function of an all-India link-language. As is well-known, Mahatma Gandhi envisaged a language for the whole of India which would embrace both Urdu and Hindi and would be written in the Devnagri as well as the Persian scripts. Even if Gandhi's dream cannot come true in the immediate future due to a complex of factors, at least Urdu and Hindi can, along these lines, try to come closer to one another as well as to the people. The latter aspect is important, because a living, growing language must have its roots in the cultural soil, and get its sustenance from the pulsating life of the masses.

The peculiar and precarious position of Urdu in India today makes it even more imperative for Urdu-lovers to make a conscious, consistent and concerted effort towards effecting greater simplicity and intelligibility in their language. In this way, it would be guaranteed to live in the hearts of the people. It is gratifying to note that contemporary Urdu writers are becoming increasingly alive to this imperative necessity. The task of bringing the language closer to the people should, however, be approached in a balanced and judicious manner, so that the desired simplicity and resilience in the language is attained without destorting or jeopardizing its basic identity. Moreover, while giving due importance to the spoken form of language, one must take cognizance of the fact that the literary form has its own role and place in the over-all life and growth of a language, being more definite, stable and standardized. Thus, the much belaboured argument that as long as the common people speak and understand, easily or remotely, some recognizable variety of Urdu, it will continue to live unimpaired and untarnished, can be over-stretched. A living, expanding, mature language is complex and multi-faceted. It can neither be preserved as a purely pedantic language, nor can it be equated merely with common speech or folk-lore of a given language community. Language is not just a means of communication—however important this particular function of language may be. It is also an instrument of self-development, self-expression, and creativity for individuals and communities, as well as the means whereby they acquire and preserve their identity. Thus, creative literature is not just an embellishment or a beautiful facade for a language, it is the very life-blood of a language, which gives the latter its peculiar lusture. To be more specific, it must be emphasized that for the survival and growth of Urdu as a mature, full-blooded, modern language, for the protection, preservation and appreciation of the existing Urdu literature, as well as for the constant creation and wide propagation of the new literature it is of the essence that expressing modern sensibility should be in consonance with the genius of the language. If Urdu, due to lack of facilities, or, worse still, owing to political and other pressures, continues to live only in a mutilated or emasculated form, shorn of its literary

graces and intellectual wealth, it would not only mean a great deprivation for multitudes of Urdu-lovers who cherish their literature, but also result in an incalculable impoverishment of the composite Indian culture. The remarkable combination of delicacy and depth, lyricism and virility, range and intensity, to be found in Urdu literature is a great asset to Indian culture as a whole. And indifference, apathy or hostility towards this aspect of the language would be nothing less than an inexpiable sin.

Moreover, a modern language like Urdu must also be able to serve as an adequate vehicle of intellectual development and intercourse, and as a medium of education. It is absolutely essential for Urdu—or for any other Indian language for that matter—to develop as a medium precise and rich enough to be able to carry and convey wide, varied and profound ideas. Thus, a well-conceived, long-range programme of original and scholarly writings in Urdu is indispensable to the full development of the language, for which, perhaps, standard translations of some of the best world literature in various subjects might lay the foundation. Here, however, a note of caution must be sounded. In the first place, it must be recognized that translation can never take the place of original work, hence its importance cannot be over-stressed. Moreover heavy, high-flown, or exotic sytle must be eschewed in translations and, as far as is possible, resort should be made to simple and intelligible language. But the need to enrich the language in all its dimensions can be ignored or under-estimated only at our own peril.

These are some of the internal problems, so to speak, of the growth, expansion and reconstruction of the language, which the speakers, writers, and scholars of Urdu themselves must face with courage and tackle with determination. Urdu will assume the shape as those who use it whether in ordinary intercourse or creative writings, want it to assume. Its richness and resilience, its sensitiveness to new idioms and ideas, and its ability to comprehend the entire gamut of human experience, thought and imagination, will depend upon the creative efforts of the language-community itself.

However, there is also another and an entirely different set of problems with which Urdu is confronted today. These may be called external problems, though nonetheless important. To be realistic, one has to admit that, in the absence of adequate educational, cultural and economic facilities for an unapologetic and uncircumscribed growth and development of Urdu, no amount of talent and good intention on the part of the Urdu writers, poets, and scholars can fully counterbalance the handicaps with which the language has to cope at the present juncture of its history. Thus, it must be said unequivocally that Urdu has to receive its proper place in education and administration in every region where it happens to be the language of the people. To put it plainly, Urdu should be given the status of the second official language in the Hindustani-speaking regions. Only vested interests could dub this very legitimate and

sensible proposal as separatism or sectarianism, and try to make the ignorant and uninformed section of the people go hysterical over it. Examined with spirit of sympathetic objectivity, its positive and constructive consequences will easily reveal themselves. That, despite heavy odds against it, Urdu is still a popular and widely-used language can be borne out by the fact that there are as many as 83 Urdu dailies and about 700 Urdu periodicals in India today, which is just next to the number of periodicals in English and Hindi. The creative works of Urdu writers, both classical and contemporary, find a wide market among Hindi-speaking people, when transliterated into the Devnagri script. While showing the desirability of transferring the largest possible bulk of Urdu literature in the Devnagri script in order to make it accessible to a wider public, these facts also speak for the place Urdu literature occupies in the culture of the Hindustani-speaking community. The obvious popularity of Urdu *mushairas* and Urdu films is another case in point. But, inspite of the undeniable richness and beauty of Urdu language and literature which have great appeal for those who have not closed their minds and hardened their hearts against them, the prospects seem rather bleak to many lovers and well-wishers of Urdu, because there are subtle and indirect ways of killing a language also. If there are only very inadequate opportunities, openings and facilities for those who are keen to make a thorough and extensive study of the language, the incentive and temptation to do so is bound to decrease considerably, if not disappear altogether. Already an increasingly large number of children and youth from Urdu-speaking families—both Muslims and non-Muslims—are becoming conspicuously ignorant of their own language and literature, and the next generation may grow up even more abysmally ignorant of the same. And if this state of affairs continues, then only a rapidly-dwindling number, a mere handful, belonging to the older generation, will be alive to the deeper qualities of the language and remain sensitive to the finer shades and tones of its literature; while the hope for the future of Urdu lies in the ability of the younger generation to preserve and develop this rich heritage.

If Urdu is not to meet this fate, then it should be made a proper medium of education, communication and administration along with Hindi or other relevant languages in all the areas where it is widely spoken. According Urdu its rightful place is not only the requirement of justice and in keeping with the ideals of secular democracy to which we are committed; it is also in the interest of the cultural and intellectual life of the country as a whole. Moreover, Urdu is a living symbol of the unity and cooperation between different communities and sub-cultures of India. It is not necessary to reiterate here that Urdu has been replenished by varied and, in some respects, widely different streams. Many strands of diverse shades and hues have gone into the making of the rich and colourful tapestry that is Urdu. Besides, Urdu, like any other

rich and mature language, can help to orient those who come in creative contact with it, with themselves and their world in its own peculiar way, and, as such, become a tremendous source of illumination. To quote H. G. Alexander; 'Each language owing to its special structure grants us a somewhat different perspective and understanding of the world in which we live'.

Thus, it has to be realized both by the champions and opponents of Urdu that this problem is not purely and primarily political, though it *has* been given this twist by interested groups. It has to be seen, and solved, in the context of the broader problem of cultural re-generation and national integration of the country. Can a language like Urdu be allowed to atrophy which, apart from being the dearly loved language of multitudes of people, possesses a rich literary tradition enriched by such men as Mir and Ghalib, Sarshar and Prem Chand, Iqbal and Azad, Josh and Firaq? Will it not be an unpardonable crime against Indian culture if such a language is killed through disuse, abuse, discouragement or neglect? And these are not merely rhetorical questions. They have to be seriously posed and honestly answered by all true democrats in the country.

Problems of the Unrecognized Local Contact Languages

H. S. BILIGIRI

Problems of Tribal Languages in India

THE tribes of India constitute nearly six percent of the total population of the country. Most of the languages they speak are not recognised. The word 'most' was used in the previous sentence because there is a small number of tribes which speaks the 'same' language as the regional one. The Sholega and the Kadu Kuruba tribes of Mysore speak a dialect of Kannada. Most tribes, however, speak languages which are different from the regional language. The Bondo, the Didey, for example, speak languages different from the regional language Oriya or a variant form of Oriya with which they come into contact. There are some tribes which are living in geographically contiguous areas, but are split into more than one linguistic state. The Sora tribe as a whole lives in a compact region, but is split into Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. The Kolami is split into Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. The Korku is split into Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. Thus we find that there are mainly three situations from the linguistic point of view: (1) tribes which speak the 'same' language as the regional language, (2) tribes which speak languages different from the regional languages but are wholly found in the same state, and (3) tribes which speak languages different from the regional languages and are split into more than one state. There is also a fourth situation where the tribals speak a dialect of a regional language, but live in a different region. Badaga, for example, is a case in point. It is a dialect of Kannada, but is found in the Madras state. I do not know whether there are other instances of this kind.

From the above it will be clear that the problems presented by the tribal languages will be mostly similar to those of the linguistic minorities. However,

they deserve a special treatment because of the general acccepted policy to integrate them slowly in the larger Indian community but to allow them to retain all that is desirable in their culture. Also, it will be clear that the problems that arise are of an intra-regional character, though the third situation may introduce inter-regional problems. Moreover, most of the tribes are not vocal in their demands and may have to be induced and coaxed to accept certain policies which concern them intimately. It is doubtful whether the state governments have either the resources or the willingness to undertake such a task. Some states are finding it difficult to implement the constitutional provisions for the linguistic minorities, while some states are trying to evade their responsibilities in this matter. This becomes painfully clear to anyone who reads the reports of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities. Therefore, it is tentatively suggested here that the Centre should take over the responsibility of the tribal areas. Though this arrangement is not only convenient from an administrative point of view, but also from the point of view of reducing the burden of the number of languages to be learnt by them, other problems of a serious nature arise. However, this idea is pursued in the remaining part of this note. It will have at least the merit of providing us with a point of departure.

It is very clear that any language policy in education that insists on the importance of the mother-tongue has the effect of increasing the load by one more language on the linguistic minorities. To explain: an average educated person whose mother-tongue is the same as the regional language need learn only two languages (if English is the link language), or three languages (if Hindi is the link language and if a knowledge of English is also required). The linguistic minorities will be burdened with one more language. Since the mother-tongue cannot be called a burden, it is either the regional language or the link language that will be the burden. In Hindi regions, it is true that a situation of learning three languages will not arise for the speaker of Hindi but the minorities nevertheless have to learn one more language. The non-tribal linguistic minorities present difficult problems, but they cannot be solved by the above suggestion of the central administration. The tribals are, relatively speaking, more compact and contiguous and easier to bring under central administration. Moreover, they need a special treatment just because they are tribals. Therefore, this suggestion of making the tribal areas centrally administered has two beneficial aspects: one, administrative convenience; two, a necessary reduction of the load of learning languages. It has to be pointed out, however, that Nagaland which consists of mostly 'tribals' need not be disturbed. Also tribal languages which are the 'same' as the regional languages may be left as they are in the present states. Some of the tribes in the south may present problems in this regard.

Perhaps I am being a little too hasty. To talk of the tribals learning two languages at present is somewhat too optimistic. I say this inspite of the fact

that one of the two languages is the mother-tongue. Most of the tribals are illiterate. Even if by a miracle all the tribals decided to become literate or at least to send their children to schools, where are the scripts for their languages? Therefore, the first step to be taken regarding tribal languages is to devise suitable scripts for them, so that they may become literate. Given the right type of approach, the devising of scripts should not create any problem. Languages like Toda or some of the tone languages of Assam may present problems. Many of these languages have not been studied properly, but still primers in these languages can be prepared within a reasonably short time. If the tribal areas are centrally administered, the script used for the language at the Centre can be adopted for this purpose. Then, most of them will have the same script. If the tribal languages are retained as they are, in some situations we will be faced with the problem of having two scripts for the same language. Thus Sora will have to be written in Devnagri and Telugu scripts. This is not a desirable thing. For some languages, like Korku, the two regions into which they are split may use the same script, and this problem may not arise. But unnecessary duplication of work, unless of course the state governments co-operate, will result.

It is at this point that factors other than linguistic creep in. The increase in population undo the work carried out by the literacy campaigner. I do not have exact figures to show the contribution of the tribals towards the increase of our population, but I am convinced that they do make a considerable contribution in this regard. This is a very simple example to show how the problems of tribal languages, or for that matter the problems of any language, cannot be viewed by linguists sitting in ivory towers. The family planner, the anthropologist, come to have their say. As this is not my field, I do not venture to speak on these problems.

Assuming that the literacy problem is solved, every one agrees that it is not sufficient for a citizen of India to be just literate. Arrangements for higher education should be available. It would be impracticable to suggest that the higher education should be in their own languages. At some stage or other, sooner than later, they have to learn one more language for the purposes of higher education. This will be the same language as used by the Centre. It is not as if that we wait till all the tribals become literate and then we start making arrangements for higher education. The plan for literacy and higher education should be geared together. It may be that all the tribals may not become university graduates. Therefore, there must be scope for those to have courses teaching crafts and skills.

A phased programme like the following may be carried out:

(1) The first two years: education through the mother-tongue.

(2) Third year: (1) plus light doses of the spoken form of the language of the Centre.

(3) Fourth year: same as (2). But *after* each lesson a brief summary in the language of the Centre.
(4) fifth year: (3) plus a more intensive training in the language of the Centre.
(5) Sixth year: education through the language of the Centre. But *before* each lesson a brief summary in the mother-tongue.
(6) The remaining years: education through the language of the Centre.

I understand that a somewhat similar procedure is followed in Mexico for some tribes, with great success.

All this may look good on paper. Many problems, however, of implementation will arise. There are more than hundred languages. Where are we to find teachers who can teach in two languages in view of (3), (4) and (5). How are these and other teachers to be trained ? It will not do if the academic people simply shrug these off as matters of detail that can be tackled by administrator. To suggest solutions for these problems is beyond the scope of this note. If we are convinced that in the long run these measures are bound to help the tribals, they have to be implemented. It is worth implementing such programmes, because the tribals really deserve a break. Moreover, we should not forget that similar questions can be asked about the 'developed' regional languages too.

One possible objection or counter-suggestion may be considered or accommodated. This is the argument of the regionalist. He may claim, not without justification, that the salvation of the tribals lies with the people of the region and the arrangements by the Centre will deprive them of opportunities in the state. They have been in contact with the regional languages for a very long time. Even the tribes which have been split into more than one region now, were in contact with the regional languages of those states. The Soras, for example, were 'split' into two groups even before the formation of the linguistic states. The tribals also show a bilingualism percentage of thirty to fifty. These contacts that the tribes have now with the regional languages will be lost, and they will be isolated. The openings for employment and jobs are to be found in the regions where the tribals are living at present and the regional languages should be the medium of education after the initial stage. To be realistic, it is very doubtful whether the majority of the tribes will, in the foreseeable future, come to a stage when they can receive higher education. When one finds that it is a great problem to make them even literate, all the programmes about their education are mere pipe-dreams.

No one can deny that there is some force in these arguments. The arguments based on the percentage of bilingualism gain force only if the tribals who know a regional language know it quite well. It may be limited to certain bazar situations only. Judging from my experience, the bilingualism

present is not so strong as to provide any viable basis. Also, one should not forget that some of the arguments given above can be used in the case of the majority of those whose mother-tongue is the regional language. Most of them do not move out of their states, why force them to learn the link language when they do not need any link?

The important point is that a decision should be taken about the number of languages that an average educated person should learn, and that provisions are made for it in the educational system. Once such a decision is taken and the necessity for the special treatment for the tribals is recognised, it should follow, in our opinion, that the suggestions offered here are reasonable. Regarding opportunities for jobs it should not be difficult for the Centre to find ways. A tribal who completes his education has all the opportunities that any citizen of India has. Those who discontinue their education, after they have mastered the language of the Centre, have also opportunities similar to those who have an equivalent qualification. Tribals who just complete the first four years can still be given opportunities in programmes designed to uplift the tribes. Small scale industries can be started for the benefit of those that have the training.

Two other suggestions on a somewhat different plane may be briefly mentioned. The first of these accepts that in every region the majority of the people do not move out of the state. These people include tribals as well as non-tribals. Accordingly, their needs are different from those few who move out of the state. These two different needs can be catered to by different universities. Only those universities located in big cities, like state capitals, need be universities which cater to the needs of the few who are likly to have interests beyond the state; let the others look after those who intend to stay within the state. If this is done, most of the advantages claimed for central administration plus the advantages claimed by the regionalist can be reconciled.

The second suggestion arises out of the following questions, though it has been made in different contexts. We are now finding that year after year the number of university graduates is growing and producing an almost equal number of frustrated young men who do not get employment opportunities which they think they should get. Are we going to inflate this number by giving tribals a chance to acquire university education? Will we not thereby achieve something exactly opposite to what we wanted to achieve ? The answer to this question does not lie in depriving them of university education, but in reducing the high premium, both in terms of status and income, placed on university education.

It is well known that there are three alternatives regarding the tribals, namely, isolation, assimilation and integration. The first will make them merely zoological specimens, the second will destroy their culture, whereas

the third will give them all the benefits of modern civilisation, and at the same time preserve things of value in their culture. It is to be hoped that some of the suggestions offered in this note will go a long way in achieving this result.

B. K. ROY BURMAN

Languages of the Tribal Communities of India and their use in Primary Education

THERE are about 300 communities in India with total population of 2.9 million which have been notified as scheduled tribes under the provisions of the Constitution. Many of them have separate languages and dialects of their own. During the 1961 Census slightly more than 100 languages were classified as tribal. The total number of speakers covered by these languages is about 14 million; this also includes some non-tribals who have adopted tribal languages as their mother tongues through prolonged residence in tribal areas. But it can be safely assumed that their number is negligible. It, therefore, appears that about half of the tribal population in India have distinct languages of their own, and the remaining half have as their mother tongues the same languages as those of their neighbours.

The language situation of the tribals can be considered in another way. Most of the distinct languages of the tribals belong to the Austric and Tibeto-Chinese families. Only a few belong to the Dravidian and Indo-European families. On the other hand, most of the speakers of Austric and Tibeto-Chinese languages belong to the tribal communities. In India, there are 65 languages belonging to the Austric family with 61,92,497 speakers, and 226 languages belonging to the Tibeto-Chinese family with 31,83,801 speakers. Altogether these two families account for 9.4 million speakers. Besides, there are the speakers of the tribal languages like Gondi, Kui and Kurukh with about three million population which belong to the Dravidian family, and of languages like Bhil and Banjari with about three million population which belong to the Indo-European family.

It is obvious from the above that about half of the tribal population have

special problems of education and communication because of the fact that the languages spoken by them are different from those spoken by the general population of their respective regions. In this connection it is to be noted that according to the 1961 census, about five million tribals speak subsidiary languages in addition to their mother tongues. Even if it is assumed that the subsidiary languages spoken by them are almost always the *lingua franca* of their respective regions, it cannot be claimed that the special problems of their education because of language difficulty, are very much less acute. A committee of experts, sponsored by the UNESCO in 1951 on the use of vernacular languages in education, reported, *inter alia*, that a *lingua franca* is not an adequate substitute for the mother tongue, unless the children are familiar with it before coming to school. Here the crucial question is, whether the tribal children learn the regional languages before coming to the school in the areas where most of the tribals are bilingual? An enquiry conducted by an official committee in a state where the tribal population is in most intensive contact with the general population, has revealed that hardly ever the children pick up the regional language before coming to school. At least in the early years of their education, they face the same problems, as those faced by the tribal children of those areas where the population is much less bilingual.

The special problems of education for the linguistic minorities including the tribals have received statutory recognition in India. Article 350(a) of the Constitution has enjoined that adequate facilities should be provided for imparting instructions in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education, to the children belonging to linguistic minority groups. The Central Advisory Board for Education, passed in 1949 a resolution as follows: 'That the medium of instruction in the junior basic stage must be the mother tongue of the child and that where the mother tongue was different from the regional or state language, arrangements must be made for the instruction in the mother tongue by appointing at least one teacher to teach all the classes, provided that there are at least 40 such pupils in a school. The regional or state language, where it is different from the mother tongue, should be introduced not earlier than class III, not later than the end of the junior basic stage. In order to facilitate the switch over to the regional languages as medium of instruction in the secondary stage, children should be given the option of answering questions in the mother tongue for the first two years after the junior basic stage'. The tribal advisory councils of the different states, have also recommended that the primary education of the tribal children should invariably be imparted through their mother tongues.

In most areas, however, these policy decisions have remained on paper only. In a few areas some attempts were made to impart primary education through tribal languages; but later on, these were given up. In most areas no serious attempts were made at all. At present, only in a few areas the

tribal languages have any place in the education of the tribals. Before furnishing the details of the same, it is necessary to examine what forms the use of tribal languages can take in primary education, depending on various factors. These are as follows :

(*a*) All text books including the text books of history, geography, and arithmatic are to be written in the language of the tribe concerned, and class-teachings should also be in their language. The regional language may be introduced as a subject from class III onwards.

(*b*) The text books in the beginners' classes only are to be in the tribal language. The text books from class III onwards may be in the regional language but the class lessons are to be imparted through the tribal languages, even in case of those subjects, which may have text books in the regional language. On the other hand, during examinations, students are to be allowed to answer the questions in the tribal language or the regional language according to their option.

(*c*) Except for the text books in the language subject, other text books are to be in the regional language. During examinations, the answers are to be written in the regional language, but the class-lessons should be imparted through the tribal language.

(*d*) The text books are to be written in the regional language, but the teacher should know the tribal language and should explain the contents of the text books in the tribal language.

The exact form which the policy of use of tribal language in primary education should take depends on several factors, namely, numerical strength of the community and nature of its distribution, existence of separate script and written literature, extent of bilingualism and extent of borrowing from the regional language and attitude of the tribal élites. How the position is affected by the above factors would be briefly discussed here.

If the tribe is a small one and if its population live interspersed with other population, it is obvious that it will not have viable number for recognition in the secondary stage. Hence, in the primary stage its dialect should be used as a bridge language for switching over to the regional language. But if the tribe is a fairly big one and there is a region where practically the entire population belongs to that tribe, an altogether different approach would be necessary. The tribes like the Khasi, Garo, and Lushai of Assam belong to this category. In case of such tribes, recognition is to be given to their language even in the secondary stage. Hence, it is obvious that in the primary stage text books in all the subjects should be in the tribal language. It is of course desirable that the official language of the state should also be taught as a language subject from class III onwards. The position is however, a bit complicated in case of very big tribes like the Santal, Gond, Bhil, etc. Though they are the dominant communities in several areas, they frequently live interspersed with the

general population. Their levels of literacy are also not high; they, therefore, cannot provide enough number of students in the secondary schools established in their areas. Economically and otherwise also, they are very much dependent on the general population and hence there is a real necessity for them to master the respective regional languages. It is obvious that in case of such tribes, their languages should be used as bridge languages for switching over to the regional languages. But even as bridge languages, there would be some difference between the languages of these tribes and those of the very tiny tribes which live completely mixed up with other population. In case of the latter, the switch-over should take place during the third year of the primary stage, whereas in case of the tribes like the Santal, Gond, etc. the switch-over may coincide with the completion of primary education. In fact, in case of such tribes, their language should be taught as a language subject even in the secondary stage, provided that there are 40 or more students in the school.

Some tribes, the Khamptis of N.E.F.A., the Bhutias of the sub-Himalayan region, have separate scripts and written literature; but most of the tribes do not have separate scripts of their own. During the last few decades, a number of books have however been written in many of those languages, specially by the Christian missionaries, either in Roman script or in the respective regional scripts. In the post-Independence period many books have also been written by the tribals themselves. But there has been hardly any uniform development in case of most of the tribal languages. For instance, Santali is written in Roman, Bengali, Devnagri, and Oriya scripts. Two more scripts have also been invented by some educated Santals. There are diverse emotional and socio-cultural factors associated with each of these scripts, and it has become very difficult to adopt any of them on a uniform basis. One major dilemma that the Santals face today is the conflict between regionalism, tribalism and sectarianism. The contours of the same would be briefly indicated here.

(i) *Regionalism and Script* : As already noted, the Santals are found in several states. There is an influential section among them, which thinks that it would be better for the community if the text books are written in the scripts of the respective regions, because, in that case, they would be able to pick up the regional languages also without much effort, and this will be useful for practical purposes of life.

(ii) *Tribalism and Script :* As against those who are in favour of regional integration there is an equally influential section which thinks that the Santals in all the states should have a single script, so that the cultural unity of the tribe can be maintained.

(iii) *Sectarianism and Script* : The tribalists are, however, divided on sectarian considerations on the actual script to be used. By and large, the Christians are in favour of Roman script, and those who want to identify themselves with their Hindu neighbours, are in favour of Devnagri script. The new

scripts invented by a few educated Santals were popular for some time, among those who are more traditionalists in outlook. They draw their inspiration from the ancient traditions of the Santals and consider that by a process of the sublimation of the same, they would develop a distinct cultural entity for themselves. One of these new scripts is supposed to have been revealed to its inventor in dream. These efforts, however, could not gain much momentum; at present the main contestants seem to be the regional scripts and the Roman script.

Some Santals have advanced a compromise formula to resolve the conflicting pulls. They suggest that the text books, for the primary stage, should be in the respective regional scripts, but the text books for the secondary stage may be in any script, as at that stage all students are required to learn Devnagri and Roman scripts in addition to the regional script. The creative literatures also may be in any script, as only those who have gone up to the secondary stage of education, will be interested in creative literatures.

The controversy has not yet been resolved; but this appears to have retarded to a certain extent the pace of preparation of text books and other literature in the Santali language. The problem discussed in some detail for the Santals, holds good in varying degrees in the case of many other tribes as well. For instance, in Bihar, while there are books in Kurukh, Munda, Ho, and other tribal languages in Roman and Devnagri scripts, a Ho is trying to introduce a new script called Adi script. He claims that this script was revealed to him by the Ho gods in a dream. He tried to get the script recognised by the state government, but failed. Undaunted, he is now publishing books, on his own.

The adult male population of many of the tribal communities generally speak a second language, very frequently the regional language, in addition to their mother tongues. In several areas, they speak a different language even in their homes. For instance, in the tea plantation areas of North Bengal, frequently the husbands and wives belonging to Oraon, Munda, and Kharia tribes speak their ancestral languages with one another, but speak Sadri (an admixture of corrupt Hindi and Mundari languages with considerable borrowing from the regional language) with their children. In such cases, it is desirable to differentiate between the mother tongue and the ancestral language or father tongue. Ancestral language is the language which is considered to be the mother tongue of the ancestors of a person in the father's line in case of patrilineal people and in the mother's line in case of matrilineal people. But as defined by the committee of experts of UNESCO, the mother tongue is the language which a person acquires in early years and which normally becomes his natural instrument of thought and communication. It is obvious that in the tea plantations, where the people belonging to the Munda, Kharia, and other tribes do not speak Mundari or Kharia, etc. with their chil-

dren, the mother tongues of the children are different from the ancestral tribal languages. In such cases, there is not much enthusiasm among the tribals to use the languages of the ancestors as media of instruction; but some of them feel that it would be good if facilities were provided for learning the ancestral tribal languages, as optional language subjects.

In some cases the tribals themselves are unwilling to have text books in their mother tongues. For instance, mention may be made of the Sadri language in tea plantation areas. As already noted, this is a corrupt admixture of many languages. There is a feeling among the tribals that if books are written for them in this pidgin language, they will be considered to be culturally low and degenerated by their brethren living in other areas. They are, therefore, opposed to have text books or written literature in Sadri, but, on the other hand, they very much desire that teachers in primary schools should know the Sadri language so that they can explain the lessons, written in text books either in Hindi or regional language, through the medium of Sadri.

In the light of the consideration of the forms, that the use of tribal languages in the education of the tribals can take, depending upon demographic, cultural and social factors, it may be examined what is actually being done in the various tribal areas.

The available information indicates that primary education in all the autonomous hill districts of Assam, excepting the Mikir Hills, is imparted in the respective mother tongues of the tribal communities concerned. In the Garo Hills, Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and Mizo Hills, the media of instruction in the junior secondary stage are the respective tribal languages or English. Where the medium of instruction is the local tribal language, English is taught as a compulsory secondary language to link up education in the M. E. schools (junior secondary stage) with education at the upper stages. The grant of assistance from the government to any non-government school is not conditional upon the adoption of any particular language as the medium. In the higher classes, the students have the option to answer questions in their examinations either in the recognised tribal languages or in English, and there are facilities for teaching through both English and the tribal languages concerned, depending on the number of students speaking a particular language. For example, a Khasi student who was taught through the Khasi language in the M. E. standard has the option to continue his education in higher secondary classes through Khasi. This language has even been recognised as a language subject up to the B.A. standard, by the Gauhati University. Besides, for the purpose of recruitment to the principal state services, it has been placed on the same footing as Assamese or Bengali.

In Nagaland, primary education is imparted through the principal Naga dialects. In Manipur, a language explosion seems to be currently taking place among the different Kuki sub-tribes, like Thadou (475,76), Paite (16,788)

etc. Each of these sub-tribes has about 50 published books. Other sub-tribes like the Gangte, Hmar, etc. also have a number of published books. These books include text books, fiction, and episcopal literature. The text books were mostly prepared on subsidy received from the Union Territory administration. But it is interesting to note that these text books have not been introduced in any school. Even in the schools privately run by the tribals themselves, these books have not been introduced. These are generally taught in privately organised classes outside the school hours. It appears that the various Kuki sub-tribes are motivated by ethnic rivalries in preparing these text books.

In the N.E.F.A., until recently, the mother tongues of the tribal communities concerned were recognised as the media of instruction in the primary stage. Hindi and Assamese were introduced as compulsory subjects from the third and sixth schooling years respectively. A good number of text books for grade I had been translated into Adi (Abor), Apatani, Dafla, Khampti, Nocte, Singhpho, Tangsa, and other languages. But recently a change has been made in the system. Now Assamese has been adopted as the medium of instruction, and the policy to make use of text books written in the mother tongues of the tribal communities concerned has been given up.

In West Bengal, no tribal language has anywhere been recognised as the medium of instruction, in the sense that text books in all the subjects are written in that language. In the Darjeeling district, in the primary schools attached to the Buddhist monasteries and also in a few other primary schools, Tibetan or the mother tongue of the Bhutias is recognised as a language subject; but the text books in other subjects are written in Nepali. In some areas of the state, Santali language has also received limited recognition in the primary stage. There is a special provision for appointing Santali-knowing teachers in schools having 40 or more Santali students. But even in those schools, the text books are in Bengali. The teachers explain the contents of the text books to the Santal students in Santali.

Santali text books, however, have been introduced in a number of missionary and other un-recognised schools in different districts for teaching Santali as a language subject. In a number of recognised schools also Santali text books have been introduced under private arrangements. The students read these books as an additional language subject; but, generally, no examination is held on it.

In a few missionary schools of the Jalpaiguri and Cooch-Behar districts, text books in Garo and Mech languages have been introduced as unrecognised language subjects. A few years ago, the Government of West Bengal gave a grant to Lepcha Association of Darjeeling for preparing text books in the Lepcha language. A few primers were prepared accordingly. But the Lepcha language is not taught in any school as a recognised language subject. In a few

schools, it is taught only as an unrecognised language subject.

In the higher secondary course of West Bengal, Santali and Tibetan have been recognised as minor language subjects. Candidates taking up any of these languages will have to appear in a composite course consisting of the language concerned and elementary Hindi. But there is no school where there is arrangement to teach Santali for the Higher Secondary examination. Tibetan is taught as a language subject in a number of schools, including the Darjeeling Government High School.

In Bihar, on the recommendation of the Tribes Advisory Council, a committee was appointed to prepare readers and primers in Santali, Oraon, Mundari, Ho, and Kharia dialects. Besides, the Santal Paharia Seva Mandal, a non-official organisation of Bihar, has published a set of books in Santali, in Devnagri script. The publications include a few books for learners, and also dictionaries and general books. The largest number of books in Santali have however been written by the Christian mission at Benegaria of the Santal Parganas. These books are in Roman script and include text books and episcopal literature. Some of these text books seem to be completely indifferent to national sentiments.

Inspite of the availability of text books and other literatures in the tribal languages, little progress seems to have been made in Bihar in introducing those books in the schools. It seems that, as in many other parts of India, here also the authorities suffer from an ambivalent attitude in this matter.

In Orissa, for sometime the state government encouraged the preparation of text books in Santali in a new script invented by Raghunath Murmu of Mayurbhanj. Later on, this was discontinued. At present, in no recognised school in Orissa, text books written in any tribal language are known to be taught.

In Madhya Pradesh, a committee was appointed by the state government to examine the question. It came to the conclusion that there were a number of problems in the matter of preparation of text books in the most important tribal language of the State, Gondi. Among these problems mention is to be made of the question of standardisation of the language. It, however, appears that taking into consideration the dynamics of the politico-cultural developments among the Gonds, this problem could be resolved with a little effort. In recent years some books in the different tribal languages have been prepared by various agencies, including the Tribal Research Bureau of the state government. It is understood that this year the Madhya Pradesh government has introduced them in some tribal schools.

In Andhra Pradesh, text books in tribal languages are not taught in any school at present. Before Independence, the erstwhile Hyderabad government, had got prepared some text books in Gondi in Devnagri script, under the Gond education scheme. Later on, teaching of these books was discontinued.

In the other states of India, no attempts are known to have been made for developing the tribal languages or for introducing the same as the media of education of the tribal children in the primary stage.

The data furnished above are incomplete in many respects. But even from these, it is obvious that in most of the states, not much progress has been made in the matter of the use of the tribal languages as the media of instruction at the primary stage. It is not known whether or not any systematic assessment has been made by qualified educationists of the effect of imparting education to the tribal children through languages other than their mother tongues. A committee, appointed by one state government in 1956, examined this question in a general manner. It was pointed out to the committee by the representatives of the various tribes in the different parts of the state that their children were suffering in the following manner due to the fact that primary education was not imparted through their mother tongues :

(*a*) Comparatively poor enrolment of tribal students due to language difficulty.

(*b*) Commencement of primary education of the tribal children at a higher age, mainly because of the fact that they feel diffidend to attend schools, before they attain at least some preliminary understanding of the regional language.

(*c*) Almost universal failure of tribal children to complete class I in one year, because of the fact that, even after they commence going to schools, they take at least one year to be sufficiently acquainted with the regional language.

(*d*) High degree of absenteeism among the tribal children, because they find that the class-lessons are unintelligible, because of language difficulty.

(*e*) Frequent discontinuation of studies by the tribal students, before completing the primary course.

(*f*) Frequent break with tribal society and culture, in case of those who can complete their education.

On close examination, perhaps, it would be found that some of the above phenomena are not necessarily due to the fact that the primary education is imparted through a medium other than the mother tongue. Economic factors and social factors might also be equally responsible. But it is important to note that many tribals feel in the way indicated above. In the interest of creating a healthy democratic atmosphere, it is necessary that the question relating to the development of tribal languages and their use for the education of the tribal children, should be dealt with a sense of urgency and under a national programme, and not merely by drawing up a statement of policy alone.

R. C. HIREMATH

Problems of the Unrecognized Local Contact Languages

LANGUAGE is a social phenomenon. Without language we cannot think of the existence of any society, at any stage of human civilization. Rightly does Dandi observe :

इदमन्धं तमं कृत्स्नं जायते भुवनत्रयम् । यदि शब्दाह्वयं ज्योतिरा संसारं न दीप्यते ।।

'Without language', he says, 'the whole world would have been in utter darkness'. Without speech, cooperation between individuals, leading to social institutions and organisations, would not have been possible. The history of language and the history of society, therefore, go together. The social structure becomes part of individual experience only through the major means of language. Therefore, the significance of language in society cannot be overlooked. It is speech that endows man with humanity. 'Language', said Emerson, 'is a city to which every human being brought a stone'. While emphasizing the significant role played by language in society, it must be noted that language cannot be conceived of in the absence of human society. A child growing up in the midst of birds and animals may, at best, acquire their language but not the human speech. The inter-action between language and society, therefore, has been of great importance.

Of the several problems confronting independent India today, language problem is the most vital. India has made a commitment to linguistic states as well as to the language media of education. With this commitment a large number of problems have arisen. They need careful study and cautious solution.

About 800 languages and dialects are spoken today in India.[1] Out of these languages and dialects, the Indian Constitution recognizes 15 Indian languages

apart from English. While recognising these languages it appears that the Constitution has taken into account the literature, culture, history and nationality of these languages. These criteria naturally excluded a large number of dialects prevalent in the country.

But this has created a large number of problems. The states were to be reorganised on the basis of languages, and these languages are being introduced as official languages of various states and also as media of instruction at various levels. This question is being discussed on an all-India level very seriously. While those who approach the problem from the point of view of principles of education, cannot think of any language other than the mother-tongue for these purposes, but others who tackle the problem with a view to national solidarity think in a different way.

If the recognised languages have their own problems, the unrecognised languages are also confronted with a number of problems. Of the languages excluded from recognition, it is true that many of them are dialects, but there are some languages of some importance. Konkani and Tulu in the south are as much languages as others. Maithili which has not been recognised by the Indian Constitution is being studied in schools and colleges even up to the M.A. level, and has a literature of its own, fairly old. It is true that there have been arguments for and against as to whether or not Maithili should be recognised as an independent language. But certainly having this much of history, literature, population and territory, Maithili cannot be a mere dialect. Two languages, if they belong to the same family, may have quite a lot of similarity in structure, and vocabulary and at places they may be intelligible also to one another. Assamese and Bengali are closer in grammatical respects, they have, however, developed their own literature, history, and nationality. Their problems are quite different. Any way, of the unrecognised languages and dialects at least there are some languages of greater significance that may be having their own problems. The aim of the present paper is to analyse this problem.

The 800 languages may be tabulated on the basis of the number of speakers as follows:

73	languages and dialects with speakers numbering	1
137	-Do-	2—10
173	-Do-	11—100
109	-Do-	101—500
41	-Do-	501—1000
87	-Do-	1001—5000
30	-Do-	5001—10,000
73	-Do-	10,001—1,00,000
59	-Do-	1,00,000 and over

This enumeration may have some overlapping, as the speakers are likely to have given variant names of the same language or dialect, and their caste-names might have also been identified with the language. But this in general gives the total strength of the speakers of different languages. There are some local contact dialects with less than 5000 speakers. Even these may be scattered over different parts of the country. Some of them may be tribal dialects, which are a problem by themselves and will be dealt with separately. Of the remaining, two groups can be made: 1. Cultivated languages, 2. Minor dialects.

Recognised languages are trying to gain strength as official languages of the states, as media of instructions at the graduate and post-graduate levels, so on and so forth. Though there is a sound educational principle behind this move, there is also a language-consciousness as a part of their national-consciousness. In the consciousness of nationhood, language serves as an important factor. That is why the Indian National Congress recognised certain languages and kindled language-consciousness and through that national-consciousness. When the major languages are striving hard to achieve firm ground in society, other languages also are likely to struggle for their existence and eminence. Any language is cherished as an element of cultural identity by the group of people who speak the language. Their group-pride will be identified with the language, and the language becomes a symbol of their pride. This may result in a struggle of all linguistic groups for the maintenance of their own individuality. If such a thing would ever happen in this country, that will mean the end of the nation.

National homogeneity and solidarity are more important than the factional interests. In the interests of the whole nation, certain things will have to be sacrificed, and linguistic consciousness carried far will have to be curbed at a certain level. There are dialects and dialects all over India. Even the recognised languages have a number of dialects as they are spread over large areas and spoken by a large number of people. Under such a situation, dialects are the natural results, and a standard language will be evolved out of these dialects; and all the dialects will have to submit to the standard dialects and the one standard dialect will serve all cultural and official purposes. The question of dialects of a language, therefore, does not arise. However, in each linguistic state, there are certain dialects which do not belong to the state language linguistically. For instance, Konkani in Maharashtra and Mysore, Tulu in Mysore and Kerala, and other minor dialects in old Mysore, etc.

Speakers of these languages or dialects out of their own language-consciousness, may cherish an idea that education should be imparted to their children through their mother-tongue. But for all practical purposes, speakers of these dialects have identified themselves with the rest of the people of the state, socially, economically, and culturally. Though they speak their dialect or

language at home, socially and culturally they are with the other language groups. They can handle the state language with equal competence. Bilingualism, in this case, is rather weak, and the speakers have more command over the state language. Even the dialect they speak at home, is completely under the impact of the state language. As a nation, these people have integrated themselves with the state and the language, in all respects. Such dialects or languages, therefore, can not claim their independence, which is neither healthy nor feasible. Languages like Konkani and Tulu, though spoken by a large number of people, are in the first place scattered over different parts of the country. Konkani speakers, for instance, are scattered in different states of India as follows : Assam—60; Bihar—789; Jammu and Kashmir—4; Kerala—67,771; Madhya Pradesh—1190; Madras—4506; Maharashtra—2,10,810; Mysore—4,91,535; Punjab—223; Uttar Pradesh—115.

Likewise, these languages will be spoken in different parts of the country. Konkani speakers, for instance, have mastered the different state-languages like Kannada and Marathi, and contributed to their culture and literature. The new wave of language-consciousness, however, might be tempting some of these languages or dialects to develop their own scripts and assert their own independence. Developing a script is not all. The study of languages in schools and colleges requires literature, grammar, and what is more, the noble thoughts that would shape the younger generation into men of lofty thoughts. In the absence of any such thing it would be degenerating for the society if all these dialects are adopted as educational media. Only languages having rich heritage of literature, independent grammar, can hope to have such a status. Other dialects, howsoever large the number of people speaking them, cannot be elevated to this level. In the first place, the larger the population that speaks a language, the greater is the number of its dialects. Each dialect speaker may use his own dialect for writing which, being unintelligible to the speakers at the farther end, may create a chaotic condition. A standard language cannot be developed in a day. Grammatical forms and literary styles have to be moulded by generations before a standard language could be evolved. That is why, the local contact dialects have been satisfied with the state languages. Accordingly, they have imbibed the culture and mastered the state language. So, for the purpose of official language and medium of instruction at the primary, secondary and collegiate levels, the state language itself, will have to be used. This alone would sustain the integration and solidarity of the country.

What, then, would be the position of these contact languages? These languages are important from the point of view of linguistic and anthropological studies. Though as social dialects they do not figure out significantly, linguistically they are very important. The culture of a nation is the history of its languages. All such languages put together will speak the culture of a country. In fact, linguistic science does not discriminate languages as high and low.

No language is great or small to the linguist. It is in the interests of the nation that a study of such languages and dialects should be undertaken. Provision should be made for research-studies of these languages and cultures, because these are needed for the completion of the cultural history of the land. The speakers of such dialects will have to be content with this much recognition of their language and culture at the university level. They can speak the dialect at home, but they will have to study the state language at all levels, and declare the same as their mother-tongue for purposes of the official language of the state or of competitive examinations at the state or central level.

Should any local contact language claim recognition as a 'national' language, it will have to satisfy the following criteria. It should have (1) a writing system; (2) rich literature; (3) be spoken by a sufficiently large number of people in a geographically contiguous area; (4) should have maintained a culture of its own through centuries and expressed itself as a nationality; and (5) been studied at the school or collegiate level. I do not think such languages are left over from being recognised by the Indian Constitution. If at all any such languages are left over they are still problematic, as Maithili, having its own literature, is intelligible to the speakers of the neighbouring languages like Hindi and Bengali, and certain poets like Vidyapati have been claimed by both the Bengali and the Maithili writers. In such a situation, it may be difficult to recognise the language at the political level. Culturally, of course, due recognition and patronage should be given to such languages.

In a multi-lingual society, that is, in a society consisting of a number of vernaculars the principle of linguistic self-determination may not be applicable. 'Vernaculars are those that are the mother-tongues of various groups of people which are socially and politically dominated by other groups speaking a different language'.[2] A language, on account of some historical factors, may have dominated an entire society for centuries, while the rest of the dialects, not belonging to the language, may have simply been spoken by certain groups of people only at home. These have not been reduced to writing, and hence, they do not contain any literature. If, on the principle that the best medium for teaching is the mother-tongue of the child, all these vernaculars raise a hue and cry, this may result in many complex and difficult problems. Any attempt to provide education through all these vernaculars as well as to sustain a modern state cannot be carried out in excessively polyglot societies. Education through all the vernaculars in a linguistic area may not be possible, feasible, and even advisible as these vernaculars are not capable of competing educationally with the great installations of monolingual nations. If such an attempt is made, intellectual stagnation and colonialism will be the result. This must be avoided, by the linguistic integration of these vernaculars with larger speech-communities whose language is adequate for education and culture. No country can profit by encouraging the perpetuation of hundreds of varnaculars. So, we

should aim at homogeneity rather than heterogeneity.

In any educational system in a multi-lingual area, attempts should be made to reduce the number of languages and dialects. This may kindle patriotic feelings in the people for their language, but they should bear in mind that in the modern world these minor dialects are fast dying out. So linguistic homogeneity is inevitable on the basis of regional languages which are adequate for modern education.

The tribal languages however, have their own problems. The Indian Constitution has made provisions for the promotion of educational and economic interests of the Scheduled Tribes. It goes without saying that the social and economic conditions of the tribal people are to be raised. Special privileges will have to be given to the tribal people until they come up to the level of the rest of the society. For improving the social and economic conditions of these people, they have to be provided with educational opportunities. Since these tribes living in certain areas live by themselves, they are, in a way, not dominated by the state language. In fact, their children may not be aware of any language other than their own. It becomes a problem as to how education should be imparted to these people. Some of the important tribal languages may have to be reduced to writing, and educational opportunities such as proper texts, grammar of the language, etc. may have to be provided. Even then it may not be possible to pick all tribal languages for this purpose. In an area where a bunch of these dialects are spoken, the major and central dialect which may be intelligible, to some extent at least, to the speakers of other dialects in the surrounding area, will have to be the *lingua franca* for that area. These dialects, being very poor in vocabulary and power of expression, can not be carried far in the educational system. Very soon, in a year or two, a child should be introduced to the state language through his mother-tongue, and when the child has learnt to handle the state language, to a certain extent, he must be switched over to that language for purposes of education, etc.

The problem of the unrecognised local contact languages are complex, since it has arrived in the wake of the speakers' consciousness for their language. Their nationalism, being once kindled through the language, is likely to continue to centre round the language. If this is stretched too far, then national solidarity may be in great danger.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. As per 1951 Census about 782 language and dialects were recorded.
2. *Monographs on Fundamental Education*, p. 46.

JAYAKANTA MISHRA

The Case of Maithili

MAITHILI has the misfortune of being misunderstood and neglected, inspite of the fact that for some years there has been a more sympathetic view of its position in the comity of Indian languages. It is today recognized and taught from the primary stage to the post-graduate stage in its home province. The universities of Calcutta, Bihar, Patna, Bhagalpur, Darbhanga, Kathmandu, and Varanasi recognize it as a major Indian language. The International P. E. N. and the National Academy of Letters (the *Sahitya Akademi*) recognize it as the 16th major Indian language.

And yet the position of Maithili is very precarious. It is felt even by some of our eminent scholars that Maithili is just one of the Eastern Hindi, or Hindi, a dialect that is trying to raise its head, that might be patronisingly humoured and perhaps generously given some encouragement, but need not be taken seriously while discussing the problems of the regional languages. There is a common belief among our scholars that Maithili is a minor, though valuable, ingredient of a language called Bihari that neither exists nor has any reality about it (like the 'Madrasi' language)—because an Englishman and a scholar of the eminence of Sir George Grierson once happened to invent it and mistakenly propagate it through the *Linguistic Survey of India*. The government thinks that it would be anti-national and unpatriotic to allow the Maithili-speaking children to read text-books printed in Maithili, and therefore, arranges to distribute to millions of Maithili-speaking children text-books in the national language only. The government is doing everything to discourage, humiliate and obstruct the reading, writing and cultivation of their mother-tongue by the Maithili-speaking people. In preparing the census reports and in consi-

derations of the official language of the state of Bihar, everything is done to ignore and bypass the position of the Maithili language. There is no radio station, hardly any news is broadcast in the Maithili language, only a few radio talks are now being allowed. The position of Maithili is in this way most unsatisfactory. These facts were brought to the notice of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities, but he was unable to do anything to make the Maithili-speakers enjoy the freedom of using their mother-tongue freely and fully.

For giving Maithili its due, for putting Maithili in its proper place on the map of India, there are two things that are necessary. In the first place, the scholars and the élite of our country have to be told the full story of its fallacious position as a dialect of Hindi, Eastern Hindi or the so-called Bihari. In the second place, the battle will have to be fought on the popular level, in the streets and villages of Mithila, in the Legislative Assemblies and in Parliament. It is my intention to relate the story of Maithili as it was first grouped by an Englishman under Bengali along with Assamese and Oriya, and later, under a newly-coined language, called Bihari, which was emphatically declared to be a language independent of Hindi but was taken always as a part of Hindi on account of its major numerical ingredient, namely Bhojpuri, being considered a prominent dialect of Hindi, or of Eastern Hindi.

Maithili is the mother-tongue of 'all the Hindus and Muhammadans, who inhabit the great plain which is bounded on the north and south by the Himalayas and the Ganges, and on the east and west by the Kosi and the Gandak respectively'.[1] This area, commonly known as Mithila or Tirhut, lies in the north-east of India and is shown on the political map as north-Bihar and south-Nepal Tarai.

The number of Maithili-speakers was reckoned in 1911 by Grierson to be 10.26 millions. The exact number of Maithili-speakers today cannot be ascertained as the census reports gave no account of them in 1911 and 1931; and in 1921 and 1951, ridiculously low numbers, namely 1,641, and 87,746 respectively, were recorded. Even in the 1961 Census only 49,84,811 persons are shown to speak it. Taking into consideration the increase in Indian population one may safely say that about 15 million people speak it today.

The antiquity of Maithili as a *granthastha* (literary) language goes back to the 8th century A. D., and it has had a continuous literary tradition during the last 700 years. It can claim some of the very greatest names in Indian literature—Vidyapati (1360-1448), Govindadasa (1643-1670), Umapati (1703-1740), Chanda Jha (1840—1907), Harimohan Jha (b. 1902), and Yatri (b. 1913), and any conception of Indian people which omits them and their heritage is bound to be incomplete and vitiated. It is now admitted on all hands that if we shut out the contribution of Maithili to Indian literature, we shall fail to understand the literary and cultural history of at least three centuries in the whole of Eastern India, comprising Assam, Bengal, Orissa, Nepal, and the

adjoining areas. Maithili has been the link language by which the Assamese, Bengali, and Oriya literatures had formed a major part of Indian literature till the advent of the twentieth century.

We may relegate the question of the Maithili script into the background for the purpose of the argument of this paper, though it is to be emphasised that the Maithili script is of the same family as the scripts of Bengali, Assamese, Oriya and Newari, and that it was perhaps the original script from which all these scripts emerged. Though the Maithili writers have gradually adopted the Devnagri script as the pan-Indian script of Sanskrit much against their interests, it must be remembered for the complete understanding of the case of Maithili that it has a script of its own in which thousands of valuable manuscripts are extant, and that without it the language does lose its original garb and colour to a great extent. And though the Maithili-speaking people have adopted for urgent national reasons the pan-Indian script in print, they are not prepared to let the original script be forgotten; they use it even now on all sacred occasions, in everyday correspondence of the educated old men, and in the recent revival of their interest in the uplift of their mother-tongue it has become the symbol of their survival as a distinct unit that never was a part of Hindi.

The study and classification of Indian languages on modern lines was taken up during the latter part of the nineteenth century. But that does not mean that the Indians themselves were never conscious of the emergence of the modern Indian *vernacular* languages. Maithili was recognised by the Maithili-speakers as such, even as early as the 15th century: the poet Vidyapati called it 'Desila Baana' (the country speech), and Lochana of the *Ragataranngini* fame (17th century) called 'Mithila-Apabhramsha-Bhasha' and distinguished it from Hindi which he called 'Madhyadesha-Apabhramsha-Bhasha'.

The earliest scholar who studied the Modern Indian languages of the North was John Beams (1872-1879); Hoernle (1880) supplemented his work. It was Kellogg, however, who made for the first time a detailed survey of the languages and dialects of the entire land between the Himalayas in the north to the Narmada and the Vindhya mountains in the south, and between Punjab, Sindh and Gujarat in the west to Bengal in the east.

During these gropings, the position of Maithili was variously given. Beams appeared to take Maithili as part of Bengali. He was followed by several Bengali scholars who classed the great writers of Maithili—Vidyapati, Govindadasa and Umapati—as classics of Bengali. In other words, along with Oriya and Assamese, Maithili was treated as a part of Bengali. The credit of rescuing Maithili from Bengali must be given to great Bengali scholars like Rajkrishna Mukhopadhyaya, Romesh Chandra Dutt, and Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri.

Unfortunately, when Maithili was finding itself free from the shadow of

Bengali, there were no native scholars of Mithila educated in modern philological methods, and therefore, unlike the cases of Assamese and Oriya, Maithili remained in an obscure position and did not assert itself as a language by itself. The result was that there prevailed an indeterminate position of Maithili among the languages of India. The story how Maithili thereupon came to be classified as a part of Hindi would be clear from the following extract from a review of Grierson's book *Bihari Grammars* in the *Indian Antiquary* for July, 1885:

'All round the outer edge of Aryan India is a circle of kingdoms or provinces—Bengal, Orissa, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Sindh, Punjab, Nepal; and the 'Indian', or as the Muhammadans called it, the Hindi, spoken in each of these places came by degrees to be called Bengali, Oriya, Marathi, and so on. But in the Centre there remained a vast area for which no special name was found; it was merely Hindi and its language or languages were all merely Hindi. It has long been known that under the general term were included forms of speech differing very widely from each other, and it only remained for some scholar to enquire into the subject and classify these various forms, referring them to their proper relationship. Mr. Grierson has done this for the Eastern Part of the hitherto undefined area, and he has therefore a perfect right to give a name to the form of speech whose independence he has successfully established'.

This explains the confusion in the state of knowledge of contemporary scholars. They were trying to group and classify the vernaculars of Hindustan, and it must be said that they made sincere efforts to study them. But as ill-luck would have it, Grierson who could place and describe the position of Maithili in the most accurate and honourable terms committed the mistake of grouping Maithili under this fake language, along with Bhojpuri whose large number of speakers determined its main character and which, as will be shown presently, was unmistakably a part of the *Madhyadeshiya* or Hindi group of languages.[2] This scientific error will be appreciated fully if one remembers the full discussion that Grierson himself has given in *Linguistic Survey of India* (Vol. 1, Part 1, pp. 22-24) on the grouping and classification of languages, wherein he gave much greater importance to what he called 'nationality' and independent literary tradition as the determining features than to vocabulary, and mutual inter-communicability between the speakers of different languages. Moreover, it may be pointed out that though Grierson made Maithili a dialect of Bihari a new speech, he at the same time emphatically declared that Maithili is not a dialect of any language of great importance :

'Maithili *is* (Grierson's italics) a language and not a dialect. It is the native language of more than seven and a quarter millions of people [now at least 15 millions], of whom, as will be borne out by every official having experience

of North Bihar, at least five million can neither speak nor understand either Hindi or Urdu without the greatest difficulty. It differs from both Hindi and Bengali both in vocabulary and in grammar, and *is as* (Grierson's italics) much a distinct language from either of them as Marathi or Uriya. It is a country with its own traditions, its own poets, and its own pride in everything belonging to itself'.[3]

That he was so unambiguously and boldly asserting the position of the Maithili language was due to the fact that he had a direct and personal knowledge of the facts. It is not widely known that Grierson spent the most active years of his life as the sub-divisional officer at one of the most important cultural centres of the Maithili-speaking area, namely, Madhubani in the Darbhanga district. Even today his name is known to the people there and has been perpetuated by them in the busiest bazar of the place which is called *Gileson Bazaar*. It was, therefore, his first hand acquaintance with Maithili and his instinct for philological discipline that made him declare all these things.

Nevertheless, it baffles one to find him classifying Maithili as a dialect of a newly coined language called Bihari. This name and language appears to have been coined on the assumption that the existence of the province of 'Bihar' justifies the existence of a 'Bihari' language, just as Bengal has Bengali, Assam has Assamese, Punjab has Punjabi. As hinted earlier, some people are known to call Tamil as 'Madrasi' language in the same manner. But how far this kind of nomenclature can be justified in the case of old and established linguistic-cultural units, is a matter worth considering. It requires history, culture and a tradition to make a linguistic entity, and the mere making of a grammar out of common features has no force in forging a language. One might, as Grierson himself observes,[4] 'make one grammar for all the four languages'—Bengali, Oriya, Assamese and Maithili. But would that justify the creation of a new language called say, *Prācyabhāsha*? There never was in the past nor exists today a language called Bihari. There is no mention of it in any literature, any document or any record. There is not a single individual who speaks or writes in the Bihari language as defined by Grierson. It has no script, no literature, no actual existence. It is purely a creation of Grierson's mind and lives in the philological works of the scholars who thoughtlessly copy Grierson's classification.

Grierson's creation was also erroneous inasmuch as it gave Maithili not only the position of a dialect which he himself had denied most unequivocally and emphatically, but gave a permanent impression to the scholars and the laymen that it is a part of Hindi group of languages. For, by this classification of Maithili as Bihari, Grierson grouped Maithili not with the Assamese-Bengali-Oriya group of eastern languages but with Bhojpuri which is from every point of view related to U. P. and its language, and as both numerically and cultu-

rally Bhojpuri was the most dominant part of the Bihari language, it created the mischievous impression that along with Bhojpuri Maithili is a part of the Hindi group of languages.

Grierson, who classified Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuri as the three dialects of the Bihari language, himself says that out of these three, Bhojpuri 'belongs rather to the U. P. than to Bihar'.[5] Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji the doyen of Indian linguists also says : 'Bhojpuriyā territory (*Ancient Kāśī Janapada*) has always been under the influence of the West, and Western forms of speech like Braj-Bhākhā and Avadhi, and literary Hindustānī in later times, have been cultivated by poets and others'.[6]

Grierson also observes that, so far as the literary traditions go, Bhojpuri belongs to the western groups of speeches rather than to Bihar or the eastern groups of speeches :

> 'It was from its neighbourhood that the famous Bundelkhand heroes, Alha and Udal, traced their origin, and all its associations and traditions point to the West and not to the East'.[7]

Moreover, the number of Bhojpuri-speakers in Uttar Pradesh is nearly double of those in Bihar, and they are found in ten districts of Uttar Pradesh as against five districts of Bihar.

Finally, in the discussion of Purbi Hindi or Avadhi, Grierson explains that Bhojpuri may generally be taken to agree with Maithili-Assamese-Bengali-Oriya group of eastern or Magadhan languages in regard to nouns and pronouns, but in regard to the verb, the main aspect of difference in these Indo-Aryan languages, it occupies a position similar to Avadhi. In other words, Bhojpuri is more akin to Ardhamagadhi than to Magadhi, and, therefore, it is more accurate to describe it as an Ardhamagadhan speech along with Avadhi than as a Magadhan speech. In supoprt of this contention it may be pointed out that the western Bhojpuri, the largest group of Bhojpuri dialects, is in actual practice called purbi *par excellence*.[8]

I, therefore, fail to understand why Grierson included Bhojpuri in the newly coined Bihari language. If a Bihari language has to be brought into existence in order to justify the political and administrative unit called 'Bihar', it may be more reasonably used for Maithili and Magahi only. For, though ethnically Maithili and Magahi are different, yet philologically the two are so close to each other that even Grierson says that Magahi 'may very easily be classed as a dialect of Maithili rather than as a separate (speech)'.[9]

In conclusion, it may be said that it is high time that this erroneous view of Maithili as a dialect of the newly coined language Bihari was given up. In fairness to Grierson it must be repeated that he always insisted that this Bihari was not a dialect of Hindi but an independent speech. But in practice it has

never been believed to be so, for the simple reason that there was no basis for accepting Bihari as a distinct literary language of any reality; and it has been more common to treat it as an eastern variety of Hindi—perhaps the preponderance of Bhojpuri in it (numerically speaking) which I have shown above is a Purbi (eastern) variety of Hindi from every point of view, has been responsible for giving this impression.

It is my earnest request to the scholars assembled here to accept the correct position of Maithili, and to give up this fake Bihari in our discussion of the Magadhan speeches.

The last stage in the story of Maithili is reached with the introduction of English education among the Maithili speaking people. It is gratifying to note that during the last fifty years, as English education has been progressing and as even the Sanskrit Pandits of Mithila are becoming conscious of the status and importance of their mother-tongue, there has been a general awakening and the people have begun to assert the independence and value of Maithili. The importance which was given to the vernacular in the new system of education was responsible for this feeling. Maithili was nevertheless very late in coming into its own—thanks to the belated introduction of English education and the domination of the Sanskritists of old, who did not attach much importance to the vernacular (*Prākrit*) or the fallen speech (*Apabhraṁśa*) as distinguished from the language of the cultured élite (Sanskrit). When Maithili speakers began to be controlled in their intellectual and cultural life by the English educated scholars, they began to realise what injustice had been done to their mother-tongue by the non-Maithili-speaking scholars of the 19th century. They began to protest against the views of these scholars from various platforms, and asserted that their mother-tongue, Maithili, was a full-fledged and independent language. Happily they got the support of many impartial and eminently scientific scholars, and today they have succeeded in their efforts to put Maithili on its own legs to a large extent. It is in the universities that they had to fight their first major battle, and the first university to welcome it as a major Indian language on par with Gujarati, Hindi, Bengali, etc. was the University of Calcutta, when it organised the Department of Modern Indian Languages in 1917. Recognition by other universities and academies followed, as has been mentioned earlier in this paper.

The political importance of Maithili has also come to be realised. Maithili is a language that links India with Nepal, and, therefore, for purposes of propaganda in the Nepalese territory, Maithili occupies a place of great diplomatic importance. It seems that this fact is also being realised, since, recently, the All India Radio has decided to establish a radio station in the heart of the Maithili speaking area, viz., Darbhanga.

Despite these facts, as was pointed out in the beginning of the present essay, the position of Maithili remains precarious. It is still prospering on

nothing beyond private and individual initiative. It does not receive any patronage of the state government. It is not recognized in the Indian Constitution, as a major Indian language. There is no provision for the development and promotion of Maithili language and literature in the various schemes and Five Year Plans of development in the state of Bihar. Indeed, it is rigorously excluded from being used and patronised in any form in the administration and other spheres of life. The state government does everything to humiliate the Maithili-speaking people. On paper Maithili is recognized as the medium of instruction for the primary classes, but in actual practice the government have refused even to publish text-books for primary classes in Maithili, while it has printed and published text books in tribal languages, such as Santali. Anybody who is bold enough to teach or get primary education in the mother-tongue (Maithili), is treated as a suspect. Fear, suspicion, distrust, and the charge of lack of patriotism are the rewards of working in the interests of Maithili. The height of government indifference and conscious disrespect towards Maithili was reached recently when it was announced that Urdu was going to be made the second state language of Bihar, despite the importance and extent of Maithili. Naturally, there was a lot of opposition, and as a result of it, the government had to promise to appoint a Linguistic Commission for Maithili. Unfortunately, it has been decided that this Commission would work under the auspices of the Rashtrabhasha Parishad of Patna. It is universally suspected that this arrangement will vitiate the findings of this Commission. Scholarly and scientific interests demand that an impartial commission should determine the facts about Maithili as the state language of Bihar.

The fact of the matter is that there are many people who think that in the larger interests of the nation we should wipe out Maithili and allow Hindi, the national language, to take its place. Lest one think that I am merely imagining an argument, I should like to quote the following statement of a scholar :

> 'I believe that it is very much more convenient to have a neighbouring literary form of language as the medium rather than give the position to an international language, 6000 miles away from our land. With this belief, I put forward the suggestion in all humility that the people of Bihar should consider the plea for Hindi to replace English and the people of Assam should consider the advisability of having Bengali. I know the strength of sentiment in Mithila and Assam in favour of the mother-tongue, but whether Assam with 20 lacs of speakers of Assamese and Mithila with a small proportion of speakers of Maithili in comparison with the numerous speakers of the two dialects Bhojpuri and Magadhi, in the province of Bihar, could press their claims with any practical advantage is for them to consider'.
>
> (*Dr. Babu Ram Saxena as President of the Non-Local Languages Section of the All-India Oriental Conference*, 1941.)

In other words, it is feared that we will be pushing back the clock of progress and national unity if we retard the integration of Maithili with Hindi or, for that matter, that of Assamese with Bengali. This is a most unfortunate argument which might have suited the days under foreigners but cannot be justified in free India, which has pledged to give every one of its citizens fullest freedom to develop and fulfil himself. Indeed, the recognition of Assamese in the Constitution of India as a full-fledged language is itself a proof that this view cannot be seriously held. One can only observe that no true national integration is possible by ignoring the aspirations and deep-seated sentiments of the common people of this vast land, or by crushing the cherished thoughts and elevating dreams of a people who have inherited from times immemorial a rich cultural and literary heritage. True national integration and unity must be based on mutual respect and recognition of the valuable contribution of each of the major cultural and literary units in the various states of India, and not on coercion and suppression of one by another, however big and powerful.

The Census of 1961 has also not been fair to the Maithili-speakers. It is, however, the first attempt to give some consideration to Maithili, after the great *Linguistic Survey of India*, compiled in 1911. The number of Maithili-speakers has been given as relatively small, and Maithili has been classed as a dialect of the non-existent Bihari. The result is that we still continue to be in the dark about the exact number of Maithili speakers today. It is beyond doubt that, viewed in the context of tremendous increase in the population of India during the last 50-60 years, the figures of 1911, viz. 10.26 millions, could not have become in the 1961 Census just 4.98 millions !

In conclusion, it may be observed that it is sheer petty-mindedness and prejudice of the worst kind that can think of denying Maithili-speaking children and writers what every other child and writer in free India enjoys, just simply because they became conscious of their position a little late on account of the belated introduction of English education, and because they have not yet chosen to assert their rights by *lathis*, *gheraos*, hunger-strikes and unruly demonstrations. If things are going to be settled and judged even in free India by the standards of *lathi*, well, it must be said that we have not advanced from the barbaric stages of civilization and that we are not genuinely desirous of exploiting all the human resources for the progress of this country.

When the disabilities have been removed, the time would come for discussing the problems of technical literature and other difficulties in switching over to the mother-tongue as the medium of education among the Maithili-speakers. Maithili-speakers should be first allowed to live and breathe free air.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. George A. Grierson, *Maithili Grammar*, p. 2.
2. *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. V, Part 2.
3. George A. Grierson, *Maithili Grammar*, p. 2.
4. *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. V, Part II. p. 1. 'Like Bengali, Oriya and Assamese, it (Maithili) is a direct descendant, perhaps the most direct of the descendants, of the old form of speech known as Magadhi Prakrit, and has so much in common with them in its inflexional system that it would be possible to make one grammar for all the four languages'.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
6. *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Vol. I, p. 99.
7. *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. V, Part II, p. 40.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 43.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Part II, p. 40.

Languages as Medium of Instruction, Administration, etc. : Opportunities and Restrictions

MULK RAJ ANAND

A Plea for English for Higher Education

(An open letter to the Union Minister for Education)

I WISH to put my observations on the question of language as media of communication before you in this letter. I wish to do this in a personal memorandum, because I would like to persuade you, with the utmost sincerity, to evolve a national policy which may be elastic, comprehensive and evolutionary. From your various utterances during the last month, it seems that you have already adopted a double quick programme. You have mentioned five or ten years as the period for the transition into the mother-tongue and the link language, 'Hindi'. I would like to borrow one of the earlier slogans of Mao Tse Tung and plead for 'making haste slowly'. Also, there are some moot points on which I would like to state my opinions frankly, so that you will know where those members of the intelligentsia, who were forced to write in the English language, stand, in the present situation, of the inevitable changeover to the mother tongues of the peoples of India.

In the first instance, I would like to state my *bona fides* :

I have been for thirty years or more, like many of my generation, an English speaking, an English writing Indian. I studied in London and Cambridge Universities, and later felt compelled by my conscience to give expression, in the early twenties, to my obsession with certain compassionate humanistic beliefs about the wretchedness beyond wretchedness of those people in our country who, I felt, have been disinherited. Man's fate, specially in India, became a challenge to my sensibility, in my early youth, and I began to write my creative works in the only language that came to hand, the English language. You will appreciate that at that time (even now) there were few or no publishers in Punjabi or Urdu languages, who would publish any fictional works by writers in

their own language—certainly not those works which were based on confrontation of the destiny of man at the lowest rung of the ladder, the outcastes, the bereft, the insulated, and the injured. The question of immediacy of communication was important. And even Gandhi-ji, who was in favour of creative writing in the mother tongues, sanctioned my venture in my first novel *Untouchable* in the English language, because he said 'there was no time to lose in saying one's say'. However, all those who have ever glanced at my writings, will see that I generally translate or interpret my feelings or thoughts from Punjabi or Hindustani into the English language, thus translating the metaphor and imagery of my mother tongue into what is called Indo-Anglo-Indian writing, but what I prefer to call 'pigeon Indian' (not pidgin-Indian). From this background it will become clear to you that I have no vested interests in the English language, and welcome the transition from foreign languages into the Indian languages, especially in creative writing, as soon as possible. The so-called Indo-Anglian writers will, in my opinion, tend to become, as they have already been, *bridges*, connecting India with the fresh currents of content and technique in the various experiments in creative literature abroad. I believe that the mother tongue is the integral medium, not only for the intake of knowledge and information, but for the intensest expression of nuances of the human sensibility in creative poetry and prose.

Therefore, what I am saying further in regard to the basic questions before us, may be considered devoid of any special bias, class attitude or snobbery in favour of the English language which I have used for a generation and which I still use. I have already referred to in an essay in *Seminar* magazine two years ago, to the undeclared war, which I feel has been going on in our country between the bureaucratic Brown Sahibs and the semi-English knowing, semi-mother tongue speaking intelligentsia. And in this class war I am on the side of the under-privileged Mother tongue wallahs. But, equally, I think there is a sincere English knowing intelligentsia, beyond the Brown Sahibs, and they would like to help the process of transformation from English to the mother-tongues. In me, then, there is no enemy of the mother tongues, or of the proposed link language. And after this preface I can proceed to give my opinions for whatever they are worth.

There is no doubt that the evolution of a national education policy, which has been projected by the three important reports on education compiled since 1947, is a high priority for you. The dynamic manner in which you have set about to address yourself to this task ever since you took office, promises results. But some of us hope that you will only bring about a major shift of emphasis. And that you will consider the practical aspects of the programme and see if it can be implemented only after adequate preparations.

The appeal to the intelligentsia of India to shed the prerogatives of being

an élite, which you have made from time to time, will only have decisive effect, provided you really consult everyone who can make a possible contribution towards the realisation of a national policy. But this question must be rescued from the clumsy hands of prejudiced political parties, and discussed among the possible participants in the programme of transformation.

As you have been primarily an educationist, I feel that you have not noticed the dangers implicit, in our polity, from the chauvinist linguism of many of the states, which threaten the unity of India. Some of us feel that our leader and friend, the first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, was too generous and, by sanctioning the linguistic zones of India too quickly as the basis of political states, he innocently made room for much of the disruption which is prevalent in India today. Already we see the unseemly spectacle of people fighting over a few villages, a town, or a river, with a homicidal fury which we had not dreamt about during the prolonged struggle for freedom from British rule. And then there are claims being made for the superiority of one provincial culture over another, of one language over another. And even secession is being talked about.

Now, I am not one of those who will refuse to see the insecurities, deprivations, and handicaps, which the unequal history of the various parts of India has brought to our new states. Deep down the ferment shows the vitality of our peoples at all those levels, which the rulers had not thought about for a long time. Actually, as I have just said, there is a class war of semi-enlightened wills, waged in a confused manner, by many of those who were educated in the village and small town schools. Their needs and interests must inevitably compel a change of heart and mind among the bureaucratic intelligentsia, to allow for fuller democratic participation by the disinherited in the shaping of the new India. And, to a large extent, their entry into the areas of illumination, which the new education policy would offer through the mother tongues and the development of an all-India link language, will be the only way for releasing the energies of those who have been so far ignored. Thus any measures calculated to bring about an organised shifting of the balance from the bureaucratic intelligentsia to these fresh new peoples, will be warmly espoused by those who are on the side of humanism, who want equality of opportunity for the large sections who have not yet entered history.

The primary thing to keep in view in the transition is the oneness of our country. On no accounts can we allow this to break down and dissipate itself in those incohate fratricidal quarrels between gangs financed by corrupt politicians to further their interests.

The cautionary approach, which I am suggesting, is not made out of fear, but out of hope. I feel that if a studied gradualism is employed in the adoption of your recommendations, and the emphasis is shifted without breaking the connections which exist through the present communication media, then,

within the next generation or two, the mother tongues may *evolve*, to a more or less extent, into world knowledge and information as well as become sensitive vehicles for the expression of human experience. Also, by that time, through the inexhorable dialectic of everyday exchange, a synthetic Hindi-Hindustani may grow to the potential limits of a link language, with progressive enrichment of its vocabulary. Meanwhile, whether we like it or not, the English language will go on being used for the development of India's economic freedom, as it was used for achieving the political freedom of India, because it is, at the moment, except perhaps for Bengali, the most developed language for the higher education in science, humanities, and for the administration of justice in the upper courts, as well as in inter-provincial exchange and at the international level.

There is, underneath the surface of our polity, a deeper need for togetherness. The reasons for this are not merely our need for political solidarity. Actually there has been seen in the many parts of the world, since the Second World War, a phenomenon which, in spite of all the fissiparous tendencies observable in India and elsewhere, shows that most small countries have been tending to get together into more or less self-sufficient economic and political blocs, with connections in the supranational world. The causality behind this tendency is that the old kind of nationalism of Europe has fought itself to a standstill. The necessity for barter and exchange of goods in a country and between nearby countries has grown. The sheer advance of technology, in all parts of the world, compels the breakdown of narrow frontiers.

This will happen in India. And the unity of our country, temporarily threatened by forces ignorant of the process of economic reconstruction and social coherence in the new period, will compel even the separatist states into adjustments with each other, within the Indian union. The survival of the people can even now, depend, in spite of food zones, on give and take in food and industrial goods. But future reconstruction is not possible without mutual aid on the basis of social justice, as between the different states and regions of India.

This process of integration, which works from hidden energies below, demands self-conscious co-existence of diverse groups, tribes, and peoples in the one India, linked to the neighbouring countries by trade, as integral part of a growing world, where the richer nations will have to help the developing countries, not altruistically but from their own selfish need to give enough buying power to the poor nations to purchase the mass produced commodities, which are becoming available in endless stream through the new industrial revolution.

These inter-Indian and international connections cannot be maintained without link languages, which are practical, pliable, and actually cement the people's lives. In the process of the emergence of the One India, as part of a

shrinking one world, the new young of our country may have to acquire knowledge not only of English, but also of other languages of the world, to enrich themselves with the knowledge, research, and the creative experiences in those alien tongues. The possibilities are unlimited. All that we have to do therefore, is to find a flexible approach to release the energies of the young and give them India-wide and world-wide opportunities for growth into broader awareness of human civilisation and for deeper participation in the dimly recognisable unitary world culture.

May I sum up this part of my plea for the maintenance of the unity of India by asking that the concept of mutual aid between its various parts be always kept in view and fostered in everything we may do. And our world connections must be maintained at the highest level of awareness of new researches in the sciences and the humanities. We must not become suburbans, provincials and village idiots by throwing away an international language, which is one of the main gains from the period of alien rule.

What are the implications of the necessity of a One India for the new education programme?

There is not much difference between you and your critics on the question of the absolute necessity of beginning all education in the mother tongues. Also, there is more or less agreement about the introduction, at a fairly early stage, say about the 4th primary class, of the new link language. The difference arises only about the stage at which the learning of English might begin, or about the question whether it can be kept as an important part of the education system at all. In view of the fundamental necessity of preserving, intensifying and heightening the unity of India, specially during the process of political and economic reconstruction of our barter bloc, it seems necessary to introduce the English alphabet and basic grammar from the 5th or the 6th class.

After this, all the three languages, the mother tongue, and the two associate link languages, may be allowed to compete with each other and the students may be permitted to answer the examination papers in whichever of these three languages they feel most proficient in. And this process should go on until the university stage, where knowledge of English should remain compulsory for the next 50 years or so, perhaps, forever, in order to maintain world standards of knowledge, especially in the sciences and, to some extent, in the arts.

From the above proposal, you will see that I am putting emphasis on the English language as the *sine qua non* of advanced study for the next generation. I am afraid that this may lead you to rebuke me and say that 'the pro-English trend can be ignored as of no consequence'. I hope that you will reconsider the role of those who are asking for the continuance of English in higher education.

Of course, few or none of these colleagues, engaged in the task of national

reconstruction will disagree with you about the importance of re-inforcing the drive for the learning of the mother tongues and the future link language, Hindi or Hindustani as Gandhi-ji called it. And we must find ways and means by which the extra importance given to the English-educated bureaucratic intelligentsia can be diminished, its snobbery liquidated, and its vested interests taken away by devaluing the currency of the imitation haw-haw accent of the Brown Sahibs. You need have no fear that this will happen anyhow, when democratic opportunities are offered to those for participation in the Government, whose sons do not go to public schools, or mission schools, or abroad.

But I want, if possible, to whisper softly and without any special pressure in my voice, into your ears, the still small voice of reason, poetry and imagination. I want to communicate to you the psychological truth that people do not learn languages by order of the state, whether the state is represented by a king, a dictator, or a parliament. The necessities of the mundane everyday life assert themselves, and everyone has to acquire the means of communication necessary and convenient from the point of view of living in a social group, earning a living, and of growing into higher consciousness, nobility, and grace. You may have heard that the Czar Alexander III failed to make his Polish subjects learn Russian by fiat. The modern heresy is that languages grow slowly, with use, and change, not mechanically, but organically with intangible, protracted historical changes in society. Stalin recognized this fact when somebody asked him to introduce proletarian Russian language into the U.S.S.R. in the place of the accepted Russian language of administration and creative literature. As an absolutist, he might have been expected to say 'yes'. But, instead, he answered that there can be no revolution in language, implying that languages are subject to intricate, subtle and unpremeditated laws of change. I don't suppose he knew that his thesis could be demonstrated, from the growth of a different language in America than the English language as spoken and written in Great Britain. As everyone knows, American English uses short sentences of seven to eleven words, while the writers in U. K. still use Macaulay's longwinded sentence of eighteen to eighty words. And this may be an occasion for me to tell you that the English spoken by the so-called élite of India, except for the Oxford accent wallahs, is a warm, rich brogue, often different from English as spoken by the B.B.C. commentators, and individual to every part of India, carrying over some of the suggestion, the poetry, and often the perfume of the mother tongues, along with the intonation. There are also many clichés and much claptrap in the Indian English. But, somehow, it sounds quite pleasant except to the snobs; and so long as it remains grammatically more or less correct, it is evolving into as distinctive a style as American English or Irish English or Welsh English. As it often seems to carry the metaphor of the indigenous poetry, and soars with the imagination of the many gifted writers we have produced, I prefer, as I have said, to call it Pigeon-

Indian (not pidgin-Indian), thus implying that it is not the much despised language of controversy but a unique branch of world literature.

It is this Pigeon-Indian which, I think, will grow, inspite of all handicaps, and which will always be used in conversational speech, in administration frequently, and in international exchange: not the so-called English of the so-called élite. I am with you in banishing the snobbery from the currency of everyday life, indeed as I am for throwing away the crucifix of the necktie.

If then the English I am recommending is not the King Emperor's English, the Queen's English, or the Commonwealth English, or the American English, but our own Pigeon-Indian, then let us genuinely accept it as one of the languages of India recognised by our Constitution. You may find that this will remain a most useful and sensitive medium in the future, and may in the future be learnt by millions of Indians from the sheer need to become part of the renascent world, even as they become more self-consciously Indian about this and other relevant parts of our inheritance.

I find that in quite a few of the *Indian language* universities, the teaching is still being done mostly in English. The text books are also still in English. And the attempts at translation of text books have been very few and far between. It may be a good idea to make these universities, laboratories for the translation and writing of books which can replace the English text books. Also for the training of teachers to teach in the mother tongues by the adoption of quicker and more scientific means of teaching languages than those practised in most parts of India. Connected with this positive attitude must be an enlightened anticipation of the possibility that the same professors can, through refresher courses every year, be persuaded to write original books in which they may absorb world influences and bring out their own talents. We must face the fact, however, that so far the universities, which are supposed to teach in the mother tongues have not made the grade, have not even essayed, except here and there, the formidable practical problem of training a generation which would make for the translation from English into a new link language and the mother tongues.

For instance, production of the books displayed in recent exhibition of books in the mother tongues, showed a deplorable lack of awareness of modern design and printing values and of the possibilities of graphic art. Not even a small fraction of the learning of the European renaissance and the scientific knowledge of the last 200 years, which has led to the various industrial revolutions, has come within the orbit of our languages.

Apart from these major considerations, this fact alone might be considered as relevant to the growth of the mother tongues that we cannot ask modern knowledge to 'quit India' as we asked the oppressive British regime to 'quit India'. Rather than downgrade English, then, it may become necessary to upgrade it, by a special bill of Parliament to give English the status of an

associate language on the lines of Mr. Nehru's assurance given to Mr. Frank Anthony in the debate about the inclusion of English in the Eighth Schedule. If one can imagine the kind of dynamic agro-industrial civilisation that we wish to achieve, it will become imperative to teach many more millions of our people the basic English language in order to transmit technology and to create a pool of translators who may render world knowledge to the various states, as well as instigate the writing of original books in the mother tongues by the more talented among the new intelligentsia.

Objectivity, with the minimum of subjectivity, must be our guide in the ruthless analysis of the present situation in all its many imbalances. And an elastic policy must be evolved, so that no sudden jolt is given to the present generation of students by the switch-over, in five or ten years, from English to the mother tongues, especially in the higher education. The perils facing us, from the growing disunities, from linguism and villageism and riverism, can destroy our sense of solidarity. You see the brain drain of the Indian youth. You know that quite half a million unemployed, semi-employed, or underpaid, specialists in sciences and humanities are seeking to emigrate abroad every year. Why is this so? Because there are already few opportunities for employment. And with every state teaching only in the mother tongue these opportunities will be further curtailed.

In the moment of decision, then, we must be comprehensive in our outlook and accept English as a major factor, and while developing our own languages with courage and imagination, be always aware of possibilities about what may happen to our people by the year 2000 A.D.

If the hypothesis I have offered above has any validity, then it is possible to accept Hindi-Hindustani as a link language for administration, for education and development in our country, always remembering that, for practical purposes, English must remain as an associate link language. In accepting Hindi-Hindustani as a link language for practical use in government, in schools and colleges, and in trade, we must differentiate it from Hindi as the mother tongue and literary language of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, as also from Hindi as a world language. In all these three different denominations it has to be developed by long practice, because the Hindi-speaking and writing peoples have remained during the modern period in a hinterland, relatively unexposed to world connections.

It is true that, in some form or other, along with dialects, and after taking words from other sister languages like Urdu, and with the help of international vocabulary, Hindi-Hindustani is a potential basic link language for our country. But it is important to differentiate its character as the basic link language for its use as the official language, from its purposive capacity as the subtle language of educational research and as an international language. Given time,

perhaps, in about one generation, many non-Hindi-speaking people will learn the words and phrases for basic exchange and communication in its form as a link language. The conscious development of this language in the education system may also enable it to become the language of education and research in fifty years' time.

At the moment, however, in eastern and southern India, it is not understood or spoken by the bulk of the people. Nor have they accepted it wholeheartedly either as a link language or as the language for creative writing or international exchange. The chief reason seems to be that the students, particularly of south and eastern India, feel that they will be in an unequal position in competitive examinations for the all-India services, if they have to appear in Hindi as the official link language. Also, those engaged in commerce in the bulk of our country will not accept Hindi as a practical reality in their daily routine. There will have to be millions of type-writers and short-hand typists trained before we can ask them to switch-over to the new basic link language.

And there seems to be absolute justice in the plea of lawyers, judges, and scholars that Hindi cannot replace the English language in the High Courts and the Supreme Court until many years to come, when the books of law, case histories, and other important codes of the world, can be rendered into Hindi-Hindustani, as the potential language of books of knowledge. Equally, it is not possible for us to take in the advanced sciences and humanities for university education, and for higher research, even in the next twenty-five years, in Hindi as it is constituted today.

And if there is any plausibility in the distinctions of the three kinds of Hindi-Hindustani which I have made, then a *practical programme* has to be devised to implement the concept of Hindi-Hindustani as a medium of exchange on all these levels. One permanent commission will have to be set up to devise a basic Hindi as a link language for use among those of the 165 million people who, though Hindi-speaking, understand only different dialects of Hindi, like Bhojpuri, Maithili, Brij Bhasha, Rajasthani and Punjabi. This common basic language may thus acquire words from other mother tongues and may grow in popularity. Another commission may be set up to select translators and original writers for the rendering of important world books in Hindi-Hindustani as the language of higher education, advanced research and creative writing. Still another commission will be necessary for the translation of the vast legal codes, case histories, and the interpretation of constitutional, civil, and criminal law.

Jawahar Lal Nehru seemed to have been aware of these complex problems of Hindi-Hindustani as the *lingua franca* of contemporary India. That is why he adopted a flexible attitude towards the programme for its development. He suggested the adoption of Hindi (by which he often told us he meant Hindi-

Hindustani), recommending at the same time the adoption of English an as associate official language for as long as was necessary.

The main point in the argument of those who are in favour of an immediate switch over to Hindi as a blanket proposition, without inquiring into its practicability in all the three forms referred to above, is that they feel that the retention of English as an associate language even for a brief period 'will perpetuate its use and would thus delay the active use of this and other Indian languages'. There is some reason behind this argument. But, in my opinion, the concurrent use of two associate languages for administration, education, and commerce would ensure good competition and be a constant challenge to the new official language and make it grow faster.

Another criticism of English as an associate language is that it would mean the continued concentration of power in the hands of the English-speaking and English-writing élite of eleven million people. It is further argued that this would preclude genuine participation of the people in the government of our country. I have already argued that, apart from a few snobs, the so-called élite have accepted, under the leadership of Jawahar Lal Nehru, social democracy as the goal of advance towards the future.

Still another criticism levelled against the continuance of English as an associate language is that its use hinders the creativeness of the people, because they are engaged in a constant struggle to master the English language, and cannot thus absorb their own languages. My answer to this kind of psychosis of fear is that the mastery of Hindi-Hindustani as the language of learning, specially by the non-Hindi-speaking peoples, may be as much a hindrance to their creativeness as is the present English language. Actually, however, learning another and still another language is an enriching experience and not a hindrance to the acquirement of our mother tongue. Children learn all languages easily.

I have found that the English language or any foreign language is not a hindrance to creativeness in prose writing but only in poetry. And I may adduce in this connection the fact that though few or no Indians have written important poetry in the English language, there are many Indians who have used English prose with a mastery which is unique in the history of world literatures. It is not good to simplify the business of creativeness, because the sources of creativeness lie in the sensibility and the racial unconscious, and not only in the medium through which the urges for the expression of nuances of the body-soul take place.

In sum, the three-language formula proposed by the first prime minister of India seems to give room for the potential development of the basic link language as media for exchange, learning and higher study. He proposed the teaching of three languages in India: the mother tongue in every state; Hindi for the present non-Hindi-speaking people; and one of the mother tongues

other than Hindi for Hindi-speaking people;—and English. This approach is based on reason, imagination and pragmatic possibilities.

Now what about the mother tongues?

I do not think that there is much controversy about the mother tongue, in so far as the acceptance of the mother tongues as the basis of education in the primary stage is concerned. Equally there is more or less agreement on its progressive continuance in the secondary and the university stage, provided it can take in enough content to make it possible for a student to appear in the examinations. There is, however, some reason to doubt whether all the mother tongues in the various linguistic states of India are capable of taking in uniformally the resources of world knowledge and culture.

In some of the mother tongues, even basic dictionaries have not yet appeared in relation to the proposed *lingua franca*. Dr. Machwe has, in a recent article, in *Indian Literature* magazine (March, 1966), given data about the poverty of almost half of the mother tongues in regard to the essential basic books. For instance, Kashmiri, Assamese, Punjabi, Kannda, Oriya, and Sindhi have still not absorbed as much learning as the other mother tongues of India. Therefore, I suggest, again, that commissions be set up for the preparation of dictionaries like the Larousse in France, which may consciously introduce modern knowledge into all the mother tongues, especially those which are in an elementary stage of growth and awareness.

All the practical suggestions made for the advancement of the *lingua franca* also apply to the mother tongues. They are potentially capable of becoming, like the languages of the European countries, mature media for the assimilation of the works of knowledge and passion. But they are not capable, at the moment except perhaps for Bengali, Hindi and Tamil, for accepting the advanced thinking of the world.

The experiment for the adoption of the mother tongues at the primary and secondary levels, and for state administration, will, in the next few years, prove (if the two associate languages are also used at the same time) how soon or how late the mother tongues can take over the function of the English language. The challenge of competition between the mother tongue and two associate languages, will be a great incentive for the development of the mother tongues. Only those who are frightened of their own laziness, in the attempt to improve the stamina of the mother tongues and Hindi, are nervous about the perpetuation of the use of English, if it is allowed to be an associate language.

I would beg to differ from those who, while recommending the three-language formula, feel that at no stage should more than two languages be taught at the same time. I think the human mind, especially in early childhood, is capable of acquiring with ease three or four languages, not all perfectly, I agree, but sufficiently well for use.

At the end I would suggest that, at this stage, we should rescue the question of language from political partisanship and put it before the intelligentsia of the whole country in seminars like this. So that a subtle, effective, and detailed scheme can actually result for the practical application of the three-language formula.

The responsibility of our generation to the future youth of our country is serious and decisive. What we do about the new education policy will make or mar their careers. English has become an asset of the highest advantage for our nation building programmes. The sudden and indiscriminate switch-over to the unformed Hindi-Hindustani, and the non-uniformally developed mother tongues, will make at least three new generations victims of a hasty political decision.

I believe that we have not taken count of many of the actual difficulties of applying a blanket resolution to a country as vast as Europe without Russia, with many more diverse patterns of speech, civilisation and culture, than in the west. Besides in our present historical situation, we need our unity. We have seen how petty western nationalisms led to a hundred years' war in Europe and later to two world wars. If we borrow those narrow-minded nationalisms we are likely to destroy ourselves in protracted quarrels, such as those which now obtain between Haryana and Punjab, Maharashtra and Mysore, Kerala and Tamilnad, Assam and the Hill states and other simmering disruptions.

The reason why our country struggled for freedom was to release our people to the incipient sense of awareness of human dignity, equality of opportunity, and the provision of food and shelter and knowledge. The character of the individual was to be integrated, by illumination from the whole world, and we were to open the windows of our souls and acquire whatever might intensify our consciousness and deepen our insight.

The formidable task of helping our new generations to grow into integrated human beings, then, calls for concentration through all the intuitions available in the languages of the contemporary world. Our young, like the western flower people, the Hippies and the Beatniks, are in revolt against orthodoxy and the cash nexus and anti-life forces. They wish to break through to themselves, and each other, without much awareness of national frontiers. The unitary man is emerging among them almost on parallel lines of thinking and feeling, in the one world of humanness, which is against war, against the chicanery of politicians, against social injustice, and for survival on some plane of creativeness.

Let us not snap the ties that exist between the world and the young, through the current languages. Let us not limit knowledge and awareness. Let us lift the veils of ignorance which the local fanaticisms can build into thick walls. Let us release our people to simultaneousness of human experience. Omniscience, omnipresence and omnipotence should be our *mantra* for the young gods of the

world of the year 2000 A.D. The Greak civilisation was destroyed by fratricide. We ourselves were so divided by the different languages for a thousand years that five hundred foreign militarists could always conquer large chunks of India and enslave us.

The English language united us. And the self-conscious people from different parts of our country combined to release us into the struggle for freedom for one India, as part of the modern world. The abolition of English will make every state of India into a vicious circle, with many vicious circles within it, and lead to idiocy, which means in Greek, going round and round in circles. Our own gathering here from different parts of our country, talking to each other in a common language, shows that we are bound in a certain solidarity in spite of the fact that we are speaking in a foreign language. Our history has compelled this exigency. We cannot jump out of history to the next stage as we can go in a sputnik to the Moon.

There is no 'leap forward' in matters of language...

K. P. KARUNAKARAN

Mother Tongue as the Medium of Instruction and Administration: Opportunities

BEFORE the achievement of independence the fact that the use of English as the medium of instruction and of administration has had disastrous effects on the people of India were accepted by political leaders and organisations who had given attention to it. But after 1947 there was an attempt to put the clock back on this matter, because those who held power had vested interest in retaining the pre-dominance of English in all spheres.

In a discussion of the question in the present context reference to some of the views expressed during the national movement will not be out of place, because they were expressed by leaders who gave considerable thought to the question, and also because they were expressed in an atmosphere free from passions and agitations which got associated with it later.

One of the most prominent leaders who spoke and wrote at length on this matter was Gandhi-ji. He said as early as 1921: 'The foreign medium has caused brain fag, put an undue strain upon the nerves of our children, made them crammers and imitators, unfitted them for original work and thought, and disabled them for filtrating their learning to the family or the masses. The foreign medium has made our children practically foreigners in their own land'.

By nineteen-thirties there were discussions on specific aspects of the matter. Jawaharlal Nehru wrote in 1937: 'The policy governing state education should be that education is to be given in the language of the student. In each linguistic area education from the primary to the university stage will be given in the language of the province. The medium of instruction for university education will be the language of the linguistic area. Hindustani (either script) and a foreign language should be compulsory subjects'.

Even the educationists agreed with this view in the nineteen-forties. The Inter-University Board of India, Burma and Ceylon at its 21st annual session held at Colombo in December, 1945, recommended the introduction of the mother tongue as an alternative to English as the medium of instruction to any student who would prefer it to English. It was pointed out that this was agreed upon as a temporary measure so as to give time for the change-over from English to the mother tongue as medium of instruction.

The changes made to the constitution of the Indian National Congress and various resolutions adopted by that organization also indicated the importance of mother tongues for political work, administration, and education.

In the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress held in 1920, it was decided to form provincial Congress committees on the basis of linguistic homogeneity. There were more than one provincial Congress committees for Hindustani speaking and the Marathi speaking people. The Provincial Congress Committee of the city of Bombay was the only bi-lingual committee. Each one of fourteen regional languages had a separate provincial Congress committee and there was no doubt that among other factors this helped the Congress organizations to be more effective and popular. The working committee of the Congress which met at Nagpur in January 1921 specifically stated : 'Every Congress province will have assigned to it all contiguous Indian state areas (the reference is to the native states ruled by the princes) wherein the prevailing language is that of the Congress Province'. To take a few illustrations, in accordance with this principle the Maratha parts of Kohlapur and S. M. states were allotted to Maharashtra P. C. C., Travancore and Cochin to Kerala, Pudukottah to Tamilnad Provincial Committee, Mysore and Canarese parts of Kolhapur and S. M. states to Karnatak, Canarese parts of Nizam's territory to Karnatak, Marathi portions of Hyderabad to Maharashtra, and Telugu areas to Andhra. It was also decided that each provincial committee should elect the allotted number of members of All India Congress Committee on the basis of population according to the linguistic re-distribution of provinces.

Not only the Congress, but many other parties also accepted the principle on which the re-distribution of provinces should take place. The All-Party Conference which met at Allahabad in 1928 stated that the then existing distribution of provinces in India had no rational basis, and added : 'What principles should govern this re-distribution? Partly geographical and partly economic and financial, but the main considerations must necessarily be the wishes of the people and the linguistic unity of the area concerned. It is well recognised that rapid progress in education as well as in general culture and in most departments of life depends on language. If a foreign language is the medium of instruction, business affairs and the life of the country must necessarily be stunted. No democracy can exist where a foreign language is used for these purposes. If a province has to educate itself and do its daily work through the

medium of its own language, it must necessarily be a linguistic area'. Similar views were expressed in the Congress election manifestoes also.

But after Independence, there was a deliberate attempt to slow down, if not prevent, the progress of reorganisation of states on linguistic basis. But the people of different linguistic units in India agitated and compelled an unwilling Central Government to yield and re-distribute the states more or less on the basis of linguistic homogeneity. During the nationalist movement, it was said by leaders like Gandhi-ji that the introduction of mother tongues as the medium of instruction would facilitate the reorganization of states on a linguistic basis. The re-distribution of states on that basis has already taken place. And almost all the governments in the states are committed to the use of the mother tongue as the medium of administration. But it still remains to be seen how long it will take for the state governments to fulfil their commitments in this field. In the field of education, however, the commitment is not that clear-cut. Some of the Vice-Chancellors and those who hold high positions in the educational hierarchy have not shown great enthusiasm for the change over from English to mother tongues as the media of instruction.

The so-called public schools and the schools run by Christian missionaries where English is the medium of instruction from very low classes are much sought after by the social élite and by those who want their children to belong to the social élite when they grow up. A number of new schools where English is the medium of instruction have been established in recent years and the older such schools have been expanded. In view of the expansion and increase of educational institutions in the country in general, the proportion of the students who are educated at such schools have gone down. But the fact that their number has increased, and that the students and their parents hope that they would have priority in getting into the administrative and foreign services and in many walks of life, is an important social factor today. The number of ministers and the politicians who send their children to these schools is also not insignificant.

On the other hand, the importance of Indian languages has increased. This is very evident in the political field. In the Punjab and Madras, one of the sources of strength of the political parties who replaced the Congress from the citadels of power, is their championship of the regional languages. (In Madras, the hatred of Hindi was a factor; but a much more important factor in the strength of the D.M.K. was their love of Tamil.) In Gujarat the Congress and the Swatantra—the major party in opposition—are for early change-over to Gujarati in administration, and in educational institutions. In Hindi-speaking areas, both the S. S. P. and the Jan Sangh have increased their strength by championing the cause of quick change-over to Hindi.

In many of the universities in Hindi-speaking areas, even at the university stage Hindi has emerged as the medium of instruction. Upto the graduate

level, ninety per cent or more students choose Hindi or other languages like Urdu, Punjabi and Gujarati as the medium. In many universities this is the case at the post-graduate level. But in universities like Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Mysore, and Kerala, English is still the medium of instruction. And the Vice-Chancellors of some of these universities are resisting the change-over to the mother tongues.

Ironically enough, it is areas where the revolt of the under-privileged against the privileged has succeeded in the political field that the battle for the introduction of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction has not fully succeeded, because the universities remain the stronghold of the conservative forces. In many cases, it is not only a question of the medium of instruction. The education given in many of these institutions has become irrelevant and unsuited to the needs of the community around them. They only perform the limited purpose of training some people who can speak at a national seminar or international seminar—whether or not they speak sense is an entirely different matter. Some of them do train some all-India-fame politicians. But here again, as a rule, those who are well versed in their mother tongues are the most popular leaders. A. K. Gopalan and Kamraj Nadar are no more exceptions.

The proportion among the newspaper reading public of those who read English newspapers is becoming smaller and smaller, although the English newspapers and journals have increased their circulation. There are some states where there are no English newspapers at all. Rajasthan and Kerala have none. In Gujarat and Andhra the English newspapers—if there are any—do not count. At the same time the English newspapers and journals do make an impact on the national scene in proportion far in excess of their circulation.

So the present situation is highly complex, if not confusing. There are some inevitable trends which will make the picture clearer in the future. There should be some clear-cut policies on the part of the governments and political leaders, which should give a sense of direction to these developments.

There are many principles and interests involved in the whole question; one is the democratization of the political and administrative life of the country. As we noted earlier the process of democratization has begun in a big way in the political field. There is no way of reversing this trend or even arresting it without repudiating democracy itself; nor is it desirable to do so even if it is possible.

But the situation is slightly different in the administrative field and in the courts, where in many parts of the country English still holds the sway. And so long as this continues, there will be a gap between the vast masses of the people and the administrators. But this gap should be filled, and this can be done only if the mother tongue replaces English as the medium of administration. And this can be achieved only if education in all spheres is given in the

mother tongues and all the privileges associated with the mastery of English are abolished.

If there was a struggle for power between the political leader, who symbolised the newly emerging social forces, and the administrator, who is the legacy of the aristocracy of the past, the political leader is bound to win. But the situation is not that clear-cut, because many political leaders try to train their children in the image of English-knowing aristocrats and also because the recruitment of the new hands to the civil service are still controlled by senior civil servants.

Like the Supreme Court and the High Courts, the Union Public Service Commission and the provincial Service Commissions are impartial institutions with a reputation for integrity. But it is not equally known that, again like the courts, these Commissions, as they are constituted today, are incapable of adjusting themselves to the needs of a society which is experiencing many dynamic changes.

Amendments to the Constitution, though they could not be made very easily, are often resorted to repair the damage done by the judgments of the Supreme Court. One of the methods which can be adopted to stop the tendency of recruiting the wrong type of civil servants is to see that the proficiency in English is not a criterion in the recruitment of new members. Talent for administration, alertness, and capacity for leadership should be judged independently of the candidate's knowledge of English. And this will be done only if English will cease to have its pre-eminent position in the educational field.

Like many leaders of the national movement, the recent Committee of Members of Parliament on Education emphasised that unless Indian languages were adopted as media of education at all stages, knowledge will not spread to the people and the gulf between the intelligentsia and the masses will continue to widen.

In literature—in the field of fiction, poetry and literary criticism—there is even now no gap between the creative writers and the masses. Few Indians read English literature today, while books in Indian languages are widely read. This results not only in the enjoyment of books by the masses, but in the dissemination of the ideas of writers to them. Quite a large number of the books are indirectly concerned with great ideas also.

Recently, political pamphlets and other writings have started to appear exclusively in Indian languages. Some of E. M. S. Namboodripad's writings do appear in English. But they are not comparable to what he writes in Malayalam with great political wisdom and insight. It was not an accident that none of the English publications which appeared on the eve of the fourth general elections, and which included the programmes and manifestoes of political parties did not refer to the Dravida Munnetra Kazagham of Madras,

because their manifestoes and programmes were published only in Tamil. The Swatantra party's best performance in election was in Gujarat and some of the most pupular and effective political tracts were written by the Swatantra party leader, Patel, in Gujarati, and they were widely circulated in Gujarat. And they have not appeared in English.

Thus, we see that there is no gap between the writers and the masses as far as political pamphlets and literature are concerned. But it does exist in the field of the other 'culture'—science. This is the result of the fact that scientific education is exclusively done in English. And here, again, in the field of application of science, those who do not know English do fairly well. The motor mechanics and those who manufacture radios are in a small scale striking examples. They would have done much better if the intelligentsia in the field of science were capable of communicating and writing in the language of the masses.

But this will not be a one way traffic. If our students of science were educated from the very beginning in their mother tongues and if they had performed the function of communicating their ideas to the masses, their creative energies would have been released. The Japanese and the Russians, who were once backward in science, produced very good scientists within a short time through a system of education in which the media of instruction were their mother tongues. Recently, the Chinese have made remarkable progress in the field of chemistry and in that of nuclear physics. In the same period, India's performance is relatively of a very low standard. There are many reasons for this backwardness. One among them is the system of education in which cramming and the form of writing and speaking a difficult foreign language is given priority. Many Indian children learn about animals like "Ba Ba Black Sheep" which they do not see around them, and, about seasons like winter which they do not experience throughout their lives. The energy needed to learn and to some extent master a foreign language put a severe strain on the young mind. The time spent on it is a severe waste.

When an educated Indian wants to get his scientific papers published in English, very often he tries to keep up international standards. This is definitely healthy in fields where there is international competition. But in some other fileds, such as the treatment of social, economic, and political matters relating to India, this has a very undesirable effect. Desirous of having a foreign market for his books and papers, and of recognition in foreign countries, many of the Indian scholars write books and papers of a very poor quality. Very often they are unrealistic and aimed at pleasing some foreign audiences. This trend can be stopped, and healthy scholarly traditions in these fields can be established, only if the intelligentsia are encouraged to express themselves in Indian languages. Of course this applies primarily to the limited field of social sciences which deal with Indian questions.

It, however, goes without saying that in these fields, as well as in the other sciences, Indians, who work on an advanced level, should learn English and other foreign languages, so that they can read and understand the books and papers in these languages and profit by them. But this should not be the reason to introduce English as the medium of instruction in primary schools or to accept exclusively English as the medium in the institutions of higher learning.

ASHOK R. KELKAR

Problems of Unrecognized Speech Forms in India

I PROPOSE to make this a bare working paper—more an agenda for discussion than a piece of substantive discussion. I have also taken the liberty of somewhat broadening the scope of this session—the subject of this paper will be the problems faced by the speakers of a form of speech found in a region but not 'recognized' in that region of India.

'Form of speech' (I would actually have preferred to use the term 'microlect' which I have proposed elsewhere) is the most neutral term I could find: terms like 'language' and 'dialect' are riddled with ambiguity and tend to prejudge issues.

By 'recognized' I mean "recognized by the State of the Indian Union in question". Naturally as a social scientist I am less interested in this legal technicality than in the broader situation of which it is but one symptom. The broader situation can be described as one of language dominance. Governmental recognition of a speech form not only means its use as the language of administration and records but also use in the courts of law, in public notifications of all kind (including government propaganda), and as a medium of instruction in schools. Another informal index is the statistics of second and third language learning (who learns whose language whether formally in a classroom or informally outside it?). The factors that lead to the emergence of one speech form as dominant are: (a) the distribution of population (the dominant language group may be in absolute majority or be the biggest single group); (b) the distribution of power (the dominant group may be identical with or inclusive of the ruling class; in a democratic set-up, factors (a) and (b) will presumably coalesce); (c) the distribution of prestige (which does not

always coincide with (a) or (b), cultural factors like the presence of literature or technical literature often supervene); (d) non-political exigencies (especially economic ones like job-hunting, marketing, and the like).

Of course actual dominance does not automatically imply acceptance of that position by the dominant group or the non-dominant group(s).

After presenting a survey of the types of cases (in Section I), we shall go on to look at the twin problems of the relation of the non-dominant group to the recognized speech form (Section II) and of the status of the unrecognized speech form (Section III).

I

The types are arranged roughly in the order of increasingly disadvantaged position for the unrecognized speech form.

(1) If any speech form in India really deserves the title 'unrecognized contact language', it is Bazaar Hindustani, the lowbrow casual form of Hindi-Urdu. Apart from Professor Chatterji's sketchy description and casual advocacy, there is no recognition; not even a reliable scientific description is available of Bazaar Hindustani in all its regional variation (Bambaiyā, Kalkattiyā, etc.), and stylistic gamut (casual versus slight formalization of the so-called 'footpath literature'). Some regions of India probably lack it. Another possible example is Sadri (Sadani) used in the tea plantations of Bengal and Assam: it has a Bhojpuri base.

(2) Speech forms recognized in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution but not recognized in the state though spoken by people who are native to that state : Kashmiri has an anomalous position; Urdu has its own problems in states other than Jammu and Kashmir where it is the recognized language.

(3) Speech forms recognized in the Eighth Schedule but not recognized in the state and spoken by an immigrant minority : Sindhi or Gujarati in Maharashtra, Telugu in Madras, Hindi in West Bengal are some of the examples.

(4) Speech forms not native to India but spoken by sizable minorities native to India or settled in India : English is of course an example that comes readily to one's mind; Portuguese in Goa or Nepali and Chinese in Calcutta may be cases in point.

(5) The so-called tribal speech forms: Kolami (Dravidian family) in Maharashtra or Santali (Munda family) in Bihar are cases in point; such cases are especially abundant in Assam, Madhya Pradesh, and Orissa.

(6) Other speech forms not recognized in the Eighth Schedule: These may be : (a) Non-standard varieties of languages recognized in the Eighth Schedule but not recognized in the state; as non-standard varieties of Gujarati in Uttar Pradesh or of Tamil in Mysore or of Marathi in Madras; these are typically immigrant minorities of long standing. (b) Non-standard varieties of the recognized language of the state; as, Varhadi in north Maharashtra,

Regional Hindustani in Haryana and Uttar Pradesh; numerically this case is more important than any other; in many cases there may be some dispute; some Konkani and Maithili speakers have claimed independent status from Marathi and Hindi respectively; in any case the linguistic distance between the regionally recognized speech form and the unrecognized speech form may vary considerably. (c) Unrecognized speech forms not possibly affiliable with any language of the Eighth Schedule: Tulu in Mysore would be a good example; according to some Konkani should fall here. (d) Specialized speech forms which are used by their speakers only for specific contexts like religion, occupation, crime, trade are a class by themselves; Sanskrit would really belong here though technically it happens to be recognized in the Eighth Schedule.

II

The non-dominant language group may take up any of the following positions in relation to the recognized language: (1) outright rejection; (2) concealed rejection or unwilling acquiescence; (3) limited acceptance as auxiliary language with widespread or universal bilingualism; (4) limited acceptance as a third or fourth language; (5) full acceptance of the regional language with pride and loyalty to some extent.

For upward promotion of the recognized language along this scale (say, from 2 to 4), measures may be taken ranging from some degree of compulsion to persuasion through incentives. The morale and motivation of those teaching the recognized language or learning it will have to be maintained. Consider the following case study from the United States:

'The child of Mexican descent knows some English but has used it infrequently. The language of his home, his childhood, his first years is Spanish. His environment, his experiences, his very personality have been shaped by it. And yet in some schools the speaking of Spanish is forbidden both in the classroom and on the playground, and not infrequently students have been punished for lapsing into Spanish even with corporal punishment. In addition, the Mexican-American child encounters a strange and different set of culture patterns, an accelerated tempo of living and more often than not, teachers who, though sympathetic and sincere, have little understanding of the Spanish-speaking people, their customs, beliefs and sensitivities. The end result discloses a grim prevalence of low grades and high rates of dropping out from school. The National Education Association who made a year's study of this state of affairs recommend bilingual instruction in pre-school programmes and early grades, the explicit teaching of standard English as a second language instead of leaving the children to fend for themselves, the employment of Spanish-knowing teachers or teacher's helpers, making the teachers aware of the bilingual situation when training them, and (where the child speaks non-standard forms of Spanish) emphasis on good Spanish no less

than on good English'. (Based on the Association report; *see* Joshua A. Fishman, "The Breadth and depth of English in the U.S.", *Universities quarterly*, March 1967, which quotes from *New York Times*, 8 August 1966.)

Comparable situations are probably to be found in India even in cases of type 6-b above where they may remain unnoticed for a long time: Bhojpuri peasants will have problems with standard Hindi no less than Sindhis in the Hindi area (type 3).

Over and above these general difficulties of policy-making, there will be the specific technical problems of language teaching, self-teaching, and testing of proficiency.

III

The other side of the medal is the attitude of the community as a whole, especially the dominant language group and the government, towards the unrecognized speech form. This may range over the following: (1) outright rejection of the unrecognized speech form as an 'uncultivated language' or 'mere dialect'; (2) limited acceptance for certain purposes, as trade or occupational medium in rural or urban set-ups, as a secondary medium in primary schools, as a literary or sacred medium recognized on the radio or as a subject for specialized study at the University; (3) full recognition as a minority language if not as a second regional language.

For discouraging the unrecognized speech form, incentives may be withheld or withdrawn or some degree of penalization may be undertaken.

At the opposite end, others, especially speakers of the dominant language, may decide to learn the unrecognized speech form on a limited scale; administrators, teachers, preachers, and the like, may learn it for dealing with the minority, or scholars and others may learn it for purely academic or cultural purposes.

For promoting the unrecognized speech form, especially if it is not recognized even outside the state, the following measures will have to be taken by the community, especially by the speakers of that unrecognized speech form:

(1) Making available and exploiting channels of public use, as radio, cinema, the press, the stage, poetry recitals, posters, telegraph, the gramophone records, etc.

(2) Making available texts in great variety and number : translated and original; utilitarian, technical or literary; periodicals, text books, or other books.

(3) Using it for private and semi-public use: letters, memos, diaries, telephone calls, etc.

(4) Providing opportunities for learning it and preparing teaching aids: grammars, dictionaries, manuals, audio-visual aids.

(5) Encouraging the process of standardization by fulfilling the require-

ments of a standard speech form which has to be simultaneously learnable and usable. *Learnability* implies codification, simplicity, uniformity, stability, the fixing of a writing system, identity in difference. *Usability* implies versatility, ability, the availability of formal as well as informal styles, and elaboration of vocabulary not in the direction of mere numbers but in the direction of precision, richness, and the like qualities. Bazaar Hindustani is eminently learnable but not usable; Sanskrit is usable perhaps, but of questionable learnability.

IV

In conclusion, I may point out that each type of case, if not each individual case, will have to be decided on merits and the balance between the recognized speech form and the unrecognized speech form may be arrived at separately for each case. Obstinacy and intransigence is not the monopoly of the dominant group; don't side uncritically with the underdog! Indifference and abasement may characterize the non-dominant group; but the dominant group may not be free from these. The overall welfare of the community at large and of the minority community need not always be at variance. Possibilities of harmonization have to be thoroughly explored.

Some of the lessons to be learned from the consideration of the interrelation of recognized state languages and the unrecognized speech forms will also be available for the larger problem on the Union level. For example, even some of the languages of the Eighth Schedule are *under-developed* in the sense that they do not wholly fulfil the complex and exacting requirements of standardization elaborated above (learnability and usability).

LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI

Media of Education for a Multilingual Nation

At present all the states have the provision of teaching the students the major Indian languages through their mother tongue or through their formal language of communication (as Maithili and Rajasthani students get education through Hindi, and Kashmiri students through Urdu) up to the lower secondary stage (class X or XI), and a few universities have started respective regional languages at the college stage in arts and commerce faculties. English still continues to be the sole medium for higher education, particularly in law, science and technology faculties. The Central and many state governments are keen to escalate the adoption of regional languages as media of education right up to the post-graduate stage in all faculties including law, science and technology, with a view to facilitating the assimilation of knowledge which would thus contribute to raising the standard of education. It will also have far reaching results in bringing integration between the intelligentsia and the masses in a linguistic region.

Many educationists are in agreement on this point that the development of latent talent is only possible through education in the mother tongue. But the Central Government's recent decision of switching over to regional languages from English as media of education has aroused a sharp controversy among educationists. The opposition of some educationists to this move is mainly based on the following grounds:

1. Without adequate academic preparation to qualify regional languages for their new roles, the switch-over at this juncture would adversely affect the standard of education and might give further impetus to language chauvinism and regionalism which would lead to linguistic chaos in the country.

2. Without making sure that a link language is strong and capable of cementing and maintaining the unity of the country, sudden change-over will divide the intellectual life, which would damage the administrative, judicial, and academic integrity and scientific pursuits of the country. The national loyalty which is generally based on internal cohesion and external distinction, requires free and rather intense communication within the nation, which can be fulfilled only by a national link language.

3. Habits establish firm roots at an early age. For bringing any change in the functions of a language in education, administration, etc., adults can only be induced to convert their language habits optionally. Compulsory and hasty switch-over of existing language functions would add insecurity to certain sections of the population in respect of their role in the society, and would consequently generate antagonism towards the change which would defeat the very purpose of the switch-over.

In multilingual India, with 15 major literary languages recognized in the Constitution, out of which 12 languages (excluding Sanskrit, Urdu and Sindhi) are claiming the status of official languages in different states, pan-Indian languages like Hindi and, for some time to come, English will be occupying significant functional position in our national life. The Education Commission, recognizing the importance of these pan-Indian languages, has endorsed the Three-Language Formula with some modifications in the light of students' motivations and aptitudes. According to this liberalised formula, it is expected from a student that at the completion of the lower secondary stage, he will have acquired sufficient control over three languages: the mother tongue and two non-native modern languages, broadly, Hindi as official medium and a link language for the majority of people for inter-state communication and English as associate official medium and a link language for higher education and for intellectual and international communication.

When both non-native languages (Hindi and English) have significant functional value in the normal activities of an ordinary literate citizen, it does not appear to be a sound principle that the student should be strictly conditioned to a single medium throughout his long career of education (from the age of 6 to 21 or so, roughly 15 years), and that two non-native languages should be taught in the school just as an exercise for eventual use in his adult life but having no immediate bearing in day-to-day communication of the student, (just as classical and foreign languages are taught for limited functional value).

In such a multilingual situation, the provision of second and third languages as auxiliary media of education from the lower secondary stage, along with the mother tongue as the principal medium will be, in my opinion, very useful for developing the students' expression in these non-native languages in at least one of the '*content*' subjects, such as history, geography, civics, moral sciences. At the post-graduate stage, when the aim of education is to keep on

advancing the boundaries of knowledge to new horizons by maintaining active, professional co-ordination across language boundaries, and to compete in international standards and also to develop ability among students to think and to make original contributions in their native language and the link language, discourse between the teacher and the students through the bilingual media of the native language or the language of primary communication in the region and a language already developed for expression in the field of specialization (mostly English, but in certain cases it may be Russian, French, German, etc.), would contribute to a great extent in raising the standard of education.

The acceptance of this principle would provide us a sound basis for framing a dynamic educational policy for the country in broad national and universal perspective. The obvious advantages of the auxiliary media of education are enumerated below:

1. It will be greatly instrumental in reinforcing the function of these languages outside the class-room, and thus lessen the burden of heavy allotment of many hours to the teaching of the second or third languages for attaining desirable level of proficiency. A new language may be started with intensive drill (approximately 12—15 periods a week) and gradually tapering it off till it becomes an auxiliary medium along with the primary mother tongue medium. Teaching three or more language skills at the school side by side retards effective learning. It transmits rather more of boredom to students than genuine interest in these languages by devoting on an average 3 or 4 periods everyday out of the total 6 or 7 periods of learning for acquiring similar set of habits—reading, writing, comprehension, composition, etc.—of different linguistic codes.

The following information reveals the proportion of time allotted to the teaching of languages at the High School stage in certain states:

Orissa:—Twenty-three periods devoted to language teaching per week (Mother tongue 7, English 12, Hindi 4) out of the total of 37 periods, i.e., 62% of the time allotted to languages.

Mysore:—Twenty-three periods (Mother tongue 9, English 8, Hindi 6) out of the total of 45 periods, i.e., 51% of the time allotted to languages.

Andhra:—Twenty periods (Mother tongue 9, English 7, Hindi 4) out of the total of 39 periods, i.e., 51% of the time allotted to languages.

West Bengal:—Eighteen periods (Mother tongue, English and Hindi 6 periods each) out of 36 periods, i.e., 50% of the time allotted to languages.

Other non-Hindi states also devote at least 45% of their teaching time to languages at the High School stage. The provision of auxiliary media will have additional advantage of removing this imbalance of time allotted to the teaching of languages.

2. It will encourage active bilingualism among students right from their young age which is really one of the vital factors in the modernisation process of Indian languages. The resources of a language for qualifying its role in

new situations such as administration, judiciary, journalism, broadcasting, higher education, research, etc. cannot be developed in isolation. It is mainly due to active bilingualism of Indian languages and English among educated classes during the past few decades, that various styles and expressions have been supplemented in the stock of Indian languages to qualify them for the new roles in society, and also various important reference works like grammars, dictionaries, encyclopaedias, translations, and other teaching aids have been published in these languages. It is evident that this active bilingualism is playing a very significant role in the process of standardisation of major Indian languages. It is high time we gave up this myth created during the spell of anti-colonialism that English is a stumbling block in the development of Indian languages.

3. What is needed is a change in the attitudes of the intelligentsia in restoring the status to Indian languages, and also a check on under-rating the achievement-orientation and merit-consideration through Indian languages, rather than presuming that the elimination of English from the Indian scene would create a vacuum for the growth of Indian languages. In the present situation substantial efforts need to be put by which the Hindi and other major Indian languages speaking élite can be induced to spearhead the modernisation process through these languages. Unfortunately, the individual mastery of English still continues to be a pre-requisite to social advance in the Indian Society. The solution lies in changing the colonial-domination role of English into an equal participation along with developing Indian languages in the multilingual communication net-work, rather than in discarding it altogether or reducing it to the bare minimum function. A language, in order to achieve functional superiority over other languages, must develop one standard form (or, if necessary, multiple styles for different functions), publish the basic works in different fields of communications, and translations of standard works from other languages, and also inculcate speaking and reading habits in that language at a young age. Readership in a language can be attracted only if the literature is of quality, which would raise the stature of the language in competition with other languages. Imposition or censure of certain language functions would only invite fanatic reactions from other speech groups and would generate a climate of mistrust and hostility among different speech groups. It will also remove, to a great extent, the handicaps faced by the nation, at least at the post-graduate stage, in matters like economy, efficiency, mobility of teachers and students from one part of the country to another; it will also help promotion of national integration, provision for an easy communication between academic and professional people and administrators, and intellectual co-ordination among universities and exchange of research knowledge published in various Indian languages. Thus this provision will take us a long way in maintaining the integration of the intelligentsia throughout the country.

4. These auxiliary media will also prove very useful as alternatives for smoothening the switch-over from one medium to another, in case facilities are not available in the mother-tongue medium for higher education at certain places. The Education Commission Report (1966) also provides for the use of non-regional languages as media of education, e.g., linguistic minorities using their mother tongue, all-India institutes using English or Hindi as the medium. The Report also considers it desirable to set up a few institutions, both at the school and university level, with some of the important world languages as media of education. This amounts to this that at every stage there will be a few institutions available with specialisation in a particular medium and students will have choice to go for a school or college with a suitable medium. This, I consider, is an ideal situation, provided co-ordinating measures are taken to deal with the problem of switch-over from one medium to another in situations, such as, students shifting from one place to another where the facility of education through his mother tongue is not available, teaching staff or standard teaching materials in particular subjects are not available at the higher education stage in the medium through which he has studied so far.

In the present set up of education, mostly after the higher secondary stage, students are faced with the problem of switch-over from their mother tongue to a common-existing medium English or, in a few cases, Hindi at the college stage. This problem of switch-over needs to be given further attention.

a. In the transitional period, if demanded by academic standards, the media of education at the higher secondary stage (class XI or XII) should be based on a combination of the mother tongue and common languages—English or, in some cases, Hindi, the proportion of latter gradually increasing till English, Hindi or both become the media at the post-graduate stage.

b. In the absence of standard text books and other reading materials in India, languages on certain technical subjects, English, for the time being, may be continued as the medium of instruction, and a beginning may be made by granting option to the student of expressing himself through an Indian language or English. On the availability of qualified teaching personnel and standard teaching material in Indian languages, instruction in those languages may be gradually increased.

c. It is agreed by most of the educationists that in order to bring knowledge to the masses it is essential to impart education through either the mother tongue or the predominant language of day-to-day communication. It is true that in the absence of sound knowledge of English, students learning through English medium feel handicapped in expressing themselves in English, which encourages them to cram the subject without fully understanding it.

Conversely, this has also been observed that the adoption of high-brow Sanskritized form of an Indian language for instruction makes the students

equally uneasy, and they are at a loss to express themselves in such a high-brow style. Recently a post-graduate institute at Coimbatore introduced Tamil medium along with all technical expressions in English (termed as 'manipraval' style) for teaching science subjects, and it is reported that this approach became very popular with the students, and that they had no handicap in understanding and expressing themselves in the medium closer to their real situation.

d. The policy regarding the switch-over of the medium of higher education and research from existing English should be guided predominantly by *academic standards*. The uniformity in the language of administration and in the medium for higher education should *not* be insisted at the cost of 'learning' which is the primary foundation of human progress and international co-operation. In the transitional period, it is likely that the switch-over in the language of administration, which should be guided by the principle of *convenience of people*, may be effected more easily at the gram panchayat and district level than at the post-graduate stage.

Gradual shift in language functions with adequate preparations, keeping a balance between internal needs and external necessities in a modern world, will cause minimum disruption in the individual's capabilities, and will set a healthy trend for converting the language habits of the élite.

T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM

From the point of Tamil Land

THE Tamils get allergic about anything affecting their language. Even when Sanskrit was accepted by others as Devabhasha and thus as a source for other languages, the Tamils did not yield to this claim. Their scholars and their common folk claimed that their language was the language of Kailaś, where the supreme excellence of the poetry of St. Cēraman was approved by the learned assembly there. They claim further that the poems of Nammalwar imply that Tamil was the language of Sri Vaikunthā. The Vaisṇavite scholars of Tamil land well versed in Sanskrit tried to prove that Nammalwar's poems form a southern veda in divine Tamil as against the northern Sanskrit vedas. God is fond of Tamil and is easily attainable, according to them, only through Tamil. The National Poet, Bharathi, identifies Tamil with the Divine Mother. Even the rationalists, who do not have a faith in these myths, believe that theirs is a classic language, and that they cannot reconcile themselves to a compulsory study of any new fangled language, which cannot claim the status of a library language. The language problem in Tamil land has to be studied in this background.

The medium of instruction and administration in ancient Tamil state was Tamil. Though there were a few Prākrit and Sanskrit inscriptions, the majority of the inscriptions were in Tamil. The Tamil language did absorb a number of technical, religious, and philosophical terms from other languages; but never to the extent the other Dravidian languages absorbed them. Even the terms borrowed were soon naturalised into Tamil. The foreign sounds and pronunciations were always resisted by Tamil, though *j* and *sh* slowly developed as phonemes in certain learned dialects. Even when the British came to rule this

country Tamil continued to be the medium of instruction and administration. Tamil continued to be the language of the courts up to the district level. The Board Standing Orders and other administrative rules and regulations were translated into Tamil. A new life was given to Tamil studies by Ellist, whose efforts succeeded in abolishing in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the regulation which prevented the printing of Tamil books by the natives of the land. But later, in the second half of the 19th century, Macaulay's policy made the Tamilians study English. The British system wanted the Tamilians to be well versed in English to help them in ruling this country. English was required by the Tamilians at all levels and for free movement from province to province. English became the *lingua franca* of the élite, and Tamil was reduced to the position of a vernacular or the language of the slaves. Socially, economically, and politically, the English speakers became the superior caste or class. The greatest scholars in the native languages could hope to become only Pandits and Munshis to help the English born or English knowing professors.

With the national awakening and the adoption of universal education as the policy of the government, there arose difficulties in maintaining the old standards in English. Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi realised that the mother tongue alone could drive out the slavish mentality which was blurring the vision of the native Indians. Lord Ronaldshay and other officials realised the futility of having English as the medium of instruction in the university, when the students could not follow lectures in English. A number of education commissions beginning with Slater's commission emphasised the importance of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction. When Tiru Rajagopalachari became the Chief Minister of Madras, he made Tamil the only medium of instruction in the schools up to the S.S.L.C. level. In 1955 when Tiru Subramaniam was the Finance and Education Minister, an Act was passed making Tamil the official language of the state and efforts were made to switch-over to Tamil at all levels of administration. At present Tamil has become the language of administration up to the district level. Even at the higher level when a person writes in Tamil he is replied to in Tamil. Glossaries have been printed; Tamil typewriters and Tamil shorthand have been introduced and officials have been trained in all these. An official language commission was set up to popularise the statutes through translations and for making the litigants, especially the accused, know what was happening in the court, as the present Chief Justice of the Madras High Court once said. A committee, of which the Chief Justice is a member, has been preparing a glossary of legal terms in Tamil without introducing any artificiality. Tamil is the language of the legislatures in Tamil land, and the Finance Ministers are making the budget speeches in Tamil. The new D.M.K. Government has changed the name of the state itself as 'Thamilaga Arasu'.

During the British rule, English was looked upon as a foreign language

and as a badge of slavery. The national unity, it was thought, should create a common link language for the whole country, and Mahatma Gandhi thought that Hindustani could become that link. Unfortunately, he had to give up his connections with the Hindi Sammelan, thanks to the Hindi fanatics. When the constitution was being drawn up, Hindi was accepted as the link language only by the casting vote of the President of the Constituent Assembly. The President, according to well established convention, ought to have voted for the status quo; but he voted for a change-over to Hindi. This shows that there was a very strong opposition to Hindi replacing English even at that stage. English has now attained the status of a world language, and has been accepted as such even in countries like Russia. It is one of the best library languages, and Indians in this age of explosion of knowledge have come to realise the importance of English as a library language, especially at the higher level of education. Further, it is the mother tongue of an important group of Indians, viz., the Anglo-Indians, who have unmistakably come to identify their interest with India.

The hostility towards Urdu was one of the many reasons which led to the partition of this country. Hindi fanaticism cannot allow Hindi to be moulded into a real vehicle of a link language into which words from all the national languages of India should flow. Tiru Rajagopalachari, when he was the member of the Central Cabinet, was called upon by these fanatics to speak in Hindi or not at all, till our late leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru intervened. Our former President, Dr. Radhakrishnan had similarly not been permitted to read his address except in Hindi. Unfortunately, in these days of modern progress, no attempt has been made for instantaneous translations into the languages spoken in the Parliament. Recently the Deputy Prime Minister went to the extent of suggesting that those who had not accepted Hindi as the link language had better resign. One in a higher authority seems to have said that Tamilians could secede from the union if they did not want to learn Hindi compulsorily. Perhaps Bengal and Madras, according to this way of thinking, have no place in India.

Therefore the situation which was favourable to Hindi, during the life time of Mahatma Gandhi, has since changed because of the role now played by English, and also because of the incidents referred to above. Even the high power language commission could not present a unanimous report. There was a time when non-Hindi people took up the cause of Hindi under Mahatmaji, through institutions like Dakshin Bharath Hindi Prachar Sabha. But Hindi speakers want to make Hindi the link language by force of their brute majority. Hence the cry against imposition.

For the Hindi Commission a large amount of money is being spent and this is likely to create a vested interest. Unfortunately, the Tamil language cannot absorb words from other languages as easily as others. This difficulty

is not often realised. Further, from very early times Tamil technical terms in law, science and technology came to be used. The educated and the uneducated have slowly absorbed by force of circumstances a number of English words, technical and non-technical, but without any compulsion. Tamil language has produced the Tamil lexicon and the great Tamil encyclopaedia wherein an atetmpt had been made to express all modern ideas in Tamil. The Government of Madras had, with the help of experts, produced Tamil text-books especially in the humanities for the first degree class in Tamil, in addition to a number of translations. It is very unfortunate that the Central Government at the instance of the Hindi Directorate refused to give any grant for books in Tamil which did not use their Hindi technical terms, inspite of the universities in Tamil land and other public bodies pointing out the difficulty in using these technical terms instead of the terms current in Tamil land. It is very difficult for the common man to understand the justice of these Hindi authorities; when one finds that Nagari Pracharini Sabha and other Hindi institutions could get the grant without using all the technical terms coined by the Hindi Commission whilst even state governments and universities in other parts of India were denied these grants for the simple reason that they could not incorporate all the Hindi technical terms in their language books.

If we take the genius of the Tamil language into consideration, Hindi terms are as difficult to be absorbed into Tamil as the English terms. A fashion has been set up during the last 1000 years and more for adopting Sanskrit terms according to a well established system which unfortunately is very much different from the way Sanskrit terms are modified in Hindi. This is the meaning of the statement often made in Tamil land that Hindi is as foreign to Tamil as English. Unfortunately, the statement is misunderstood by our friends who do not realise that their plea for Hindi might be, perhaps unconsciously, based on the personal advantage which will accrue to them against the non-Hindi people. But the linguistic reality has to be faced and not to be pooh-poohed. The Tamils who have absorbed the modern technical terms through the course of a century in a natural way, cannot be expected to duplicate their vocabulary by accepting afresh the unnatural Hindi terminology within the course of a few years.

The Tamils, who in the hope of having more scope for employment plead for a Salem plant, are told that the financial condition cannot allow such an undertaking being considered for the present. On the other hand, one has to realise their reaction to the statement by higher authorities that, whatever be the cost, the translations of the acts and regulations into Hindi should be pushed through and completed within the next five years. There is a feeling in Tamil land that it cries for bread and is given stone.

In 1955, Hindi alone was used in money order forms and post-cards even in the village post-offices in the distant corners of India. The university stu-

dents of Tamil land, who already had a feeling of frustration on account of the lack of proper employment for them and who were already finding it difficult to express themselves in English, realised at this sudden change that they had no future even in their native villages, in a world where everything was going to be conducted in a language which they had not studied so far with success. Thus arose the great explosion among the students of Tamil land. Our Prime Minister came then to the South, and reported to the then Cabinet the inwardness of the situation. Ministers from Tamil land at the Centre even offered their resignations on this question. Even earlier, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, had realised this, and therefore gave assurance that English would continue to be the link language along with Hindi till the non-Hindi states agreed to accept Hindi. The late Mr. Shastri reiterated this assurance, but it looked as though he was looking at the question from the point of view of employment rather than from the point of view of efficiency and aspiration of the youth to take part in the development of the nation as a whole. Further, the delay in implementing this assurance and the fanatic speeches of the Hindi protagonists worsened the situation. The three-language formula was not implemented in the way it was expected to be done, and, therefore, there arose the demand for having English alone as the link language. It is often pointed out that there are greater numbers of people speaking Hindi rather than English. But unfortunately, whereas the people who understand English are more or less scattered all through the country almost in a uniform way, people who understand Hindi are all concentrated in the central part of India and not spread uniformly all over the country. Here there cannot be a question of majority. This is the problem which the Tamilians have to face, but their difficulties are not even sympathetically considered by others.

Where a language like Hindi is learnt without any immediate use in the world, it is easily forgotten. The English in India followed a different plan. They insisted on the administrators learning more than one Indian language. But this, the officers learnt after they were appointed, when there was a natural atmosphere for learning the languages of the areas in which they had to serve. The servants, and merchants, who move from place to place easily become the masters of the languages of the locality to which they go. This is the natural way to learn a language.

Unfortunately through all these ways, the language question has become a very dangerous explosive political question. When the atomsphere is surcharged with emotion, no final decision can be taken. All unnecessary haste therefore should be avoided. Hindi should be developed by those who are native Hindi-speakers only as their regional language on a par with other regional languages. Its development, however, as a link language should be left to the non-Hindi-speakers. The Hindi-speakers do not realize that making Hindi a link language should be taken up by the nation asa whole, preferably

by the non-Hindi speakers. The Hindi which is to become the common vehicle cannot be the Hindi which is their mother tongue. It has to borrow words and terms of expression on a massive scale from other languages. Its idiom has to change, and its unnecessary burden of grammatical rules relating to gender etc. should slowly disappear. No native speaker will welcome what will appear to him a corruption. But this is the price a language has to pay when it spreads. We, in Madras, speak of Triplicane Tulukku, a language of the market place, into which words from Tamil, Telugu, Sanskrit, and English have freely flowed, a kind of pidgin Hindustani. Something like this will be the future link language, if ever it were to become the real Hindustani of Mahatma-ji's dreams.

It will now be clearly seen that this shaping and moulding of the link language, if it is to be successful at all, should be left entirely in the hands of non-Hindi-speakers. The use of Roman script for this will increase its inter-state and international importance, taking it away from the tension of Indian scripts. This will explain the rationale of the assurance given by Pandit-ji, which does not, seen in this light, give a vetoing power to the Tamils. The common technical terms coined for Hindi need not be forced on non-Hindi languages which should have the option of using the international technical terms and symbols. So much for the link language.

The study of Hindi was made compulsory when Tiru C. Rajagopalachari became the first Chief Minister of the Congress Government in Madras. But there was to be no examination. This was opposed and later given up. When, however, the Congress came to power once again, the study of another Indian language in addition to Tamil and English was made compulsory. Still later, when the three-language formula came to be accepted, the study of Hindi was again introduced, but it became compulsory in such schools which could not offer crafts as an alternative. Soon the pass in Hindi was not emphasised, except that the marks in Hindi could count for certain purposes. When the D.M.K. came to power, the study of Hindi was made an alternative to a study of an Indian language (classical or modern) other than Tamil or to a study of Advance Tamil.

At a seminar under my chairmanship on the language problem held in connection with the Silver Jubilee of Gandhigram, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru delivered the veledictory address. He agreed with the decision of the seminar that the question of making the Hindi language a link language should be left entirely in the hands of non-Hindi-speakers. This was what happened when the Dakshin Bharath Hindi Prachar Sabha was started. In shaping English as our link language, the British rulers did not interfere. The conservative professors of English may oppose or laugh at it, but it has to be admitted that like the British English and the American English, Indian English is taking a form and shape. The sooner this is accepted the better for this country and our

students of English.

So far as education is concerned, the Vice-Chancellor's Conference unanimously resolved that the regional language should ultimately be the medium of instruction at all levels, and that a knowledge of English as a language, but not as a literature, was necessary for understanding the research journals and classical text-books readily available in that language on various subjects, especially science and technology. This is absolutely necessary, if one were to keep one's contact with modern developments. It is true that any other library language like Russian, German or French will equally serve this purpose; but, fortunately, English has been with us, and our libraries are full of English books. Perhaps at the higher levels it is necessary to learn more than one library language. There are two views about this study: one is that, since all the students are not going in for university education, English need not be compulsorily studied and that a provision for its study, for those who would go to the university, should be sufficient. The other view is that, since a majority of the students who pass their S. S. L. C. examination attempt to enter the university and since it is not easy for them at the early age to make up their minds or understand their capacity for university education, everybody should be given the required basic competence in English.

Here there is the cleavage between the views of the North and the South. In the south, especially the Tamil land, English is being taught from the 3rd standard onwards, whilst in the north there is a hostility towards studying English. No amount of arguments can solve the problem. The emotional strain should be allowed to ease itself. Unfortunately, the country has developed a violent negative attitude towards the study of languages. It is necessary, therefore, to solve the problem indirectly by providing opportunities for the study of English for those who are anxious to learn it, especially as the educationists have decided that a knowledge of English is necessary for higher studies. But the English language has to be taught in a scientific way following the modern advances in applied linguistics. English literature may be studied by those who want to specialize in it; but what is required for all those who enter the university is a knowledge of English language, and not necessarily of English literature. This knowledge is for understanding the classical text-books and research journals in English relating to the subject of specialization, and also for expressing their scientific thoughts in simple idiomatic English. In U. S. S. R. foreigners spend a year at the university in learning the Russian language which is the medium of instruction there. In France the French language is taught in some universities to foreigners within six months, after which they can follow lectures in French. Similar methods we can adopt for teaching English in a scientific way.

Unfortunately to-day the precious time of our teachers and students is wasted in teaching in an un-scientific way, and in teaching materials which are

not necessary for the students. By the time a student finishes his P.U.C., he should acquire proficiency in his or her regional language which is cultivated by the modern B.A. and B.Sc. students for their Part II. Thereafter there should be no compulsory language to be taught except to those who want to specialise in one or many languages. There must be, in addition, optional courses in the various languages by way of part-time diploma courses for those who want to get a working knowledge of other languages related to their studies. In areas where English is not taught to the extent as is done in south India, provision has to be made for the students gaining the required competence.

As far as the medium of instruction is concerned, the Vice-Chancellor's Conference had taken away the problem from the political field to the educational field. But steps should be immediately taken in all seriousness, under a clear cut phased programme without any delaying tactics. That ultimately the regional language should be the medium at all levels had been generally agreed to and a pragmatic approach had been recommended. At the university level, for the present, knowledge of the regional language and of English seems to be necessary. A knowledge of at least one library language cannot be dispensed with at any time even in the future. Even scientifically advanced people like the English, the Russians, the Germans, and the French insist upon the study of an additional library language, preferably English. It is English which has to help the exchange of students and professors amongst the universities and to serve as the inter-university link language. There are people who think Hindi can take that place, and they point out how the Russian serves that purpose in U. S. S. R., forgetting that the Russian occupies the front rank amongst the library languages. But time, energy, and emotion need not be wasted at present in foretelling the future of Hindi. The unanimous decision of the Vice-Chancellors is sufficiently satisfactory for the present.

In addition to this question of the study of English and Hindi along with the regional languages, there is the necessity for promoting the study of the classical languages such as Sanskrit, Arabic, etc. Naturally this cannot be made compulsory. The Sahitya Akademi and other similar institutions have felt the difficulty in translating from one Indian language to another, for want of sufficient scholars who can perform this task successfully. Nor can the study of these languages be made compulsory. Therefore, there arises the necessity for providing opportunities in our educational institutions for developing such talents, so that at least in the near future one may not complain of the same difficulty about finding suitable translators.

We may perhaps generalise and plead for the right place for the study of languages in our educational system, even as we plead for the right place for science in our system of education at all levels. India is a museum of living languages and offers opportunities for studying the languages belonging to almost all the important families of languages of the world. Unfortunately,

the language tangle has created an aversion to the study of languages in a scientific way. There is an anti-Hindi or anti-English and even some anti-language feeling, which clouds our own vision, making us blind to our capacities for learning the languages of India and of the world.

India has to develop a world outlook. If we look at the nations of the world which are occupying the front rank like the U.S.A., U.S.S.R., or Britain, one of the sources of their greatness is at once seen to be this world outlook. It appears clearly in their attempt to provide in their universities—the study of almost all languages of the world. The English people can learn them at their schools of Oriental and African Studies; there are also various Chairs for the classical and modern European languages. The U.S.A. realised the importance of learning language of the region to which they sent their soldiers during the last great world war, and it has now passed what is significantly called the Defence Education Act so as to help the universities organise the study of cultures, languages, and history of the various regions of the world. The modern languages publication division in U.S.S.R. is occupying an important place in that country and almost all important books in the various languages of the world are being translated into Russian. These books often are sold in millions. There is also their successful project of translating the Russian works into the various world languages. The universities there have departments, where, to the extent possible, various languages of the world are analysed and taught. If India were to occupy the front rank in the comity of nations, it should also create this kind of atmosphere. The study of more than one Indian language is also necessary for the integration of this country. This means that there should be provision in every university for the study of the modern Indian languages and other world languages, including the classical languages. There will be no compulsion but attempts should be made to create the proper atmosphere conducive to the popularisation of language studies. Linguistics should be given a prominent place in all such studies, so that there will be no unscientific bias against any language. Values do come into the study of literature; but not into the study of any languages as such. The scientific approach in all ways and means will make the study of various languages easier and simpler through reading materials prepared for various language speakers and for various purposes, making use of various scientific audio-visual aids which are now popular in any language laboratory. It is this scientific attitude at popularising language which can solve the language problem. Given the right atmosphere, the students would naturally study the language or languages which are necessary for their studies and useful for their life.

If the regional language has to become the medium of instruction at all levels, that language should also become the language of administration. Fortunately, in Tamil land it has become so. But on account of the confusion created by the language problem, students, who do not have sufficient compe-

tence in English, also continue to prefer English as a medium, because the parents and sometimes the Principals have a glamour for English, without caring for the standard to be attained in the subject. There is mere cramming without understanding, much less independent thinking. There is also a fear that people who have studied through the medium of the regional language may not have better prospects when they enter administrative or scientific or technological service. The distinction between the knowledge of a language and that of the subject should be clearly realised by all. The governments should once for all make a final decision in this matter. The Madras Government issued a white paper proposing to make the study of humanities through the Tamil medium possible up to the end of the first degree stage, and declared that after 1963 no government grants would be paid to such institutions which had a different medium at that level and for those studies. But the experiments were not continued. Once again, in 1966, the government pleaded with the universities for introducing Tamil as an alternative medium for the humanities in the P.U.C. The Madras and Madurai Universities agreed and have done so. The government has got the Bureau of Tamil Publications for preparing translations and text-books for colleges. The universities are co-operating with the government in this great endeavour; but no attempt has been made to publish even specimen text-books in Tamil for the P.U.C. science courses, especially when the P.U.C. is really a part of higher secondary education, though for the sake of convenience it is attached in many places to the universities, and though it has been accepted by all that the regional language has to be the medium upto the end of the higher secondary education. It is learnt that the Government of India is going to make a grant of one crore for developing each one of the regional languages of India for this purpose. This may be granted to a body purely with an educational outlook such as the university, rather than to the state governments which have their own political involvement and bias.

The question of making the regional language the court language is rather difficult, and at present in the various states, the proceedings are conducted in the regional language, the judgments however are delivered in English. This will not be a complication. All lawyers would have sufficient knowledge of English for that purpose. In the Supreme Court the proceedings have to be in English, and this need not introduce any difficulty. Whatever it be, a decision has to be taken for driving out the fears of the students, teachers, and parents.

Ultimately, all the problems which face us boil down into a problem of finding employment not only for one's physical satisfaction but also for one's intellectual, moral and spiritual satisfaction. As already explained, it is the fear that they might not have a place in the future in the Hindi set-up that was responsible for the student unrest in Tamil land. When anybody speaks of a set-up in which English would be occupying an important place in the future, it is the same fear which grows in the minds of the students in the north

who had not attained sufficient competence in English. All the regional animosities, linguistic conflicts, and religious hostilities, are ultimately inspired by the feeling of uncertainty about the future. If economic conditions which are the fundamental basis of all human development are such as to assure employment to all those youngmen who want to serve the country, there may not be this frustration and phobea taking various names. The states have to approach this problem from this point of view.

U. DEKA MAHAPATRA

Medium of Instruction in the Universities of India

THE M.P.'s Committee had announced their recommendation on July 18, 1967, on the medium of instruction in the Indian universities. This recommendation was based on the findings of the Education Commission which had pointed out the difficulties of implementation of the three-language formula. At the same time the M.P.'s Committee also evolved the two-language formula. In the three-language formula, Hindi was a compulsory language to be studied throughout India. But in the two-language formula, there is no common language to be studied throughout the whole of India. The two-language formula leads to the development of the idea of instruction in regional languages at the university. No doubt, the M. P.'s Committee kept in view the question of preserving India's national unity which appears to be slightly at stake at present. Our main problem is not only to preserve national unity, but also to see how to maintain the standard of education through instruction in regional languages. At the same time, the academicians must be able to maintain a link with the outside world and throughout the whole of India.

The advocates of Hindi, as the link language, argued that it is a language with Indian origin, which will help to maintain the unity of India. But historical evidences definitely point out that the India which we perceive today as a national and a political unity was given shape, rather brought to existence through a language medium which was not our own, i.e., English. We are only trying to preserve the national unity which the British had achieved through a government, and through one common language. The language of government may serve as a link language, but the link language should not necessarily be the medium of instruction for higher studies.

Both the education commissions, i.e., the Radhakrishnan Commission in 1949 and the Kothari Commission in 1966, had suggested that the medium of instruction at universities should change over to the regional languages. An argument against teaching in English was that teaching in a foreign language creates a section of people who are taken away from the masses of people. But actually the gulf which exists between the Indian educated section and the masses is not due to the language. It is mainly due to the fact that the two sections do not enjoy equal and same privileges in the society. The American Negro and the white population are taught in one common language, which is also their mother tongue, but there is a wide gulf between the two groups.

One main advantage of switching over to regional languages is the removal of compulsion on the study of Hindi, which would help to take the national language issue outside the party and regional politics. But that is a problem more of political importance. Another advantage is that learning through the mother tongue is always easy.

Immediate switch-over to regional languages will definitely create numerous problems for the students as well as the teachers. In the humanities, where the technical words are not to be found in common parlance, teaching in regional languages is not so difficult. Some of the universities in the Hindi-speaking areas have already introduced the regional language at the undergraduate stage. But they have not progressed much in translating the technical terminology. When we come to the teaching of technical subjects and other scientific subjects, it will be still more difficult, because we do not have an adequate number of standardized technical terms. The committee set up for translating the scientific and technical terms had announced recently that 20,000 words had been translated. Nearly twenty years have passed after the decision to introduce Hindi in all the states was taken, yet it has been possible to translate only 20,000 scientific and technical terms. We can visualize that the coining of technical terms in regional languages will not be an easy task, and that it will also consume considerable time. Unless the regional languages are developed considerably, it will be impossible to teach science and technical subjects through them. Also the present set of teachers who studied through the English medium will take some time to learn and adjust to the regional languages.

Taking my own case as an example, I can well say that as an East Indian, I have gained working knowledge of the three East Indian languages. To my knowledge, the technical vocabularies in these languages which I can use in my subject, i.e., Physical Anthropology, is extremely inadequate. There is no organization to prepare a list of uniformly translated terminologies and there is no committee to compare the translated technical terminologies in these three different languages. Since about 1953/54, Paribhasa committees have been working in these regions but no standardized translations are yet available.

No coordination exists among the Paribhasa committees of different allied sciences within the same linguistic group. It is also observed that the different language Paribhasa committees, even when working on the same scientific subjects, do not compare the terminologies prepared by others. It is necessary to prepare a uniform all-India vocabulary of scientific terminologies in all the regional languages, so that intelligent and intelligible communication is possible.

At present even books for teaching sciences at the under-graduate level are not available in most of the regional languages. At this stage switch-over to the regional languages will definitely restrict the students to fewer books of indifferent standard, and hence to narrower circles of learning. The students will not be able to enlarge their intellectual horizons even with regard to the subject in which they will specialize, and they will definitely fall behind in comparison with the students of foreign universities. The academic standard will be definitely lowered, so much so that in applied sciences, industry, engineering, and medicine as well as in the pure sciences, India might be losing grip on the future for ever. Consideration of a 'domestic' link language, an 'international' link language, and a 'library' link language or languages, will be not absurd but absolutely essential, as the impact and full implications of a switch-over to regional languages will be sinking in our consciousness. One wonders whether even three languages will be considered enough for a research scientist or an industrial technologist or a university professor.

After the introduction of regional languages in the universities, the students and the teachers will form isolated groups. At present, at least at higher levels of education, students can communicate without any difficulty with their counterparts in other states of India. The National Integration Council had suggested that the universities could play a very vital role in enhancing integration by holding inter-university seminars and sponsoring projects for inter-regional understanding. In the absence of a link language this becomes an impossibility. Indirectly the role of universities will be curbed. Migration of students and of teachers is a very common phenomenon in present day India. Students from all the states can seek admission in any all-India institute for higher studies and research. This will no longer be possible as the students will be handicapped by the lack of an all-India language or by the lack of knowledge of the local language used in the institute. Of course, we have been assured that there would be institutes for studying English and Hindi. But we can expect this type of institutes to be very few and definitely not adequate for the need of the whole country. The students will have to spend more for studying an all-India language in a specialized institute. So ultimately the facility of the all-India institutes will be limited only to the privileged few. A brilliant student may not always get the chance. Most of the students will be forced to stay in their own states from the primary to the university

stage, grow up in their small world, without being exposed to the ideas, thinking, and customs of the other parts of the country. Regionalism and parochialism may enhance as a result of this isolation. Mobility of good teachers found in the present structure, which was helpful in maintaining the high level of academic activities in some of the well known centres of education, will no longer be possible.

At present, except in a few states, it is not compulsory to know the local regional language at the time of being recruited into the state services. Now that the regional languages have been declared as university languages, the medium of the entrance examinations to the state services will invariably be the regional language. The local students will be definitely favoured. The Commissioner of Linguistic Minorities had already pointed out that discrimination is being practised in a few states. Once the switch-over to regional language is complete, it will be impossible for an outsider to get a job.

It will also be difficult to recruit individuals to all-India services, through any common examination in the absence of a link language. The entrance examination to all types of all-India services is already proposed to be held in all the regional languages. It is easy to visualize that the examiner in different linguistic groups may try to enhance the marks of students of their respective regional languages. On the other hand, if recruitment is done on the basis of the university degree of a candidate, the universities may similarly be motivated to declare as qualified more students than are really eligible, in order to have more persons from their own regions recruited. There will be thus no longer any all-India standard of academic achievement. This may create some other problems as well. For example, politicians and people may clamour for, in all these services, a fixed quota for different states. Already such claims have been aired. Years ago, when the late Puroshottam Das Tandon suggested regional languages as the medium of examination for all-India, central and state services, the South Indians had demanded fixed quota in those services. An expert committee under the then Home Minister, Pandit Pant, came to the conclusion that this was not feasible.

At present the specialists like physicians, lawyers, and engineers can move and practise their professions throughout India. In the asbence of a link language, the country's highest court of law will also be handicapped, and a large number of translators will have to be employed. Similar need is also felt in the Parliament.

The protagonists of Hindi might have thought that the switch-over to the regional languages would support their cause. But in fact the position of Hindi has been jeopardised. The South Indian states have already voiced their preference for English as the second language to be studied instead of Hindi. Nagaland has declared English as the official language of the State. At present, all over India, in all the professional institutions, instructions are imparted through

English. Now all these institutions will switch-over to the regional languages. When Hindi comes to replace it as the national language, it will not be possible to push out the regional languages, and Hindi will lose ground for ever to serve as the link language.

I am afraid that, in course of time, the different groups of linguistic minorities in all the different states will clamour for their own languages to be introduced in the universities as the medium of instruction. Just after the announcement of the decision of the M.P's Committee, the language riots in Bihar broke out with such a fury that they claimed the life of hundreds of individuals. The Bengalis in Assam or the Telugu speaking population in Orissa or the Oriyas in Bihar may in course of time demand similar status for their respective minority languages, or they may as well demand separate universities in different areas occupied by the linguistic minorities. In a state where several linguistic groups of people are under the jurisdiction of one university, attempts to introduce instruction in the regional language will create factions among the people of the state, e.g., the Gauhati University, which serves Nagaland with English as this state's official language, Manipur, and several groups of tribal population with different languages.

The position that a regional language could be the medium of instruction at the under-graduate level while English could be retained for post-graduate studies, loses all substance when we consider the following corollaries. First, it is extremely difficult to follow and cultivate instructions in English after about 16 years of concentrated study through the medium of the regional languages. This phenomenon is well known from the aftermath of switch-over from English to regional languages as the medium in the secondary stage, whereas in the old Intermediate classes English continued to be the medium. Secondly, how would a teacher, trained in a regional language medium, say upto B.A., or B.Sc., and taught in English only at M.A. or M.Sc., be expected to teach in the English medium at M.A. or M.Sc. when he takes up teaching? In case there are going to be special English medium schools, colleges or institutes open to all-India entrance examinations, will this not be bringing back the 'Public School' phenomenon back in its own place against the trend towards community or neighbourhood schools? Thus the proposal, even as a transitional measure, leads to a vicious circle. Thirdly, if our savants think that a regional language is good enough as a medium up to B.A. Honours or B.Sc. Honours or any equivalent under-graduate stage, will it not be gravely unfair to that language to debar it from taking over the post-graduate level, or for that matter, unjust to students to deny them learning in their habitual medium? I feel, this proposition is but the thin end of the wedge of forcing the regional language to usurp the role for which it was never oriented or developed during its growth under the British rule, which also gave us the university. A regional language may be a state language, but whether each state language should also

be a university language is quite another and a serious matter. If English had served us well as the medium of instruction for our universities thus far, there is no reason why ultimately a well developed Indian language could not do as well.

I, therefore, would strongly plead for extreme caution and circumspection in the matter of medium for higher education. A false step taken now may be regretted later, but may no longer be supplanted till another all-India link language for universities is fully developed. If India is to be saved from intellectual, emotional, and political chaos, there should be one university language irrespective of the several state languages. Whether one like it or not, that may not be any thing else than Hindi, I stress ultimately. But in order to attain this goal, we should systematically, in a co-ordinated manner, and on an all-India level, strive to codify standard vocabularies, with the most appropriate words chosen as synonyms for English or Latin technical terms, so that this vocabulary may be truly national, as well as semantically scientific, by being drawn from almost all the regional languages or dialects in India. Regional languages as university media are only several avenues to national suicide and academic fratricide.

JAYAKANTA MISHRA

Language as Medium of Instruction

The problem of introducing the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction has been agitating most of us. In fact, it is the crux of the entire discussion on the languages of India today. If this question is not solved at once and in a satisfactory way, it will not be possible to arrive at any worthy view of the subject. It is, therefore, necessary to formulate basic principles on this subject, and not to be misled by slogans or catch-phrases or by extraneous considerations.

The first thing to concede in this direction is the principle that the mother-tongue is the most natural vehicle for expressing and understanding the facts and ideas that require to be imparted. It is easy and quick to handle, it is possible to reproduce many shades of meaning in it without elaboration, it is economical and a compact means of communication, and finally, it is usuable by the youngest and the least developed members of the society. But it has two qualifications to bear—it must be a capable mother-tongue, and it must be fairly widely intelligible so as to be of practical use in the teaching institutions of the states. Even if we use the mother-tongue for some types of knowledge, it may not be possible for want of technical terminology and usage to use it for some other types of knowledge. This difficulty is sometimes exaggerated: it is necessary to remember that sometimes one must use a language for a particular kind of knowledge, in order to make the language and its speakers and readers used to the idiom of that particular type of knowledge. It is never possible for any language to develop, unless it has been given an opportunity to develop in new and fresh directions. It is an axiom in all language developments: give credit to usage; for, all standards of correctness in idiom and grammar

are based on usage—*śiṣṭajana prayogāt* (that is to say, correctness is judged by the usage of good members of the society).

So also in all matters of linguistic development. It is no use condemning a language as unfit for a particular purpose. If a language is capable of literary use, of expressing human emotions and human thoughts of various sorts belonging to the various levels of society, it may safely be assumed to be fit to be used for the various branches of knowledge. The most elementary facts of life that a language is called upon to serve as literature are the facts of the life of the common man. If even this is not done by a language, it may be reasonably assumed that it would not be possible to expect it to serve the purpose of expresssing and communicating knowledge that deserve to be taught in schools and colleges. As literature is basically the highest and the best expression of the feelings and emotions of man (the common man being the most elementary variety of it), so this test may be kept in mind: No language need be counted as worth worrying about as medium of instruction which has no literature. This does not mean that the non-literary mother-tongue is absolutely useless, or that it need not be developed in any manner or for any purpose. The dialects have sometimes good folk literatures and have great charm and effect for the simple and primary relationships of life, lived at a certain elementary level. Obviously such mother-tongues may be used for 'oral' education and for very elementary purposes, may be for some of the most intimate purposes of life, but not for imparting technical and sophisticated branches of knowledge and culture, particularly in writing, and not in 'oral' form.

The other test is more difficult to determine. A mother-tongue may be literary, and yet it may not be feasible for a state to put it into use in the schools and colleges, on account of their being prevalent in very small areas or communities, which fact might create financial and administrative confusion. It is, therefore, necessary to make a distinction at some stage: it is only in a wide and populous area that a mother-tongue may be allowed as the prevailing medium of instruction. Arrangements for primary education are not so difficult or expensive, so even when a group of 35 students (the strength of an ordinary class) belonging to a literary mother-tongue request the medium of instruction to be their mother-tongue for primary classes, it may be provided for. But in the secondary stage of education such a provision is difficult and inconvenient for a small group. It must be necessary for such children to be acquainted with the literary mother-tongue prevalent in the area by and large. The definition of 'wide area' would be at least an area beyond 3 districts and with a population of 10 lakhs.

The problem, however, becomes more complicated at the post-graduate level. It is complicated from two considerations. In the first place, it is not possible to find experienced teachers and examiners, particularly of international reputation, who can supervise study and preparation of many subjects

at the post-graduate level on account of their paucity and rarity. (A solution lies in providing summaries in other languages accompanying dissertations.) Secondly, one is handicapped to the extent of his reading being confined to books printed only in his mother-tongue. And the facts are that no Indian mother-tongue is, nor can be expected to be, competent either in scholarship or in books of the post-graduate level in all subjects. Under the circumstances it is necessary to take the help of an international language. The problem would have been far easier to solve if there were an Indian language international in competence.

The problem of the medium of instruction is in this case linked with the problem of the medium of examination in advanced study and research. In certain advanced branches of study international standards of efficiency and expert knowledge are necessary. And by reason of their very nature the subjects are not studied everywhere and by everybody. Naturally, one has to search for such eminent men and women all over the world. And this requires, in the interest of the communication of knowledge, the use of an international language.

More pertinent for this seminar is the impact of using more than one script for Indian languages. We must visualise the use and intelligibility of different Indian languages by all in India in future. The necessity of teaching and examining students up to the graduate level in the Indian languages will lead to their closer association with one another. It would facilitate matters immeasurably if we could agree to use a common script for the Indian languages, say, Devnagri for the *Indo-Aryan Languages*. Happily, there is this great contribution of the British rule in India, namely, the use of a pan-Indian script through Sanskrit being printed and taught throughout the world in Devnagri. It would have been more heartening to find an international script as useful for us, but self-respect demands the use of an Indian script. For historical reasons the Devnagri script has been used for many languages—Gujarati, Marathi, Sindhi, Sanskrit, Nepalese, and many more, and is likely to continue to be used. Happily, the technical terms are mostly identifiable having either Sanskrit or Latin as their common source.

I may venture to say a word about the use of one Indian language as the pan-Indian language, as the medium of instruction at the lowest or the highest stage. Such an attempt will be, I am afraid, an imposition of an external feature and will be resented. It cannot be a test of one's patriotism to adopt another's mother-tongue—howsoever wholesome the idea may be. I suggest that we continue to use the Indian language which has become by reason of the films and the bazaar exigencies the pan-Indian speech par excellence; and when speech habits or official sanction attach sanctity to it, it may be used also in inter-state gatherings and conferences. It may even come to be taught as a compulsory subject at some stage all over India. But it may not be used as a medium of instruction all over India. The love of one's mother-tongue is too deep rooted

and strong a sentiment to be ousted by patriotic sentiments of a superficial nature.

National integration at the cost of one's mother-tongue would be superficial and short-lived. After obtaining freedom one cannot reconcile oneself to the feeling that one should not speak and write and learn in one's own mother-tongue. It would be the height of indiscretion to impose any language on the people of India, howsoever desirable and welcome such a step may be. National integration is more a matter of emotional and spiritual integration based on respect for each other, and on due consideration for each other's sentiments and natural aspirations. You cannot say that you respect each other and at the same time impose anything, much less a language. We have to maintain and develop a national link language by mutual consent, mutual respect, and goodwill. It will be a sad day for our country if we make our fellow citizens feel that owing to accidents of birth and place they have to suffer indignity or insecurity. Our nation is already encumbered with so many problems and it would not be proper to introduce linguistic coercion in any form. It does not mean that efforts should not be made to popularise the link language.

About technical terminology the sane view has been to employ the international technical terminology of those subjects which are new to our life, modified and adapted and assimilated in such a way that our students, because of their familiarity with such international terminology, will be able to follow the scientific works and to establish contacts outside India.

The medium of instruction through the radio, newspapers, and films is perhaps more powerful and more widespread a subject than the one we have discussed so far. Both knowledge and culture require that all the mother-tongues should be exploited; there is no need to restrict their use. Folk songs, folk dances, folk-tales, and instruction through dialects that are not yet literature but have distinct entities, are great sources of emotional and cultural education. They have therefore to be provided for more liberally than they have been so far. The unrecognized contact languages are particularly useful here. The impact of oral work is more effective in this sphere than elsewhere, and life and thought are moulded in whatever manner the thinkers and well-wishers of the nation working as creative artists may desire. It is needless to elaborate the chances of national improvement in such manners. Any artificial restrictions on the use of languages in this field will lead to petrification and stultification of the life of the nation. The imposition of any medium that is not intelligible in the far corners of the land would defeat the very purpose of mass education that has become so necessary for the defence of the nation. Even propaganda and advertisement are to some extent *education,* and howsoever baneful or undesirable in certain ways, they have to be allowed to continue to exist and work in the larger interests. The children, the women, and the unlettered masses in most distant areas get their education and information

through these powerful media. There may be certain spheres even in this field where the link language (as observed earlier in the present eassy) may be serviceable, and it might be tried without in the least infringing on the legitimate aspiration and desire of the individual and local regional interests, which may continue to be served in their own spheres by their mother tongues.

D. P. PATTANAYAK

Language as Medium of Instruction, Administration, etc.

THE language debate in India has mixed up the two questions of language instruction and language as medium of instruction. Most of the contemporary debates on this question also err on the confusion of language as medium of instruction with the substance or content of instruction. It is not realised that no matter what the language of instruction is, the contemporaneity of the scientific books is in inverse ratio to the active work done in those fields. The obsolescence of these books are directly related to the obsolescence of theories, ideas or even facts in these fields.

In a Dutch High School the students on one occasion pointed out to their excellent biology teacher teaching the difficult subject of genetics, that 'what he told them was in conflict with the text book' (a work dating from remote antiquity, in its umpteenth unrevised edition). He then sternly peered over his glasses and announced emphatically, 'I am the book'. In India, where text book is not merely the master of the class room, but its mastery is considered the goal of instruction, it is no wonder that there is more concern about translating text books than about exciting the sense of adventure and exploration of the young students as a passport to the world of knowledge. I am reminded of a comment once made by Prof. Satyen Bose, a scientist of the Bose-Einstein statistics fame, who said that if some one cannot impart an intricate problem of his field to his audience in his mother tongue, it is not because he does not know his mother tongue, but because he does not know his subject, I am afraid, after two hundred years of repetition of other people's views, we have begun to develop a rootless pseudo-internationalism which inhibits original thinking and leads us to forget even our mother tongues.

It is generally accepted, on sound pedagogical grounds, that the mother tongue is best suited as the medium of instruction, for it is the natural language of thought for the child and eminently suited for concept formation. While any language may be the language of added comprehension, only the language with which one lives and grows is best suited in achieving originality in thought and expression. If a language has not been exploited for expressing certain obstruse concepts, it is due to no inherent defect in that language. Language can only be enriched through use, and so the argument that a language cannot be used because it is not rich is putting the horse before the cart.

A lot of fruitless debate is going on due to the confusion between percolation of knowledge and sharing of knowledge. Percolation of knowledge to the popular level or spread of knowledge among the masses is essential for raising the general standard of education through raising the community awareness. This is important from the point of view of laying a strong foundation for democracy in the country. But this must be differentiated from sharing the knowledge among the intellectual èlites not only within the country, but also outside the country. This is important to strengthen the foundation of a reservoir of knowledge from which a general percolation may take place. But now it must be clear that opportunities must be created for the educated people of the country going beyond a certain level to communicate with their peers in any part of the world. For that purpose provision must be made to offer as many language courses to suit to specific needs as possible. Realistically in India such provision must begin with English.

It is recognised by all that strict adherence to an ideal pedagogical situation like adopting mother tongues as media of instruction at all levels of education is impossible in India in view of the multiplicity of languages and dialects. This will lead to the balkanisation of the country, and as such pose the greatest threat to national integration. Before suggesting alternatives, the factual situation in the country at present must be analysed. Today in India, between the provinces and the extra-territorial intellectual allegiance of the anglophiles, whether it is to England or to New York, the concept of nation is lost. On the other hand, between the narrow parochial self-seeking and the avarice for power (not the will to power) of the Hindi fanatics, the concept of nation is equally blurred. If looked through either looking glass, there will be no nation left to be emotionally integrated. The existence of such a state of affairs can be exemplified by the threats and counter-threats of ultimatum and secession by various extremist positions. Such threats have very little academic relevance. If academic decisions are taken on such demagogic political threats today, then that will be the real beginning of disintegration.

Whatever may be the motive of the spread of English education in India ("English in India : A Reassessment", *NIE Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 5, May 1967), it has resulted in adding one more national language to the already existing

fifteen. It has also resulted in the decline of multilingualism. By encouraging attitudes ranging from indifference to positive disrespect towards the traditional Indian languages, English education has also generated a good deal of mutual disrespect among them. As in Switzerland, such a situation poses a threat to our unity more than anything else.

Various formulae have been suggested from time to time to meet this situation. The word 'formula', like talisman and magic cure, has an unfortunate connotation of effortless problem-solving for many. It either invokes the meaning of a prescription and injects a sense of compulsiveness, or is adjudged the result of compromise and induces groups to demand further concessiveness. In either case, it helps both those who interpret formula as a way of escape from reality and those who act in defence of the existing order. The inadequacy of 'formulae' is also evident from the outward allegiance and inward betrayal. The demand for Indian languages to be the medium of education can be traced to the early 19th century. The Bombay Education Society expressed in favour of native language as the medium of instruction as far back as 1821. Ever since Independence, time-limits for change-over in the instruction media have been set by the Centre as well as by individual universities. Bombay University in 1959 had set a time-limit of ten years beginning from 1960 to switch-over to the medium of Hindi. The Gujarat University had imposed on itself similar time-limit to switch to the regional media. While everybody paid lip service to this principle, very little was done to move towards this end. On the contrary, the protagonists sent their wards to the English schools and carried the vernacular experiment at the cost of the under-privileged. The gulf in precept and practice on the part of the academic and political leadership has created not only frustration, but also bitterness among the people in general.

English poses an artificial barrier against the massive 'revolution of rising expectation' of the people in gaining their rightful place in the governmental process. If the clamour of the large uneducated masses for swiftly reaping the benefits of industrialisation is to be canalised in constructive ways to buy time to save democracy, they must be given an education which guarantees them a sense of belonging, of continuity, and of onward progress. This sense can only be imparted through the mother tongue, or one of the related languages. Those, who demand the maintenance of status-quo or a go slow policy, are advocates of a static solution for a dynamic situation, and are oblivious of the fact that forces of change are 'fiercely, drivingly, unpredictably at work'.

Nationalism in the sense of pride of national identity, as opposed to chauvinism and national insularity, is missing in the current language debate in India. As Ralphe Bunche put it aptly in an international congress of educationists in the US, there has been an 'apalling loss and lack of integrity in position, in intellect, in utterance' among the politicians, administrators, and aca-

demicians discussing the issue. As the governmental leaders have not correctly delineated the rightful place of Hindi and English, shrewd political leaders have taken advantage of the situation and confused the issue to their advantage by asking if we were getting '14 languages in exchange of English'. In the early 19th century, when language poets were eulogizing their respective mother tongues and politicians were firmly rooted in their regions, there was much more national cohesiveness and pride than there is to be seen at present.

'International-mindedness' and 'understanding', acclaimed as goals of education all the world over, are not achieved by the imposition or adoption of a single language. There is no unanimity on basic issues and fundamental principles among all the English or French speaking countries of the world. Inspite of the community of interests of the English speakers of India, the English speaking Brahmin and non-Brahmin of the Tamilnadu and Maharashtra were and even now are locked in a fierce antagonism. Understanding comes from 'learning of the varying ways and traditions, perspectives and purposes' of various people. But unfortunately politicians in India are playing on regional sentiments to build up more barriers and restraints and advocate conformity to their respective points of view, rather than generating respect for each other's language and perspective.

Standard of education is a combination of complex factors. In practice, it may be equated with qualitative education. Academic goals and practices to achieve them, quality of teachers, quality of teaching materials, quality of instruction, all contribute to the quality of education and setting of a standard. Some academicians in our country raise the bogey of standard in discussing almost anything in relation to education, while they refuse to define goals and take positive steps to free education from the crippling clutches of particularistic loyalties and adherence to a seniority system without reference to excellence. Those who are apprehensive of the lowering of standard with a change in language media conveniently forget that there was neither uniformity of standard among all the English medium institutions nor were all the English medium institutes uniformly superior to all non-English medium institutes. It is generally admitted that a lowering of standard has already set in even with the English medium.

Translation of the text books is often cited as an insurmountable barrier in any change-over from one medium to another. The Indian academic mind is so conditioned in accepting text book as the master in the class room and text book teaching as goal of instruction, that both the governmental agencies and the universities cannot see beyond it. It has been hinted earlier that in this age of explosion of knowledge, the contemporaneity of text books in any language is short lived. Any original research done in French, German, Russian, Japanese are translated into English, and, to that extent, there is an information time-lag between English and those languages. That is why study

of foreign languages is considered a must for people opting for higher education in the English speaking countries. Under the circumstances, those who are arguing in good faith in favour of translating all text books for all times to come are arguing in defence of mediocrity without their being aware of it. Instead of insisting on translation, a sense of competitiveness and a consequent sense of excellence can be injected into the academic system by demanding creative writing from the faculty.

If in a pluralistic society, like the Indian society, one equates diversity with balkanisation, he is either a fool or a fanatic. In the world to-day conformity is often pushed down the throats of the weak and the under-developed in the name of unity. It has set world leaders of education to think. The UNESCO declaration in favour of the fundamental right of the child the world over to develop its own way, is the recognition of diversity as the starting point of a healthy education which will make strangers friends, and friends neighbours. The Greek educationist Ketty A. Stassinopoulou, poses the problem for the sceptics when she writes, 'some may object or express a fear that accepting and respecting differences might well serve understanding, but that it will prevent cohesion and unity, that it will be the end of the different disciplines—social, moral, and intellectual—and will, step by step, lead to chaos'. She points out in reply that, 'These fears, based as they are on ethnic beliefs, are terribly difficult to dispel'. While comparing her beliefs of a world unity based on the recognition of basic differences to Mosaics, she says, 'Mosaics are, as we know, made of small pieces of glass or stone, all different in shape and colour. There is not one exactly like the other. But through the art of lovingly and thoughtfully assembling, with steadfast purpose, these disparate units, the artist has achieved a masterpiece'. (p. 84. *Education in World Perspective*, Lancer Books.) If this is true of communities, this is more so of individuals in any educational institution. As Robert J. Havighurst rightly points out, 'The good school is thought to be the school that studies its pupils as individuals, and provides for each person a variant of the common program which fits his peculiar abilities, interests, and goals in life. Thus the phrase 'attention to individual differences' is a kind of slogan for American education. Through paying attention to differences between individuals it is hoped to secure good quality in education'. (p. 14, *Talks on American Education*, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1962.) It will be the height of folly on our part to close our eyes to the realities of the Indian situation, and not to adopt a pluralistic approach to the problems relating to Indian society and education.

UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS

1. An educated citizenry is a must for maintaining democratic values. Without an educated public, a democracy, to quote Madison, an American President, 'is either a farce or a tragedy'. With English as the medium of ins-

truction, the selective and limited education that was available to a restricted sector of the society, we already have some experience of the farcical side. If we want to avoid the tragedy, it is imperative that we strive for a broad-based universalistic education, that will narrow the gulf between the élite and the masses by raising the general level.

2. Education is a major social instrument for achieving the twin social objectives of social solidarity and cultural pluralism. It is necessary and possible to recognise mutual differences and generate respect for each other while developing a sense of one nation, one country.

3. The two great enemies of sound education are the absolutism of a monolithic mind and the producing 'people who all go the same way, indifferent or oblivious or even hostile to differences'. Rigidity inhibits adaptation and communication, and standardisation leads a human social group to develop as a 'herd without a soul'.

4. The non-competitive, seniority based pyramidal structure of higher education and the accent on particularistic loyalties are the two major reasons for a decline in the standard of education. These coupled with 'want of necessary finance', and want of determining the correct priority, account for the poor quality of education in India.

5. The adoption of the line of least resistance and the fear of accepting diversity, and of recognising and respecting the uniqueness of individuals and social groups as a step towards building a universalistic education in India, are the greatest faults of the political and academic leadership of the present day India.

I hope, by now a strong plea has been made in favour of the acceptance of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction as far as and as soon as possible. If we teach other Indian languages and foreign languages as tool languages, we will have solved the problem of faculty transfer and communication among peer groups. By requiring a certain proficiency in English it can be ensured that people going in for higher education do meaningfully manipulate the language. By making English literature optionally available in schools and colleges, door can be kept open for those who need a psychological satisfaction in developing their aesthetic sense. Acceptance of the mother tongue will not only lead to original research as distinct from duplication or repetition of other people's research, but will give a sense of bearing and self-respect to our scholars.

By teaching in the medium of regional languages, which will be the majority mother tongue in any area, opportunity can be created for the common man to participate intelligently in the process of government. It is only natural that regional languages be the vehicle of administration at the state level. For inter-state and Center-State communication a choice of English and Hindi may be left open until one is naturally selected.

It is futile to talk and debate about a link language in a vacuum. Once Hindi becomes the language of instruction and of administration in six Indian states, it will provide a powerful motivation to people all over India to study the language to increase their job opportunities. The same reason will encourage the study of neighbouring languages by a set of people who want to compete in their vocations in the neighbouring states. This will only put a limited current practice in a more rational basis. Currently a doctor or an engineer moving out of his state does not communicate with his uneducated or even illiterate patient or worker in English, but in the language of the area or in Hindi. By encouraging multi-lingualism, it will be possible to facilitate and hasten the change.

In any comprehensive scheme of social development there are bound to be residual problems. The education of the children of officers in all-India services, of army officers and of persons moving out of the state in search of jobs is one such problem deserving serious attention. Such problems can always be handled by the central schools, given a sense of enlightened planning.

Education as a state enterprise and universities with autonomy guarantee diversity in education. Since this also gives rise to particularistic loyalty, the Center with purposive planning can provide checks and balances. The proposed central and state language institutes, for instance, could play a significant role in the area of language planning and language teaching. The central language institute could very well act as a centre for applied linguistics in India with the regional language institutes acting as its local representatives. Unfortunately, the linguists who could be of utmost help are so far kept completely out of the picture. Sensation mongering and vested interest journalists and demagogic short-sighted politics have filled the stage. As a result loose and trite terms such as link language, library language, foreign language, world language, ripe language, deficient language, are freely used to mean different things to different people in different contexts. If this Seminar puts the language issue in its true perspective and impresses on the central authorities the need for an academic approach and quick purposive action, a large part of the battle is won.

S. SAHU

Regional Languages as Media of Instruction and Administration

LANGUAGE is not a mere tool of thought and action. It is thought and action itself. In the words of Humboldt, "Language is the formative (bildende) organ of thought". Elsewhere he says, "A language cannot be anatomised like a thing in nature nor is it a substance which is represented by the mass of words and rules given by itself. It is a direction, a spiritual process like life in a body. Nothing that is related to it can be treated anatomically but only psychologically, nothing in it is static, everything is dynamic".

Hence language cannot be made to order and discharge function, it is not ready to undertake. The development of a language is possible only through the natural genius of the people. The English language developed through the genius of its authors, thinkers, poets and play-wrights. If Chaucer had chosen to write in Latin, if Shakespeare had not taken liberties with the then English language, if Tyndale had not undertaken to write in the then expressive and down-to-earth spoken and on top of it all, if both the early Anglo-Saxon and the later Norman sources had not given the language the rich vocabulary, English would not have been the language that it is today. The fact that the royal language was for most of the time, either Norman French or North German, did not effect the development of English in the least.

In India too language took its own course, according to the genius of the people and since the country is large, many forms came into existence, through the various forms of Sanskrit, Pali, Sauraseni, Ardha-Magadhi, as well as of the Dravidian languages and the mutual influence of one on the other, until the languages of the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution came into use. Meanwhile, various dialects have been rising and fading like ripples in a lake.

What progress has been made in these regional languages and what progress can be made depends on the people using it. The lack of progress in these languages has been placed at the door of the English language, since the medium of higher education as well as of administration had been English.

Is it correct to do so? In the early days when people started learning English, literature in the regional languages gained tremendously from English. This contact was first established on the soil of Bengal. Can anyone say that Bengali literature or language became poorer for it ? On the contrary the blossoming of literature was finer and richer during those years of early contact than it has been after the independence of the country.

So far as administration is concerned, the language of administration has always been different as far as our memory goes. Even Asoka had to have his inscriptions written in different scripts. For much of the time a very different language like Persian remained the language of administration in most parts of the country. But that did not prevent the growth and development of the modern Indian languages. A language like Bengali or Oriya became richer by the adoption of some of the Persian words to represent concepts that were new. Even after English became the language of administration, the languages all over the country adopted many new words.

Why then these languages did not develop like some of the other world languages? The reason is not to be sought in the incursions of Persian or English. The reason is to be sought in the fact that the people had no share in its creation. And the people did not have a share in its creation because the pattern of our society provided no opportunities for them. The vast majority were forbidden even to learn to read and write. Their language was always different from that of the scholars, rulers, and administrators. We speak of democratic institutions as old as two thousand years but there was no social democracy and most of the people remained drawers of water and hewers of wood. The Buddha indeed tried to reach the people and so he taught in the language of the people. In fact, it is reported that he did not desire his teachings to be translated into Sanskrit. We do not know what the development of our languages would have been if Buddhism had a different history in India. But the Buddha who did not wield any temporal power could not bring about the social changes which would have been the natural outcome of his policy. And alas! the first and the greatest social reform failed.

The next attempt at social reforms resulting in certain linguistic changes was made by the reformers of the 13th and 14th centuries when they started singing in the language of the people. To Kabir, Chandidas, Surdas, and others as well as to Chaitanya and his followers in Bengal and Orissa, we owe the development of many of the North Indian languages in the form they have come to have today. Resistance to this was there, but once the people took to the singing of these songs they could not be stopped. Local poets, some of

them non-Brahmin, started composing devotional verses in the languages of the people with improvisations where the language failed. That is why we find in some of the compositions of these poets, a lack of maturity of the language. Even classics like the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* came to be written in the local languages. When Jagannath Das, translated the *Bhāgavata* into Oriya, he was made fun of by his Brahmin colleagues. The composition of the *Mahābhārata* by a Sudra in Orissa was ignored by the Pandits. But the people who knew no Sanskrit started singing the *Mahābhārata* for they understood it. If these linguistic (which are also social) ventures were not made, the modern Indian languages would have had a different story. This is true even of the South Indian languages where works in Telugu or Kannada came to be written in the language of the people, except in Tamil where the writings of the Alwars had existed for more than a thousand years.

In spite of these social changes, due to economic slavery and the grip of casteism, in a few years, it was again the Brahmins who alone could read the works of these authors to the people. It is they alone who could make out copies. The average man had to do his manual labour and come in the evenings to temples to hear these songs. Hence like the great attempt of the Buddha, the attempts of the social and religious reformers also got bogged up in the quicksands of caste restrictions, and further growth of language was not possible. Creativity was confined to the religious experience of *bhakti*. The language of the writings did not touch any other activity of the average man.

What lesson does it all teach us? I would say, that the lesson is, that creativity in language cannot flourish unless the people speak it, use it, think in it, create in it. This is possible only if equal educational opportunity is given to all and there is no socially privileged class in charge of the means of learning. Administrative and academic preferences for a particular language need not necessarily stifle the growth of the language of the people. This is proved by the fact that in almost all the countries of Europe, the prerogative of Latin and even at a later stage, of French, did not prevent the blossoming of the vernacular. It was the boldness of a Descartes, a Leibnitz, a Bacon and many others who wrote not only in Latin but also in the languages of the people that resulted in their development. In England, even before the Parliament decided to do away with Latin, as the language of administration and learning, English was used in almost all fields of academic activity along with Latin.

With this background let us look at the present situation in our country. In the past there was no problem of medium of instruction, as instruction was given to a few in the language of the learned, viz., Sanskrit. The distance between the academician or Brahmin and the others was accepted as the normal situation. Even after the Mohammedan occupation of some parts of the country, the languages of instruction and administration were Sanskrit and Persian. The distance persisted though some warriors and businessmen came

to greater influence. Then came English. It caused fundamental changes particularly on account of the system of education introduced in the country and gradually a new administrative class arose, irrespective of caste or socio-economic background.

Further, with the advent of English, the prestige of both Sanskrit and Persian waned. The highest level of achievement was possible only through the medium of English. Meanwhile the vernaculars also got stabilized in their respective areas. Conditions of living, communication, methods of administration and even ideas of nationality and patriotism, all underwent a thorough change. Just at this time, the fight for freedom also started. The sympathy of the people was evoked through patriotic sentiments, which were bolstered up by local patriotism, and language of a region was used as one of the weapons for rousing them.

But all the while the distance between the average man and the privileged class persisted. There was, however, a feeling of unity among the people in different parts of the country who had access to the English language. No example of this could be so apt as that of Swami Vivekanand. He was accepted in every part of the country and hailed as a great reformer rather more than his own Guru Ramakrishna Paramhansa who knew no English. One great advantage was that it brought together people from different parts of India for the struggle of the country's freedom.

After independence attention was paid to reforms in education. Among other things the mother-tongue was made the medium of instruction up to the secondary level throughout the country. Normally this must have resulted in achievement of higher standards at the end of the school level. This should also have resulted in the development of the local or regional language so that it would automatically link up with higher academic work at the college level. But what happened in practice was that there was a lowering of standards all round. The boys who leave secondary schools today do not know better vernacular or better Maths or better History than those who were taught in the English medium. This gave rise to another difficulty, viz., most students could not adjust themselves to the English medium at the college level.

Hence the next step was to vernacularize the college also. But this will not lead to any improvement in the standards. On the other hand, as in the secondary level, this is going to bring about a further fall in academic standards. We know that the quality of teaching is bad, that text-books are not read and that students are passed in many cases just because failing large number of students will give rise to many problems. Since text-books of the requisite calibre will not be available and since books in English will not be comprehensible, there will be nothing for the students to read.

This difficulty may not arise in certain subjects like history, where books will be easily available. But in the sciences and particularly in technology

the difficulty is bound to arise.

Hence what is necessary is to allow the switch-over to the regional languages only in subjects in which the teachers and students feel that good books are available. Science and technology will perhaps come last. A suitable language has to be developed by finding suitable words and expressions. Even in Europe, the early writers on science had to go to Greek to find the terms. The words in the common language stock were not accepted as they had acquired certain connotations not agreeing with the concept. The same problem would arise when we write in our vernaculars. Hence new words will have to be derived from the original Sanskrit, as terms like, electron, radiation, isobar and so came to be derived from Greek. Until this language is frequently used in printed books and becomes the property of the reading public many teachers will be using many different words. If it is suggested that the English words be retained, why then should there be this unholy haste for changing the medium?

It has been suggested that the use of a foreign language is creating a chasm between the people and the intellectuals. It has been claimed that a privileged class of people has come into being who take advantage of the knowledge of English, or that just on account of their knowledge of English and for no other excellence they became privileged. This may be admitted, but how can we set about correcting the position? Further, what is so surprising about it? If not this kind of cleavage some other kind of cleavage is bound to be there. At least the scholars have to have some kind of an ivory tower. A politician or a social worker may find it irritating to be intellectually and emotionally segregated from the people. But not so the scholar or the academician.

If English has created a barrier between the people and the ruling or administrative class, the language of administration has to be changed. Let us change it. In fact, this has been our accepted principle. Even here, what is the first requirement is that we should have all people capable of reading and writing. Otherwise the one who is illiterate will always be the underdog even if mother-tongue is the language of the ruler. And he has to run to the 'Babu' to do the writing or reading of letters for him. We have not been able to do this most elementary job as yet, even after 20 years of independence. Have we not tried to correct the situation by switching over to the regional language at the secondary level?

Even here what is our achievement? What is the standard of our literature in the regional languages? The text-books that I have seen in the three regional languages that I know, are either translations or writings which have a plan followed in books in English. No books have grown out of school experience. All writers and publishers have only the profit motive. There has thus been a lowering of standards instead of a gain which should have been the natural outcome. Instead of raising the hornets' nest at the college level, why

should we not first see that the policy succeeds at the school level which afterall affects the vast majority of our people?

So far as the gulf between the people and the users of English language is concerned, is it due to the simple fact that some people speak English and the others do not? Is there not a gulf between the officer (say an Inspector or even B.D.O.) and the people? Do not they speak the same language also? In five years if we have the regional language instead of English as the medium of instruction, is this position going to change ? If change is going to come in any case due to changed social relations, will this remain, even if the officer had his education in English? It is a question of learning democratic habits. It is a question of educating the people in the fundamentals where no other language but the mother-tongue should prevail. If that is done, the distance will vanish. A Newton reading in Latin and writing in Latin was never alienated from his house keeper or his barber.

We come back to Humboldt's definition of language. The people have to make the language. Whether it is a regional language or a foreign language or a link language, it cannot be imposed. If it is imposed it must have prestige-value. English had it in the beginning because it is an international language. Though there are other languages which we can use in the world, it is both practical and easier for us to adopt English which is already there. That is the most suitable and practical thing to do. Before regional language can replace it, it must have become not only a part of the very life of the people, but also the people must have been taught to use it to enrich their lives emotionally and intellectually.

At what stage is the medium of instruction an integral part of the learning process? We divide education into the following levels : Primary, Secondary, Under-graduate and Post-graduate. Evidently each has a certain definite objective or has to have it. The first has for it objective, making a man a citizen, capable of reading and writing and having the basic knowledge of the society of which he is a member. It is not a terminal stage. The second is meant to be a terminal stage for most, as it is indeed in most of the developed countries. It is not so in our country and almost all would like to go for graduation, if they could manage it. We had accepted the regional language as the medium at this stage on the presumption that for most, this will be the terminal stage. It is proper that the learning process at this stage is in the language the individual was going to use during his working life.

Beyond that there is no need to hasten the process of change. There are other extraneous reasons for the changes we want to carry out at a higher level, before we have set the house in order at the lower level. I think that behind the haste with which we are now proceeding with the switch-over to the regional language, are the following reasons:

1. Our failure to strengthen our Secondary Education. As a conse-

quence of this, all and sundry who go up to the college, find it extremely difficult to follow English.

2. The senseless cry for 'hatao angreji', which has encouraged laxity, in the teaching of the subject, without necessarily raising the standards in the regional languages. In fact there has been 'transference' of un-learning into other languages also. The baby has gone out with the bathwater.

3. The laxity in schools and colleges which has gone on under the guise of lateral expansion, which has made a fifteen-year study necessary, to bring us up to the standard of a boy or girl with twelve years of schooling in developed countries (even this is doubtful). A distinguished colleague of mine, a Professor of Economics, remarked the other day, of this question of the medium of instruction, "What are our colleges but mere high schools"? He justified the introduction of regional languages on this ground. I admit it.

4. A constant and persisting compromise with failure, weakness and inefficiency. We have always been adjusting our measures to the weakest link. We never had the courage and imagination to strengthen that weak link. Our syllabus in schools and colleges is never improved. Our attempts at improving our examination system despite the attempts made by the All India Council of Secondary Education with the assistance of Dr. Bloom in 1953-54, is a forgotten chapter. Our introduction of the regional language at the secondary level has not stopped or even established the production of cheap notes that replace text books.

We could do nothing to prevent these descents into obscurity and inefficiency except for occasional statements of desperation. It is on the lips of everyone that the teachers are inefficient, that the students do anything but learn, that teachers help in malpractices adopted by students, and on top of it all, we witness and are sometimes victims of student vandalism and indiscipline. Is it expected that the standards of academic life will go up and achievements will rise by replacing English with the regional language?

No one denies the ultimate philosophical and sentimental value of replacing a foreign language. No one would even deny the linguistic reasons for it. But while the more fundamental issues remain unaltered and unsolved, why should there be this haste in taking such a step?

The only reason seems to me that having failed to propagate Hindi to the satisfaction of anyone, and seeing that as long as English remains the link language, the interest of Hindi will suffer, the former is being ousted by playing on the sentiments of the people for the regional languages, so that once English is removed from the curriculum in schools (as indeed it is going to be to-wit the step taken in Bihar and U.P.), it will be easier to bring greater pressure for the new link language, viz., Hindi. This is the only explanation for this haste. The provision of the Constitution is an excellent handle for this purpose.

But I am not holding the view that for all time to come English shall remain

as the language and medium in universities. Undoubtedly, it will play a very important role for a long time to come. But we should be able to produce really good books in our own languages. This is bound to take time and has to be followed by suitable steps for its promotion.

But what of the university? Here obviously the student has to have the capacity to find sources of information, collect it, and apply it to his own immediate academic situation. All such study is admitted to be cooperative work. The days are gone when a Newton could, from his own experience and observations, discover the laws of gravitation. Team-work is growing and what cuts across ones research, is not one language but one specific issue. One has to go to English, German, Russian, or even Chinese authors for relevant material. At that stage it should be left to the professor concerned, to teach in whatever language he chooses. We may have to modify our regulations for post-graduate work if necessary, but let us not close our windows to the world.

What then should we do? Let us confine ourselves to the question of introduction of the regional language only at the under-graduate level. Let there be no time limit. Let meanwhile suitable books be brought out. The Government of India have decided to pay rupees one crore per year to each state to produce books in the regional language. Let the books be first produced. If good books are produced, irrespective of the language, people will come to use them more and more. Unfortunately in spite of the introduction of teaching non-language subjects through the regional language, no really good books worth the name have been produced. It is much more difficult at the college level. If we are under the impression that translations will be good enough, we are mistaken. The book has to grow out of the Indian situation. This will apply not only to subjects like Logic, History, Economics, and Political Science but even to those like Geology or Botany or even Chemistry. Technical terms have to become part of our language if they have to be properly comprehended with their attendant connotations. A term like 'proportional representation' means something which we appreciate at once. A translation will make different people draw different connotations and there will be a good amount of confusion. Then again in the sciences, the adoption of some symbols like γ or μ or π etc., have acquired some significance. Shall we adopt these foreign signs ? A uniformity in these usages has to be established in all the regional languages. Let these questions work out first. Plenty of money has to be invested in this work. If good books well got-up and cheaply priced, are pushed into the market, the students and teachers will take to them. Without doing it, asking the teachers to teach in the regional language, will only further bring down the standards and our boys even after 15 years of education will not be able to create anything, find anything or even think independently. We would have lost what little culture we have gathered in a foreign language.

There is then the question of a link language. If the people were to learn only one language and that too the regional language, we cannot hope to survive as nation. The story of Katanga and Biafra will be repeated on the soil of India. The mobility of the people has to be maintained. The old forces of religion and faith are not as strong as they were in the past. Cultural unity without linguistic oneness is of doubtful value. Sanskrit will not be able to discharge the function any more. A common history has not stood in the way of Pakistan being carved out of the country. Let us not be under the delusion that only the British masters did it and now that they have gone it cannot recur. Hence it is necessary that both Hindi and English must be taught in the last two years in the school, passing in both being compulsory for entry in a college, and optional for others. Strong and effective steps have to be taken to teach these languages efficiently and well. We often try to avoid the issue by saying that English is a foreign language. This attitude and the usual laxity has been responsible for the failures in English. On the other hand, it has been my experience that students coming from the mofussils, when drilled properly in the structure for two to three months, are able to learn enough to understand lessons given by non-Indian teachers. Expression takes some time. This is not just talk. This has been our experience and the boys were not all geniuses.

Both these languages have to be taught also at the under-graduate level. Once again we have to make it necessary for one to pass in both in order to be eligble for post-graduate work. For others a pass in the subjects may not be made compulsory. There will be no objection, if the boys are allowed to pass separately, if they fail the first time. Learning three languages is the usual practice in most advanced countries. unless we take these precautions, mere introduction of the regional language will not only solve nothing, but will bring about academic deterioration as well as national disintegration. Let not sentiment and expediency be our guiding stars.

A. B. SHAH

Indian Languages as Media of Higher Education

WHAT the medium of education at the university stage should be in India during the next decade or two would depend on a number of considerations. First, the language so used should be capable of being understood by the student without undue difficulty. Secondly, it should be capable of conveying to him the subtleties of modern thought and sensibilities. Not all languages at any given point of time may have been sufficiently developed for this purpose. Thirdly, since university-educated persons will be called upon to provide leadership in various fields of public life, it is necessary that they go through a largely similar experience and assimilate broadly the same values during their formative years. Fourthly, it should be possible for them to feel at home in the world community of educated men and women, and, at least for some of them, to make their own contribution to the total pool of human knowledge. And lastly, of course, the final decision may be unduly swayed by the politicians' rhetoric unless a solution is devised which, without sacrificing the best interests of the nation, takes account of the legitimate aspirations of the ordinary citizen.

From the purely pedagogical point of view it is no doubt true that, other things being equal, the best language of education is the one with which the student has been familiar from his childhood. The mother tongue has this special advantage, but it need not be the only language in which the student can move with ease and comfort. It is a well-known fact that till the age of twelve or thereabouts the child can learn any language, even the Chinese with its innumerable pictograms, without any special effort. The pre-eminent role of the mother tongue as medium of education is therefore a matter of habit,

conditioned by the parents' choice and the ability of the school system to respect that choice. Even at the university level the better type of student has little difficulty in changing over from one language to another as the medium of education, provided he has the right motivation and the aptitude for an intellectual pursuit. Anyone who, like the present writer, has taught for some length of time in a college would be able to bear this out. A change in the medium at the university stage poses a serious problem to a majority of students, primarily because they lack motivation and, especially in smaller towns, they come from a background that is culturally and linguistically under-developed. This, I believe, is the only sound argument for introducing the mother tongue—as distinct from the regional language—as the medium of education at the university stage for those who want it. All other arguments such as the love of one's own language are inconsequential, however compelling they may appear to some.

As against this, it is equally true that none of the indigenous Indian languages enumerated in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution is sufficiently developed to function effectively as a vehicle for modern thought. This is not merely a question of coining technical terms or translating a sufficient number of text-books into Indian languages. What is involved in the process of learning at the university stage is familiarization with highly sophisticated concepts and their assimilation into the furniture of the student's mind. And language has a vital and dynamic role to play in this process. It does not function merely as a conduit as most discussion on this issue seems to assume. On the contrary, every language actively reacts with the intellectual and aesthetic components of the culture it expresses. It is an inseparable part of that culture and an indispensable agent in its development, diffusion, and assimilation. This is as much true of the exact sciences as of the humanities, and another language can take its place with reasonable efficiency only if the cultures represented by the two are broadly similar. As Cassirer observes, 'language shows itself again and again to be the mighty and indispensable vehicle of thought—a kind of flywheel that carries thought along with its own unceasing momentum'. For, 'though the word does not create the concept, it is by no means a mere appendage to it. It constitutes, rather, one of the most important instruments for its actualization'.[1] Those who have tried to translate from English into any of the Indian languages, are familiar with the problems of such translation, would know how frustrating the effort generally is. It is no doubt possible to turn out hack translations, as those commissioned by the Government of India and certain foreign embassies in this country amply demonstrate. One would, however, imagine that for higher education better standards of work would be required.

We have, therefore, to consider whether it is possible to ensure without constant use of the English language, both for class-room instruction and for

reading around a subject, that the time lag between our own standards and the demands of a rapidly expanding body of knowledge is bridged in the foreseeable future. Human knowledge is expanding at a pace that is truly terrific. For instance, before the dawn of the modern age it took centuries to double itself and in the eighteenth century it was expected that soon this period would be reduced to half a century. In the years before the last World War, it was estimated at thirty years, while according to the late Professor Oppenheimer the doubling time of scientific knowledge would today be less than ten years.[2] Nor according to Oppenheimer, does this tremendous increase in the rate of growth of knowledge 'signify by any means that quality has declined'. It may also be mentioned that Oppenheimer uses 'science' in the 'full, broad, noble sense of the word', so that his estimate applies to social as well as to natural sciences.

Now, no country whose universities do not keep in view the ever-expanding frontiers of knowledge can hope to develop a technology of its own either. For, like the economic, technological growth also cannot be indefinitely sustained on borrowed capital. Hence unless everyone who is capable of creative work in any field of knowledge devotes himself primarily to it, we may never be able to cover the gap between our own country and those that had an early start. Secondly, in this field only those can translate usefully who are able to create something of their own, so that hack work will in some cases be worse than useless. Thirdly, the amount of literature to be translated would be so large, and would at the same time be getting outdated so rapidly, that in practice not translation but isolation would be the result. Nor is it enough merely to provide that everyone would know English well enough to read the really important literature in that language if it is not available in translation. It just does not work, not in Indian universities at least, except at the level of the research scientist. In all other cases, as the issue records of libraries in universities that have already switched over to the regional language would show, what usually happens is that the student—in most cases, the teacher also—prefers to go without reading a book or a journal in English.

For another reason too it is necessary that a number of our best students and teachers feel at home in English for the purpose of expression as well as comprehension. In the absence of the ability to express oneself with clarity even the power of comprehending modern knowledge, let alone of making a creative contribution to it, is likely to remain at a rather low level in all fields save that of technology. In fact, we need also a fairly large number of scholars with a high degree of proficiency in other foreign languages besides English. However, as the growing importance given to it by countries ruled by varying ideologies would suggest, English has a special place in the field of knowledge and culture. The reason for this is obvious. According to a recent bibliography (published by John Hopkins University) of publications on economics

brought out during the last few years, more than ninety per cent of the books and seventy-five per cent of the journals happen to be in English. Also the recent growth of interest in the work of Japanese economists is primarily due to their switch-over from Japanese to English as a means of communication.[3] Due to historical reasons, Indian scholars have an advantage over their Japanese or, for that matter many other, counterparts whose mother tongue is not English. It would not be wise to throw away this advantage out of a misguided notion of patriotism.

The example of Japan is also interesting in another way. Those who advocate the banishment of English from the cultural and intellectual life of India invariably point to the remarkable progress made by Japan and the Soviet Union during the recent decades. The inference is that this progress was made possible by their use of Japanese and Russian respectively. They also refer to the fact that in the non-Russian units of the USSR the regional language invariably is the medium of education up to the highest stage. The conclusion that is supposed to follow is that the degree of development of a language is a minor, if not altogether irrelevant, aspect of the question, provided educationists are really interested in the spread of higher education and the diffusion of knowledge among the common people. The entire argument is so fallacious that even at the risk of appearing to digress one must dispose it of before proceeding further. This is all the more necessary since it seems to have taken in even those eminent educationists who ought to have known their facts better before rushing to the press.[4]

Japan embarked on its programme of technological, *not* cultural, modernization almost exactly a hundred years ago, when the doubling time of knowledge was about fifty years—nearly six times of what it is today—and when it was governed by a ruthlessly authoritarian regime. Secondly, it had only one language to think of. Its task was therefore incomparably easier than what faces a developing country like India today. Even then, till the democratization of Japanese society was well under way after the Second World War—that is, nearly seventy-five years after it had embarked on its technological revolution—Japanese universities were remarkably backward in the development of theoretical knowledge, especially in the humanities and social sciences. It is only during the post-war period that this deficiency is being made good with the thoroughness characteristic of the Japanese. The Japanese experience is, therefore, irrelevant to the Indian situation; we are tackling the problems nearly a century later than Japan, we have more than a dozen recognised state languages, and we have opted for a system of government that, rightly, rules out a policy of large-scale recourse to force or other modes of coercion.

The Russian experience also is equally inapplicable to India. First, Russian was a *developed* language unlike any of the indigenous Indian languages

such as Bengali, Tamil or Marathi. A mere look at the cultural history of Russia—Chebyshev, Pushkin, Dostoevsky, Hertz, Labachevsky, Mendeleyev, Pavlov, Plekhanov, Tolstoy, Turgenev, Chekhov—would bring out the fact that Russia was in the mainstream of western intellectual life for a long time before the Revolution of 1917. Also The Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg was, in the first decades of the 20th century, the only one of the eighteenth century European academies of sciences which still attempted to dominate the sphere of science. What the Bolshevik Revolution did was to replace an inefficient tyranny by a ruthlessly efficient dictatorship with a significant change in the priorities of state policy in favour of science and technology. As to the non-Russian peoples of the USSR, about whose cultural and intellectual progress after the Revolution so much is being said, one has only to take note of a few relevant facts in order to realize how misinformed these admirers of the Soviet language policy are. In view of the non-educational motivations of this policy, it is necessary to set it out in some detail.

The USSR like India is a multi-lingual state, but with one important difference. Unlike Hindi which is proposed as the sole federal language of India, Russian was a highly developed language of the Czarist empire when the Bolshevik Revolution took place. Also, the Russians constituted more than 50 per cent of the total population of the USSR. As a result of historical evolution and state policy, they occupied, and still occupy, an overwhelmingly large proportion of key posts in every field of public life. They were sent in large numbers, not only in Czarist times but even after the Revolution, to colonize other regions so that in the course of time, quite a few of the latter showed a population proportion that was actually in favour of the Russian language. For instance, the Karelo-Finnish Republic disappeared in 1956 because the percentage of the orginal population had become so small that, according to the nationalities policy of the Soviet Government, the Republic lost its *raison d'être*. It became the Autonomous Karelian Soviet Republic, which really meant integration into Russian proper.[5] This was not an isolated example, for the Soviet nationalities policy subordinates the aspirations of ethnic groups to the interests of 'class struggle' and can even justify racial discrimination on political grounds. Human nature and the facts of language and demography being what they are, it is to be expected that the interests of class struggle, would, consciously or unconsciously, be identified with those of the Russian-speaking group. This has indeed been the case, thus perpetuating and strengthening the pre-Revolution myth of the Great Russian 'Elder Brother' in Soviet politics.

The myth of the 'Elder Brother' has been used as pretext for steady Russification of non-Russian Soviet life. Thus Russian is taught as a compulsory subject to Soviet children from the second year in school, and more and more children are attending Russian medium schools. For instance, in 1962 the Russians formed 'only 54.5 per cent of the population of the Soviet Union, but

65 per cent of all school children attended Russian schools'.[6] In certain regions the proportion of such children was much higher as the following table of percentages of pupils receiving education in their native tongue in four such regions shows:

Kabardine-Balkar A.S.S.E.	24%	(in Kabardinian)
Adygei Autonomous Province	11%	(in Adygei)
Karachai-Cherkess Autonomous province ..	9%	(in Circassian)
North Ossetian A.S.S.E.	19%	(in Ossetian)

(*Kulturnoe Stroitelstvo*, Moscow, 1958).[7]

This policy has, quite understandably, resulted in a growing number—ten million according to the Census of 1959—of Soviet citizens belonging to non Russian nationalities declaring Russian as their mother tongue. It is also reflected in the preponderance of Russian publications and a correspondingly depressed state of other languages in the Soivet Union. For instance, 'as many as 82 per cent of all books, 78 per cent of all newspapers and 85 per cent of all journals printed in 1960 in the USSR were in the Russian language'.[8] There are no extension or correspondence courses in the Hebrew or the Yiddish language and literature, not even in the officially-designated Jewish Autonomous Province of Birobidshan, and the total number of Yiddish books printed in the USSR in recent years is fewer than ten.[9] Even the Ukraine, which is a member of the UN, had till a few years ago no Ukranian dictionary of any type. 'A concise Ukranian-Russian dictionary was promised for the end of 1961. No mention has yet been made of an all-Ukranian dictionary such as exist for all civilized languages (a *Little Dictionary of Ukranian Synonyms* appeared in 1960, it has 209 pages in small 8vo, with 4,200 entries)...The Academy reprint of the sixteenth-century Ukranian dictionary by Berynda promised for 1960, has not yet appeared'.[10] Evidence of this type can be adduced for any other non-Russian language of the USSR.

The purpose of the foregoing excursion into Sovietology is not so much to pass a value judgment on Soviet policy in the field of language as to provide a corrective to the mistaken view made popular in this country by the admirers of that policy.[11] Nor do I believe that given the premises of the Soviet state, one can easily condemn *from the purely educational point of view* the predominant position of the Russian language in the USSR. It is the non-educational aspects of this policy and the attempts made to cover them up that would be open to serious criticism.

However, that is of no interest to us. What is relevant here is the lesson of the Russian experience for India, which is, that under-developed languages cannot serve efficiently as vehicles of modern thought. Secondly, if an indigenous language is accorded the status of national language and as such receives official patronage, in the course of time it is bound to retard the development

of other languages. This is not a matter of choice. Language, like any other human institution, obeys its own laws of autonomous development and these laws are more powerful than the pious declarations of politicians and educators.

This does not mean that there should be no attempt to promote the development of Indian languages so as to make them increasingly suitable as media of higher education. What it does rule out is any attempt to fix a time-limit such as was recently agreed upon between the Union Education Minister and the Vice-Chancellors' Conference. Secondly, translating text-books from foreign languages is not the best way of going about the business. Translations, however good, are not very relevant. Thoughtful teachers even of science subjects, where the content is more objective and universal than in social sciences or the humanities, feel that foreign text-books at the under-graduate stage are only a mixed advantage. They are written by foreign scholars for foreign students and make a number of unconscious assumptions about the cultural environment in which they are to be used. In the original they at least have a certain internal unity of theme and treatment, which the student gradually comes to accept as natural because of the language of the book. In translation this unity is destroyed even if the meaning of the text is not distorted,[12] and the teacher no less than the student feels that the whole thing is a sacred make-believe. And yet the Union Ministry of Education has entered into an agreement with Soviet experts to prepare text-books for Indian *schools*, that is, at a level at which local context is inseparable from the context of the books! That the experts would be committed to a philosophy which is diametrically opposed to that underlying education in India is an additional factor to note. However, even if they were British or American, the agreement should have been condemned as educationally unsound instead of praised as an achievement of diplomacy—at least when we are talking of self-reliance.

What is really necessary for the average university student before beginning a switch-over to his mother tongue as the medium of higher education is a series of graded text-books specially written for him in his own language by Indian scholars[13] who know their subjects and share the cultural background. They alone can write suitable text-books in Indian languages which, by relating the exposition of their subject-matter to the background of the student, can provide the motivation at present sadly lacking in most of the text-books used in Indian colleges regardless of the language in which they are written. Not all teachers can do this work, and the few who can will need all the persuasion and facilities, especially those of leave and secretarial assistance, for doing it well. It is therefore necessary to look upon the writing of a good text-book as no less important than research or administration. This has for long been recognized in developed countries—witness, for example, Marshall and Laski in England, Dewey and Wilson in the U.S., Lebesgue and Goursat in France, Semmerfeld and

Knopp in Germany, Landau and Kolmogoroff in the USSR, who have written outstanding text-books for under-graduate students. There is no reason why, properly approached, their counterparts in India should not write equally good books in Indian languages. Such a programme, besides being more useful educationally, will cost much less than the funds set apart by the Government of India for its massive but ill-conceived programme of translation by fiat.

Even if Indian scholars seriously begin to write text-books in their own languages, it will be many years before the process has advanced far enough to justify a total replacement of English by Indian languages at the Honours and post-graduate levels. For what is relevant here is not merely the willingness of the scholars to write, but also the degree of maturity and subtlety to which their language has developed. It is wrong to imagine that the mere fact of using it as a medium of education will ensure the development of an Indian language as a suitable medium of modern thought within a reasonably short period of time. Such development presupposes the presence of certain cultural concomitants, which at present do not exist and which are not likely to come into being for quite some time yet. The intellectual climate of the country is still largely unfamiliar with the ideas which constitute the core of modern knowledge. Consequently, it would be utopian to expect—in the absence of English as the medium of education in some universities at least—that Indian languages will automatically derive, from the milieu in which they will have to function, the sustenance necessary for rapid growth and enrichment. Nor will such a milieu have been created until modern science, technology, literature, and the arts have the pride of place in our national life. This is a slow process, whose pace one can only marginally influence by consciously planned effort.

Another consideration to be kept in mind in deciding the issue pertains to the integrity of the intellectual élite of India in the crucial years ahead. In a multi-lingual country like India where the sense of a common nationality is little more than a hundred years old, there is an ever-present threat of parochial loyalties steadily undermining the foundations of the national state. It is true that the exigencies of defence and the problems of economic growth, as also a number of all-India institutions including the universities and the national press, have so far kept regional rivalries within safe limits. However, in the final analysis there are only two agencies which can ensure the unity of a country and through which the forces of unity must operate and grow: the army and the intellectual élite. If the latter is fragmented through the regionalization of the university system, only the army can prevent the balkanization of India. Whether even the army, with its officer corps recruited from a linguistically fragmented society, can hold it together, would, from the recent experience of some African nations, appear not altogether beyond doubt. Apart, therefore, from the

question of the viability of Indian languages, one has also to see to it that the decision on the medium of higher education does not weaken the integrity of the intellectual élite of India.

Before the advent of the British, Sanskrit and later, to a certain extent, Persian provided the means to foster the growth and continuity of such an élite. It is also interesting to note that when Buddhist and Jain scholars switched over to Pāli and Ardhamagadhi, they soon discovered that they had thereby cut themselves off from communication with the Brahmin intellectual élite of their time. Since no political passions were involved in that age, they wisely reverted to the use of Sanskrit in order that scholars did not remain divided amongst themselves. Something similar characterizes our present situation. For the first time in nearly two thousand years the British, through the English language, created a truly all-India intelligentsia in the nineteenth century. Its members shared the same modern liberal values and provided leadership in the fields of politics, culture, administration, and the professions. Within a comparatively short time they created a nation out of a conglomeration of regional groups, which ultimately succeeded in offering united resistance to the continuation of foreign rule. Now that the British are gone, the political motivation for the maintenance of a unified intellectual élite is, unfortunately, a little less easily visualizable. But it is not therefore any the less necessary than before. No serious observer of the Indian scene during the last ten or twelve years will underrate the importance of a unified élite that is conscious of its obligations and adequately equipped, in respect of knowledge and attitudes, to discharge them efficiently.

It is not possible to ensure the continuity and growth of such an élite unless its members are able to share one another's experience, aspirations, and even frustrations through easy and frequent contacts during their formative years as well as in professional work. Which means that our institutions of higher learning should be all-India institutions not merely in name but in the composition of their staff and student bodies, and in the spirit of their functioning. This is not possible unless teachers and students, especially the better ones among them, are able to migrate from one university to another, and to feel at home everywhere in the country regardless of the language of the region. With growing industrialization such mobility would in any case become increasingly important, for more and more persons would work in Central services or business and industrial houses with all-India operations. Even at the state level, the exigencies of development will underscore the rather limited role of regional languages. In my opinion, this means that all-India institutions and at least some of our universities and colleges in every state should have a common language as their medium of education. Indeed, as the Education Commission recommends, even a certain proportion of secondary schools may have a common all-India language of education on these and other grounds.

Whether this language shall be English or Hindi has to be decided on the basis of academic and political considerations. If Indian intellectuals are expected to make a creative contribution to the growth of human knowledge, instead of merely acting as middlemen for the output of their confréres abroad, it is obvious that Hindi is as unsuitable for this role as any other regional language of India. What passes today as Hindi is barely a hundred years old and is poorer than some other languages like Bengali, Marathi, Tamil or Malayalam. On academic considerations, therefore, the choice automatically reduces to that of English. Besides being a highly developed world language, it also is an all-India language of longer standing, wider spread and greater following than Hindi outside the land-locked, culturally under-developed Hindi-speaking states. I, therefore, do not see any role for Hindi in the field of higher education in the non-Hindi regions of India. From a remark made by him during a discussion with members of the Maharashtra State Board of Literature and Culture at Bombay on October 6, 1967, Dr. Triguna Sen also would seem to hold the same opinion.

If, as Dr. Sen says, the Government of India's decision had really been based on educational considerations alone, his Lok Sabha statement of July 19 would not have mentioned Hindi at all. Instead, he seems to have been swayed by extra-academic, 'patriotic' considerations without, however, the courage to admit their presence. The generous but uncritical use of quotations from Gandhi and Tagore, including the former's comparison of the mother tongue with the mother's milk and advocacy of his own brand of Hindi as the link language of India in place of English, betrays an approach that is in no way more educational than that of the politician. But figures of speech can sometimes be a dangerous substitute for rational argument. They appeal to passion rather than reason, and may boomerang on those who use them. For instance, if as Gandhi said, 'I must cling to my mother tongue as to my mother's breast inspite of its shortcomings, for it alone can give me the life-giving milk', two questions have to be answered. First, even if the mother is healthy and well developed, how long should a child live on his mother's milk? Secondly, what happens if the mother is immature and under-developed and the needs of the child are far in excess of what she can meet? In either case, a child that clings to his mother's breast longer than is necessary is more likely to starve and remain stunted in his growth than to get the 'life-giving milk' of which Gandhi and those who exploit his name so uncritically talk.

The foregoing argument has a bearing not only on the mother tongue *versus* English but also on the Hindi *versus* English controversy. For most Hindus and quite a few Muslims (who, understandably, are anxious not to appear lacking in nationalist sentiment) it is axiomatic that in the course of time Hindi should replace English in *all* its roles as a link language within

the country. Politically, this may or may not be expedient—I personally think it would not. However, educationally and culturally there is little doubt that such a development would be suicidal for the country.

What then should we do? At the outset, we should realize that it is futile to think of a single link language for the whole country and at all levels of public life, in view of its uneven linguistic development and its varied needs. Even if, like Japan, India were a unilingual country it missed the bus a hundred years ago and would now have to adopt a different path from Japan's. Also, the fact that India is a multi-lingual country emphasizes the need for a reconciliation of conflicting claims, and, therefore, for a non-simplistic solution. And, finally, since India is committed to the democratic system of government, any solution that is ultimately adopted must respect the student's right to receive education in the language of his choice. It would not be proper to condemn his choice as motivated by considerations of employment or worldly success. All that society may legitimately demand of him is that he should have the necessary ability and the willingness to work for justifying his choice.

Certain conclusions would seem to follow from the position outlined above. For instance, students who wish to study through their mother tongue should be allowed to do so as soon as the necessary arrangements for it can be made. But, and this is equally important, those who wish to study through English should also receive the same consideration regardless of their mother tongue. It would be political coercion of a mean type to deny any legitimate facilities such as grants-in-aid, recognition, etc. to institutions which cater to their needs. The unjustified advantage that English—or, for that matter, university education itself—is supposed to enjoy in matters of employment and promotion can easily be neutralized to a large extent by state governments' instituting their own tests for evaluating the job competency of a candidate, regardless of the formal education he may have received. This would also improve the quality of administration besides reducing the pressure on universities, since for most posts in government service the skills that are required are, in any case, not part of a university's job to impart. The comparatively few posts for which English would be required would also be the posts in which an officer should look upon himself as a member of an all-India service, in spirit if not in name, and must possess a high moral and intellectual calibre. In the absence of the latter, mere knowledge of English would be no advantage to him. And if his intellectual calibre is of the standard required for his work, the study of English would have presented no difficulty to him.

There would still remain the preference shown by private employers for candidates who have a sound command over English. However, unlike government, they are not easily swayed by sentiment. They know what skills and abilities their employees should have, and are conscious of the price that must

be paid for them. One may, therefore, assume that if they prefer men who have studied through English, they really need them in the interests of work and efficiency. Which would only mean that beyond a certain limit, English cannot be replaced without detriment to the country's economy.

The preceding argument would suggest that English will have to continue as the language of the higher levels of national life. These would include business and industry, inter-state and Centre-state communication, and the working of all-India institutions in the fields of education, culture, and scientific research. With none of these is the average citizen, let alone the simple peasant, directly concerned. There is therefore no all-India role that Hindi can usefully play in higher education or even mass communication. The only exception would be that of the films, where, however, there is little that government or the universities can do. The Education Commission's recommendation that in course of time Hindi should replace English as the all-India link language, and particularly in all-India institutions like the 'major universities', is obviously inspired by a concern for something other than the quality of education. The question here is not that of having a sufficiently long time limit for such a change-over, but of frankly recognising that English has to have a permanent place in the higher life of the nation. Nor should there be any heart-burning over this on the ground that English is not indigenous to this country. We see nothing wrong in the adoption of western science and technology, western concepts of jurisprudence, political and social justice, western institutions, even western modes of food, dress and marriage receptions. To adopt a different standard in the matter of language for purposes that English alone can serve is to betray confusion, if not lack of honesty, in one's thinking.

There is another point which needs to be considered in this context. It is often argued that education through English has prevented the diffusion of knowledge among the common people and has alienated the intellectual élite from their countrymen. One has only to look to the social and cultural history of the preceding hundred years to realise how misconceived both these charges are. Also, the diffusion of knowledge pre-supposes a certain attitude to knowledge and to men of scholarship on the part of the common people as well as the ruling class. The growth of such an attitude is, among other things, a function of the spread of education and the expansion of the economy. Both these are a slow process, whose pace depends much more on sociological and economic factors than on the attitude of the intellectual élite.

Secondly, what precisely is meant when one talks of the alienation of the élite from the common people? If 'alienation' means a state of being in which the individual has ceased to share the values, beliefs, and interests of his society, the Indian intellectual is hardly alienated from the ordinary people of the country. On the contrary, he needs to be alienated considerably more than he is today if he is to serve his people in any significant sense. However, if the word is used

to connote a certain type of ego-centric and anti-social attitude, the truth is quite the opposite. Anyone who reviews the developments of the last twenty years will easily discern a direct correlation between the growth of regional and linguistic chauvinism and slogan-mongering, on the one hand, and the steady deterioration in the standards of public life, on the other. The responsibility for this lies squarely on the shoulders of the politicians of the post-Independence breed. Their regression to the pre-English moral and cultural genotype has even corrupted the universities and the civil service, which together could have otherwise played a unique role in the modernization of Indian society. If this has happened inspite of a long chain of modernists from Rammohun Roy to Jawaharlal Nehru' it is inspite of—not because of—English education in India. English, as Vishnushastri Chiplunkar put it nearly a century ago, is like the 'milk of the tigress'; the Hindu tradition succeeded, almost effortlessly, in diluting it into that of the cow.

Apart from chauvinism, there are two other factors behind the opposition to English and demand for its total replacement by an under-developed but autochthonous language like Hindi. They are the emotional need of the educated middle class to establish a linguistic self-identity for the nation, and an obsessive preoccupation with a doctrinaire notion of equality. The latter has already worked havoc in the economic sphere, and is reflected in the demand for neighbourhood schools and the politician's contempt for the intellectual élite. However, such an attitude, besides undermining the prospects of development, is bound to harm the interests of talented children from underprivileged social groups, especially from the countryside. For no matter how the government decides the fate of English, the upper and urban middle classes will see to it, if necessary, through private arrangements that their children are properly educated in English. But who will nurse the talent of a potential Ambedkar? It was consideration of this nature that made the late Mr. Shankarrao More, a founder of the Workers' and Peasants' Party and later a Congress member of Parliament from Maharashtra, condemn as anti-people the decision of Mr. B. G. Kher's ministry to reduce the period of teaching English at the school stage. And whatever else one may say of the Shiv Sena in Bombay, its leader has shown remarkable wisdom in demanding that Maharashtrians should not be denied the opportunity of studying through English.

It would thus appear that while a majority of university students may receive education through their mother tongue, a certain proportion would do so through English. These would include students of three types, the most important being the talented students out of whose ranks would come the leaders of tomorrow in different fields of public life. There would also be the students whose mother tongue is different from the language of the region in which for some reason or another they happen to live. Their number will

steadily go on increasing with growing industrialization and the expansion of the government sector in the economy. The mobility promoted by this process should be a welcome development in favour of modernization and national integration, provided we adopt the right type of employment and educational policies. Besides these two groups, there will also be some students who may wish to study through English even if their mother tongue is the same as the regional language. As argued earlier, they should have the freedom to do so provided they satisfy the norms that may be laid down for admission to an English-medium college or university class.

This would mean that, like all developed countries, India too would have two systems of higher education, whether or not it prefers to recognize the fact without ideological inhibitions. One system would cater to the needs of students with what one may call 'first-degree' aspirations. It would have the regional language as the medium of education in most of its institutions. The comparatively few, working through English, would enrol students of the third type described above and those of the second type who are not eligible for admission to institutions meant for talented students. The other system would have English as the sole medium of education and would take up only talented students. This would ensure that the scarce human resources of the nation are not wasted through such students being required to take a mediocre academic programme with ordinary ones as at present. Talented students coming from backward families with inadequately developed skills of communication may be given a special course in English for a period of six months or a year before they embark on academic studies proper. Whenever necessary, they should receive generous scholarships from public funds so as to cover not merely their fees but all their expenses as well, and, in certain cases, even a subsidy to their parents whose earnings would otherwise have been augmented by the student's working in the field or the factory. The number of such students will not be unmanageably large even for a developing country to support. If necessary the scholarships may be treated, partly or wholly, as loans to be repaid in easy instalments after the student begins to earn. The point is that, as the Soviet Union long ago recognized, human talent is too valuable a resource even from the purely utilitarian point of view to be allowed to go waste in the name of language, finance, or ideology. If India is ever to move up from its present position in the rear of the procession of mankind, some such policy would appear to be inescapable.

This latter system should cover the whole country, by having at least one university with English as medium of education in each state, so that no regional group is denied the opportunity for the intellectual development of its youth. It should have the highest possible standards of student enrolment and faculty recruitment, and should consist of institutions specially created for this purpose. This is where, incidentally, the proposal made here differs from the

Education Commission's recommendation regarding 'major' universities.

In suggesting that some of the existing universities should be developed as 'major' universities, the Commission seems to have underestimated the extent of institutional conservatism, especially in the academic field in India. Indian universities suffer from a hardening of the arteries due to age or congenital defects. It is futile to expect them to improve significantly in a reasonably short period of time. It would, therefore, be best to set up new universities instead of wasting resources and time on the existing ones. Also, these new universities should be free from the pressures of the Union or state governments and the political market-place. This can be ensured if they are looked after by the University Grants Commission or enlightened private foundations like the Tata Trusts rather than by the Ministry of Education at the Union or state levels. Experimentation would then have a better chance, and, combined with a concentration of talent, it may at last provide a break-through in the field of higher education. Even if the government is not able to accept such a suggestion, there is no reason why Indian industrialists should not take it up. Over the years they have spent crores of rupees on politicians and political parties for purposes that had little to do with the interests of the country as a whole. Here for once is an occasion when they can honestly serve the country's interests and their own and when neither of them can be served in isolation from the other.

It may be argued that a dual system of higher education like the one suggested here will lead to the emergence of a new 'caste' (that of the intellectual élite) in the country. I would concede the charge, but with one qualification. This 'caste' would be a functional group, neither hereditary nor bound to any regional or linguistic community. Also, entry into it would be open to any aspirant provided only that he has the talent for it, and that the government of his state or of the country gives him the necessary economic assistance in the form of a scholarship. Such a 'caste' need not cause anxiety to anyone except those whose survival in public life depends on the exploitation of parochial loyalties. It is only the students of the regional universities who may have a plausible ground for complaint. But their complaint would not be legitimate, for if they met the intelligence test nothing else would prevent them from exercising a free choice. Equality, in education at least, should mean equality of opportunity, not of forced intellectual under-development.

The solution suggested here takes account of the aspirations of the average citizen without sacrificing the immediate or long-term interests of the country. Such a reconciliation of apparently conflicting claims is necessary in India's educational policy because unlike the UK and the USSR, we have chosen to adopt the American attitude to university education. The policy of selective admission recommended by the Education Commission is selective only in name, and is likely to remain so for a number of years to come. For after twenty

years of unplanned and unrestricted expansion of higher education it is too late now to think of following a really selective admissions policy. Nor, in the absence of adequate alternative routes to gainful employment and social status, is there anything wrong in the spread of higher education even of diluted quality among social groups to whom access to it was till recently denied. What is necessary is to ensure that the process of expansion does not swamp quality or make unduly difficult the task of raising it to international standards. Any policy that fails to meet both these needs of the Indian situation is foredoomed to flounder either on the rock of populist sentiment or in the struggle for survival with honour in the modern, competitive, world.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms,* Vol. 3, 1957, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, p. 331.
2. J. Robert Oppenheimer, "Science and the Human Community" in *Issues in University Education,* ed. Charles Frankel, Harper & Brothers, p. 62.
3. P. R. Brahmanand, "Utilitarian Language" in *The Times of India,* Bombay, August 13, 1967.
4. Cf. 'India can learn how to solve the language problem from the Soviet Union.. ..The Russian example was a great one'—Professor A. R. Wadia in an address to the Rotary Club at Bombay, reported in *The Times of India* of August 23, 1967, after a four-week (*sic*) tour of the USSR as member of a cultural delegation sponsored by the University Grants Commission.

   'Dr Sen said that education and a sense of national unity had solved the language problem in the Soviet Union. Although there were 63 languages in the USSR, there was a deep feeling of oneness among all....Dr Sen said in this connexion that India could profit to a great extent in solving educational problems from a study of the Soviet educational system. Particularly, the Central Asian Republics of the USSR faced about 50 years ago the same problems as India was facing now'.—*The Statesman,* Calcutta, November 3, 1967. Dr Sen, it may be mentioned, was giving press interview after a two-week (*sic*) tour of the USSR.

   It is not known whether Professor Wadia or Dr Sen know Russian and were allowed by their hosts to see things for themselves without being constantly chaperoned by official guides and interpreters. However, there are at least a dozen studies in English from which they could have learnt more about the USSR than from a conducted tour.
5. Walter Kolarz, *Communism and Colonialism*, 1964, Macmillan, London, p. 26.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
7. Robert Conquest, *The Soviet Deportation of Nationalities,* 1960, Macmillan, London, p. 123.
8. Walter Kolarz, *op. cit,* p. 37.

9. Maurice Friedberg, "On Reading Recent Soviet Judaica" in *Survey*, 62, January 1967, pp. 168, 175.
10. A. de Vincenz, "Recent Ukranian Writing" in *Survey*, 46, January 1963, p. 149.
11. I would like to make an exception of the study team led by Dr. Humayun Kabir to the USSR in 1956. Its report is more balanced than the gushing effusions of later-day visitors.
12. The translation of J. K. Galbraith's *The Affluent Society* by a senior teacher of economics who is also a prominent creative writer and literary critic in his language is full of mistakes, which can only be attributed to the poverty of the language in question or to the carelessness of the translator. I am inclined to believe the first explanation.
13. For instance, Dr D. S. Kothari on physics in Hindi, Professor D. R. Gadgil on economics in Marathi, Professor Umashankar Joshi on literary criticism in Gujarati, Professor Daya Krishna on philosophy in Hindi, Mr. J. P. Naik on education in Marathi and Dr Triguna Sen on engineering in Bengali. It is curious that few Indian scholars who advocate the adoption of Indian languages as media of education have cared to write any text-books in these languages. On the contrary, Professor R. Bhaskaran has written a text-book in Tamil on politics. The present writer too is co-author of a text-book in Marathi on the calculus, published about twelve years ago, and was, partly at least, responsible for the establishment of the Samaj Prabodhan Sanstha, an institution at Poona which during the eight years of its existence has brought out more than thirty books in Marathi on a variety of subjects ranging from public opinion to relativity and cosmology.

SHIVENDRA KISHORE VERMA

Problems of Teaching Hindi as a Second Language

AN attempt is made in this paper to examine some of the problems of second language teaching (with special reference to the teaching of Hindi) within the general framework of Applied Linguistics.

It is a commonplace of Applied Linguistics to set up such dichotomies as first *vs*. second language, native *vs*. foreign language, L1 *vs*. L2. The first language (or L1), it is normally said, is the language first acquired or learnt by the pupils; all other languages are non-first or second (or third...) languages. A native language is generally the mother tongue; all non-native languages are foreign languages.

The purpose of this paper is to suggest a somewhat different approach to this problem. The first language is the language of our home, of our family, the language which we use to communicate with our near and dear ones. This language is our 'primary' language; we are said to be the native speakers of this language. All other languages are second or secondary languages. It may be useful to subdivide the secondary language into foreign and non-foreign languages. German, Russian, Hungarian, Chinese..., for example, are foreign languages *in our linguistic context*, but Marathi or Gujarati is not a foreign language to the native speakers of Hindi.

Languages ———— { First / Second ———— { Non-foreign / Foreign

The word 'foreign', it is to be noted, has not been used in a narrow geographical sense. 'Foreign' here means a non-contact language. To a Hindi-

speaking child living in Germany, German will be a second/secondary language, not a foreign language. Tamil may, on the other hand, be a foreign language to a Maithili-speaking child who has never come in contact with Tamil.

'English in India' poses an interesting problem. It is not a foreign language in the sense in which German or Chinese is a foreign language; it is not a native language in the sense in which Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, Bengali etc. are 'native'. Since English has been with us for a fairly long period of time and has yielded an offspring, i.e., Indian English (which is supposed to be the effective first language of certain groups of people), we should treat it as a second language—a variety of the parent language with a distinct Indian flavour. There is another powerful linguistic reason for treating this 'variety' as one of the languages of India—here is a language which is used effectively by a community of people at different levels of communication.

In fact there isn't any real dichotomy between the first language and the second; it is a cline, a continuum. What we call our second language today may under political and social pressure change into our first language tomorrow. A Bhojpuri-speaking pupil may—when he is admitted to a Degree Course at the Allahabad University—relegate his Bhojpuri to a restricted use and make effective and normal use of Hindi. This shift from the habitual use of one language to a more prestigious language is quite common in bilingual situations.

Teaching a second language in a multi-lingual and multidialectal situation is a very complex affair indeed. Our Bhojpuri friend speaks Bhojpuri at home, Hindi on the University Campus, and is learning English as a library language—a language of science and technology. His English is partly influenced by his Bhojpuri and partly by his Hindi, which is already influenced by his Bhojpuri.

In this language-teaching operation there are potentially four different languages—the language of education, the language of instruction, the language of the pupils, and the language being taught. Our basic problem here is to relate the language being taught to the other three languages. If the language being taught is not the language of the pupils, we are in a second/foreign language teaching situation—a situation in which all experience is classified, systematised, and explained through the medium of the ordered series of scattering and filtering processes that we call our second language. There are two components of this operation—knowledge of the language system and the knowledge of the uses of the system..... 'knowledge of the system means the ability to encode and decode: to perform the highly complex series of resolutions whereby meaning is encoded as sound and sound is decoded as meaning. Knowledge of the uses of the system means the ability to exploit the former knowledge, the knowledge of the system, for the full range of purposes to which it is adapted, in the community; including, therefore, the ability to make use of one's knowledge of the system for learning, for the structuring of experience. One acquires the language system through mastering its use,

and one extends its use by acquiring more of the system; the two go together, in general, in the language learning process' (Halliday, 1967).

The problems and processes of teaching a second language are not co-extensive with those of teaching a first language. In studying the latter the pupils have an in-built feeling for language, whereas in studying the former they do not have this native feel; they have to simulate it. In teaching Hindi as a first language we should realise that the learner already knows the language. By the age of 5-7 he has the competence to manipulate the chain and choice relations obtaining in his 'restricted' language. In his actual performance he does make errors which may be related to false analogy :

e.g.(i) *mãine a:m la:ya :
on the analogy of—
mãine a:m kha:ya:

(ii) *mãine ra:dha:ko apni: ra:ni: bana:i:
on the analogy of—
mãine ra:dha: ko apni: ra:y di:

when we are teaching the first language, we are concerned largely with (a) exposing the child to a new medium (i.e., written form),(b) helping him use the in-built patterns of the language carefully, (c) enlarging the range of his familiarity with lexical compatibility and incompatibility, (d) giving a boost to his confidence in the use of language, (e) introducing him to new registral varieties of his language, and (f) teaching socially acceptable attitudes to various types of written texts (literature, etc.).

But in teaching a second language we are trying to introduce into the nervous system of our pupils a new phonology, orthography, grammar and lexis, i.e., a new set of linguistic habits in a new set of cultural patterns. In fact, we are building in a new set of choices and restrictions. This is a situation of 'languages in contact'—of learning a set of new habits against the background of already settled native language habits. It has been seen that if this set of new habits is introduced fairly early, i.e., by the age of 7 or 8, it can peacefully coexist with our native language habits, and that if both the languages happen to be prestigious languages and are learnt simultaneously, the pupils can show a remarkable facility in switching from one language to another or even in keeping the two entirely separate and using them for different purposes. This type of bilingual functioning has been labelled 'co-ordinate bilingualism'. But if this set of new habits is introduced after the age of 11 or so, it creates multifarious problems; for the pupils tend to categorise their experience in terms of their first language and then look for translation equivalents and formal correspondences in the second language. This second grouping of his surroundings and experience cannot be made in the same way and under the same

conditions as the first. Hindi speaking students learning English as a second language come out with such expressions as—

*I am writing from nine this morning.

In English the choice between 'am writing' (present progressive) and 'have been writing' (present perfect progressive) is cotextually and contextually restricted. The former goes with adverbials indicating either present or future time (e.g., I am writing *now*; I am lecturing *tomorrow*), the latter with prepositional phrases indicating a point or period of time anterior to '*Now*' (e.g., I have been writing since nine this morning or I have been writing *for* two hours). In Hindi we normally use the 'raha:' form in both contexts—

*mãi abhi: *likh raha: hũ:*

*mãi subha nau baje se *likh raha: hũ*.

Hindi has only one form corresponding to which there are two forms in English. Similarly, corresponding to 'se' in Hindi, there are two items in English—'since' and 'for'.

In learning Hindi as a second language, one has to make a choice between ne-subject and non-ne-subject. One of the obligatory consequences of this choice is making a choice between perfective and imperfective verbals and again in the perfectives between the ne-type and the non-ne-type. Only the ne-perfectives can co-occur with ne-subjects. This is one big problem in teaching Hindi as a second language. Tied up with this is the problem of concord—intra-phrase and inter-phrase. The fact, that the choice from the interpenetrating systems of number, person, gender, and case is made at more than one place in sentence structure, is something which a teacher has to present carefully and in a graded manner.

Learning a second language is motivated by two main forces. (a) Firstly, by socially generated urge to communicate with people around you—when a native speaker of Tamil or Kannada is transferred to Allahabad or Benaras or Lucknow and has to live in the midst of a Hindi-speaking community, he makes all possible efforts to learn Hindi, for without Hindi he may find it pretty difficult to do even his ordinary shopping. On the other hand, there is a peculiar situation in the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad. Like all other cosmopolitan cities, Hyderabad too has a multi-lingual population with Telugu as the dominant official language. I have been in Hyderabad for over a year now, but I haven't so far felt any compelling urge to learn Telugu, for with my Hindi I can comfortably find my way into the socio-economic complex of life. (b) Secondly, by the desire to use a prestigious language. Even today English continues to enjoy a special status and prestige in our socio-economic complex. If you have a fairly reasonable command over this language, you can climb up the social ladder, get into chartered

commercial services and All-India services, move from state to state easily. Good English is supposed to be a pre-requisite to social advance. No Modern Indian Language has so far had the privilege of enjoying prestige and status on an all-India basis.

One of the remarkable by-products of this co-existence of a prestigious language with the native languages has been the tendency to fit the foreign/second language lexical items into the grammatical framework of the native language. I have heard sentences like— "yah institju:t apne fi:ld mẽ baṛa: ju:ni:k hai". This kind of a lexico-grammatical mix-up of items from contact languages is quite common in a bilingual situation.

The teaching of Hindi as a second language is an inter-disciplinary activity and has a number of facets:

A Linguistic Problem : It is a linguistic problem. Descriptive linguistics can provide data that may help to make teaching materials more effective. It can help us with the decision about which form of Hindi is more appropriate than another in a given teaching situation. It can provide us with a chain-exhaustive and choice-exhaustive description of the variety of Hindi thus chosen. It can also help us describe the pupil's mother tongue and make a bilingual comparison of the mother tongue and the target language. A good linguistically oriented description of the language will help the pupils understand the problems of gender, use of 'ne', intra-group and inter-group concord. A note of warning here. Contrastive studies are not meant for the pupils; they are meant for the teachers and text-book writers who would use these findings in staging and sequencing the teaching materials.

A Pedagogical Problem : It is a pedagogical problem and involves a number of processes—'limitation' (initial selection of a variety of Hindi and restriction to particular registers and styles), 'grading' (staging and sequencing of items), 'presentation' (involving use of new and linguistically oriented techniques in the preparation and presentation of teaching materials—also the use of such teaching aids as gramophone, tape recorder, language laboratory, audio-visual presentation, film-strip, sound-films, radio, televisions, teaching machines, and programmed instruction), 'testing' (construction of suitable tests to measure competence and performance). 'Teaching the ability to use a second language involves a partnership between linguistics and methodology, but it is a partnership in which the responsibility differs at various points in the business. Near the top, linguistic carries more weight; in the school classroom, teaching method is more important' (Stevens : 1963). Our linguistic categories must be based on good linguistics, our practical teaching operations must be based on good methodology.

Our biggest problem is : *which Hindi*? Eastern Hindi? Western Hindi? Dakshini Hindi? So far as grammar and lexis are concerned, we would teach

standard Hindi (or Khaṛi Bolī), but for accent we would have to accept a variety having an all-India intelligibility.

A Psycholinguistic Problem : It is a psycholinguistic problem, for a teacher can only educate his pupils if he knows what intelligence and feelings, will and character, are, and if he knows precisely what stages pupils pass through in their psychological development. 'Without using the data of psychology, in particular the psychology of foreign language teaching, there cannot be any question of the method of teaching foreign languages possessing a scientific foundation' (Belyayev: 1963).

An Organizational Problem: It is an organizational problem, for much will depend on the availability of linguistically oriented (i) syllabus, (ii) text-books, (iii) teacher training programme, and (iv) examinations. Educational administrators must be ready and willing to put into action the new schemes for improving language teaching.

The teaching of Hindi as a second language is a highly specialized task. The main features of this task may be summarized as follows : (a) producing good descriptions of Hindi, and comparisons of Hindi with the other Indian and foreign languages, (b) writing a series of graded readers with teachers' handbooks and pupils' workbooks, (c) revising our syllabus, (d) giving our teachers rigorous training in the methodology of second language teaching, (e) making our examinations more realistic and skill-oriented, (f) organizing seminars and workshops for in-service teachers and (g) setting up a clearing house for storing and transmitting useful information regarding the teaching of second languages in general and the teaching of Hindi as a second language in particular.

R. K. YADAV

Media of Instruction in India

MAN is a tool-bearing animal. Of all the tools his inventiveness has given him, language is the most important. Although a product of man's inventiveness, language enhances his inventiveness. Be it the cause of, or the result of his reflective power, language is involved in all social activity.

Words are arbitrary and conventional signs for ideas and objects, and one way of representation may be as good as another. 'Language is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols'. But to every people their own system appears to be the best and evokes the closest identification. A noticeable change in language habit is tolerated as a felt need, or stoutly resisted and resented as an interference. On the other hand, as a result of diverse and rapid changes in the material and non-material aspects of culture, especially in the modern times, languages must be adapted like other tools to new tasks. Unlike other tools, language is the least amenable to quick and far reaching change. This is a real dilemma. Harsh choices have to be made and a proper climate has to be created.

In dealing with language problems, therefore, foresight, flexibility and gradualism remain important. Changes in the medium of instruction in higher education, which is a closely integrated system, impinge upon the education of the teacher, reading materials, terminology, academic and professional standards, secondary schools etc., and should, therefore, be well considered, and introduced after a great deal of preparatory work.

In this respect, the Vice-Chancellor's Conference has given a correct lead by endorsing that 'the programme of change-over to regional languages

as media of education will have to vary from university to university, from subject to subject, and even from institution to institution, in the same university. The criteria in each case should be that the change-over helps, at every stage, to raise standards'.

The Union Education Minister has rightly said that there was no easy solution to the question of the regionalization of medium for higher education, and he expects to reach it 'by a succession of compromises, hoping that each new compromise would be easier of achievement than the one before it'.

It is too late, some will say too early, to pass judgment on India's commitment to linguistic states; but many sympathetic and discerning foreign commentators as well as Indian leaders, who had zealously espoused the cause and worked for it, find the result disappointing. Perhaps it solved some problems: certainly it has created new ones. What problems the latest commitment to regional media is going to solve, and what opportunities it is going to open up for higher education? What new serious problems will arise and how to remove the difficulties which are most likely to prove restrictions on the use of the new media? What conditions should be fulfilled so that we don't muddle on, but muddle through?

These are large questions. This paper is concerned mainly with the implications in the field of education proper; although it is obvious that the quality of political leadership, the tempo of industrialization, economic growth, etc. determine largely the theory and practice of education.

Criticizing the isolation of university education in India from the important concerns of national life, Tagore once compared it with a railway train which rushes through the countryside in the darkness of the night. For a few moments the villagers gaze in excitement and wonder at the flickering lights, which soon disappear into the distance. Education through a foreign medium, it is felt, fails to have a real impact on the most significant fields of national life. It creates misfits for society. Views expressed by the English specialists themsevles are very illuminating and interesting. Some Indians outdo the English in championing the cause of English. The real Englishmen, as Malcolm Muggeridge said, are found in India only !

Very often defective training in the mother tongue is the result of having a foreign medium of education. This, Michael West said, results in 'a certain emotional instability, a certain excess of negative attitudes, anti-something instead of patriotism, communal antagonisms, a certain inartistic sterility, but an excess of politics of a barren kind'. Education through a foreign tongue is likely to breed a parasitic class, an effectual élite which looks with disdain or condescension upon the struggles of the underprivileged. It is opportunistic and is not prepared to give any service to the community. In his book on the linguistic problems of newly independent states, issued under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations, London, in 1964, R. B. Le Page, says : 'very large

numbers of people in the world today are having laws and other social arrangements made for them in languages which they do not understand. Under such circumstances the bilingual who is familiar with one of the local languages and also the language of government becomes a necessary and invaluable go-between........He [a lawyer, or a civil servant, or a professional contact-man] will be reluctant to live any longer where he is probably most useful, among his own people, interpreting the government's plans to them and helping them to implement them; he will want a white-collar job in the capital and an office from which he need not budge except to go home. He will expect people to come to see him and will feel that putting something down on paper is equivalent to seeing that a plan is put into effect'.

The hope entertained in the early 19th century that knowledge gained by English educated Indians will 'filter' down to the common people was not fulfilled. Regionalization of the medium of instruction of higher education, it is said, will make the educated class have close identification with the common people. It will bring 'Indian-ness' in education, and thus promote national integration and development. Standards are expected to improve, because at present knowledge of the medium of instruction is mistaken for knowledge of the *subject*. The cost in terms of brain fatigue and time is indeed enormous. National prestige alone is a major consideration. All national communities try to have indigenous languages as media of education. Use of Indian languages as media can, no doubt, improve the quality of education and bring higher education within the reach of the common man. At present, only a fraction of what is called 'the pool of ability' has been tapped. It is difficult to see how a truly representative democratic set-up can function in a country where the language of administration and higher education is understood by one or two percent of the population. Perhaps many more weighty reasons can be given in favour of regional languages as media of instruction. But this most welcome change presents a serious challenge to Indian statesmen and educationists.

Development of a language is arrested if it is not used during a considerably long period for the serious purposes of social life. Languages in large regions of Asia and Africa stopped growing because the western powers, which dominated the areas, introduced their own languages for administrative and educational purposes. The modern Indian languages are now all too suddenly called upon to serve as media of higher education. A language does not develop unless it is used as a vehicle of expression at high levels. It is not acceptable as a medium if it is not recognizably a well-developed language. A new inexperienced maid-servant is not allowed freely to handle valuable gadgets and household articles. Unless she is accustomed to handling these, it is in vain to expect her to get over her initial awkward movements and inapt handling of such articles.

Such problems of developing languages were faced by many peoples, at one time or another. It is common knowledge that the most important international language of to-day, English, was at one time considered by the native speakers themselves as a vulgar tongue, too poor to serve as a good medium for writers and teachers, e.g., Roger Ascham and Francis Bacon. French, German, Russian, all had to pass through a similar phase. Terms had to be borrowed or coined and large scale translations were found necessary. In the case of India, however, the present-day situation is much more complex.

Now the work for translators has become infinitely larger, and because of the very rapid advance in science and technology, they will never catch up with the latest acquisitions to modern knowledge. Do we seriously think it would be possible to provide our university students translations in *all* the regional languages of the *latest* published material? In how many languages? The political pressures building up in the country indicate that the number of Indian languages which might be demanded as media of higher education would increase.

In most other countries the problem of the medium of instruction was, or is, a matter of building up *one* language to replace, or coexist with, an established medium, e.g., French against Latin, English against Latin and French, German against French, Russian against French and German in Czarist Russia, Afrikaans, or Welsh or Gaelic against English, Flemish against French in Belgium, Arabic against English and French in the Middle East. The cases of Malaysia, Ceylon, Pakistan and India are much more difficult.

In most of the recent cases, political rather than educational considerations have been the decisive factors. In India, it is said, that a mixing of political considerations and educational decisions, or considering together the official languages issue and the media of instruction, creates confusion. But now that education is seen as a powerful instrument of national development, most educational issues tend to have a dimension in the political situation. Even apparently trivial and purely educational matters like 'streaming', the 'prefect' system, teaching of classical languages etc. have an echo in politics. The change in the medium of instruction will deeply affect mobility of teachers and intellectuals, equalization of educational opportunity and unity of the country. Regionalization of the medium may be, as is claimed, a decision taken on purely educational grounds, but its political and social consequences must also be considered, if the decision is going to be implemented in right earnest.

The need for a common language for a national community is inescapable. To point to Belgium or Switzerland is irrelevant; and even there, lack of a common medium creates innumerable difficulties. The need for a common national language was felt in the U.S.S.R. even, in the thirties. The U.S.A. and Australia are committed to unqualified unilingualism. Not a single school or university uses a medium other than English, although there have been, and are, large compact groups speaking and using for literary purposes some

well-known and highly developed languages. And the *raison d'être* of this policy has been very candidly given. Theodore Roosevelt said, 'We have room but for one language here and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans of American nationality and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding house'. The reasons which were given in the Soviet Union were not very different. Lenin said, "In the interest of a 'united brotherhood' of all Russian's national groups, an 'opportunity' had to be offered to each nationality to learn the Russian language". Later, Stalin plainly said, 'A common language is one of the characteristic features of a nation'.

In discussions of media of instruction, these are very relevant, not extraneous, considerations. In India we may have fourteen or fifteen national languages; but one of these, to be called national or official or federal or union or link language, has to be more 'national' than others, if the not-so-strong unity of the country is to be maintained. This common language will ultimately be used, may be in a few decades, as the language of administration and also as the medium of higher education in the country. Choice of the national language is not like choosing the 'peacock' as the national bird of India.

Considering the vastness of our country, the composite culture of India and the use of some very old and well-developed languages, nobody can visualize, or wish, that these Indian languages would be elbowed out of use. Besides the common national language and these regional languages, one important international language, English, will remain important for a long time, and may become more important for most advanced scientific studies as years pass. Therefore, the main problem in India, as far as the media of instruction are concerned, is to reconcile the claims of three languages: the common national language, regional languages, and English. Some form of trilingualism is the only solution. Few will disagree with this view; especially if it is borne in mind that trilingualism does not imply *equal* command of three languages.

Who will learn, *which* of these languages, at *what stage*, to attain *what standards*? The fiercest controversies and the sharpest disagreements centre round the composition of this trilingualism. Educational and political considerations will decide the issue. But it is obvious that *all* will not need to learn Hindi and/or English, and that every Indian should have a good command of one regional language, especially now that the regional languages are going to be used in administration and higher education. From the original, the modified (1962), and the remodified (1966) three-language formula it is clear that school education should be through the mother tongue. When should the second and third languages be introduced? In what order? The subject needs a separate long treatment. However, the educationists or psychologists and linguists have expressed diverse views and shifted their grounds. Piaget,

McDougall, Dr. Penfield and others have expressed opinions which are different, and sometimes mutually conflicting; yet all based on evidence from research. In the field of social sciences research findings are often credited with objectivity and exactness which they have yet to earn. Moreover, it is difficult to give generalized principles applicable to different learning situations, e.g., very young children learning a foreign language as a skill, grown up students learning a language to follow writings and lectures for advanced studies.

In these circumstances, in the teaching of languages in multi-lingual communities what is practicable and needful should remain as important as the theories of learning languages.

In India, the second and the third languages should be introduced very late in the secondary schools or at the beginning of college education. In the light of the opposite view expressed by learned men and commissions, this suggestion perhaps smacks of temerity. But for a considerably long time students educated in schools through the regional language will have to transfer to a different medium of higher (or the highest!) education. Changing horses midstream may not be good; but it will remain unavoidable. All of course will not have to face this change-over. So even if early introduction of the additional language(s) is in the interest of some who will go for higher education, why should others be burdened? For English, Gandhi-ji said in February, 1921 : 'English is a language of international commerce, it is the language of diplomacy, and it contains many a rich literary treasure, it gives us an introduction to western thought and culture. For a few of us, therefore, a knowledge of English is necessary'. It is impossible to identify these few in the lower classes. But cannot these few, or many, learn additional language(s) if and as it becomes necessary?

It would be much easier to teach additional languages to this much smaller group of students who are highly motivated and intelligent, even though they are adolescents. Results achieved in the teaching of English to older students in Australia and U.S.A. are encouraging. Let some students learn, in addition to the regional language, English or/and Hindi, depending on individual taste, competence and professional needs. Because most educationists know that in view of the lack of finance, shortage of English teachers for juniors, almost total absence of modern audio-visual aids used in language teaching, paucity of suitable reading material—and all these difficulties are likely to continue for a long time—it is in vain to hope for satisfactory provision of proper language teaching, especially if all children have to learn English and Hindi early in schools. It should be remembered that most of the pupils are in schools in the countryside and small towns. The teaching of English there is bad and getting worse.

Those who have to learn an additional language can attend special condensed courses to acquire greater proficiency in written or spoken language(s).

'Generally, the adult has more to show after a three months' course at a Commercial Institute than an adolescent after three years' study of a foreign language in a British Secondary or American High School'. (*The Loom of Language*, p. 19.) Prof. J. D. Bernal wrote in 1956 after his return from a visit to China : 'The aim is not to learn the language adequately for writing or conversation, but just enough to read Russian for scientific purposes. Most Chinese scientists have been through such courses, and I gathered from those I met that as long as reading was kept up after the courses they were effective'. All this may be accepted with great reservations, and in India we should certainly aim at greater adequacy in learning additional languages. But it shows that even if these languages are not made compulsory and introduced early in schools, students, when they are interested in them and need them, can learn enough and soon enough, so that alternative or simultaneous use of two or three media would be possible. And this change or transfer from media must be made easy and will be very much in demand, because in India there are millions whose mother tongue may not be a regional language, or not the regional language of the place where they have to reside for long or short periods.

The chances of success of any language policy in a united India are dim, if we do not move towards a common terminology and a common script. Fellowship of intellect in the country will be largely ensured, and transfers from medium to medium will be facilitated, if the international terminology is accepted *in toto* for science subjects. The problem of media of instruction in India is similar, though in some ways only, to the problem in the U.S.S.R. Even though languages of some nationalities are used as media of instruction in higher education, terminology and script are, by and large, the same throughout the Soviet Union. Terminology and scripts in India are, again, subjects important and complex enough to deserve a separate and fuller discussion. But it is not difficult to see that even if the Indian languages are written in a common script and employ a common terminology, to the common people these may still look more or less different; but for educated Indians from different regions a good degree of mutual intelligibility will be assured. About some European languages, Dr. N. B. Jopson said something similar : 'a leading article in the Corrier della Sera is with but little preliminary study intelligible to newspaper readers of Madrid, Paris, Lisbon or even Bucharest', but 'a French peasant describing any of the usual incidents of a farmer's life would be almost wholly incomprehensible to the Spaniard, Portuguese, Italian or Rumanian'. To promote communication at the latter level in India we may not think of the media of instruction, but tours and travels, films and social mobility.

Language, Regionalism, Nationalism and Culture

SUDHIBHUSHAN BHATTACHARYA

Language and Regionalism

Like other social institutions language is conventional and has its own trends of growth and change. Like every other institution it imposes its patterns on those who are initiated into the language groups. But what is more important about language is that, apart from being a social institution by itself, language makes it possible for us to acquire all our social heritage and be full-fledged members of our respective societies. By social heritage is meant the common aims and aspirations, the common beliefs and knowledge of the members who make the human society. It is hereby where language appears as the greatest socializing factor. A society or community can not be formed without a language. We are proud of our social institutions and the constituent elements of our culture. It is therefore quite natural that we should have a greater softness for our language because of its unique position in our society and culture.

The legitimate pride in one's language would not have concerned us at all if there were a single human society in the world having a single language as its medium of communication. Unfortunately, this beautiful world of ours is split up into innumerable societies or communities which in their turn have given rise to a large number of languages and dialects. Members of each society believe that their tongues, like the other elements of their culture, are parts of their being, both physical and ideational. Here lies the seed of our social conflicts.

Linguistic parochialism and groupism are the manifestations of our social maladjustments which may lead to disastrous results. It is therefore worth while to consider how this social evil can be prevented. This problem

has a special bearing so far as India is concerned, because on account of her topographical barriers, vastness of size, population diversities and endless political changes, she has suffered from destructive fragmentations and unhealthy autonomy throughout her long history. Ancient India was not free from language controversies. Ideas contained in the phrases like *ārya vāk* "noble man's speech" possibly reflected the chauvinistic intolerance of the Vedic Aryans over other speeches, over the speeches of the pre-Aryan peoples in particular. But the prestige enjoyed by Sanskrit in those days suffered a little when Buddha did not find Chhandah a suitable medium for his new religion and recommended instead the use of the common man's speech. Most probably the common man in Buddha's region at that time used to speak in an older form of Magadhi, designated later as Pali. So this Magadhi became the prestige language among the Buddhists of the Older School. According to another Buddhist tradition Magadhi is the most original human speech which will be automatically learnt by a new-born baby if left in a jungle far away from human society. But subsequently when Hinduism reasserted itself, Magadhi's prestige was shattered to dust. We find it usually spoken by the *bhikkhus*, mendicants, beggars and low-class people in the Sanskrit dramas. In the *Garuda Purāṇa* (Purva Khanda, 98,17) the Brahmins were asked not to hear the Prākrit or Mḷeecha dialects for fear of degradation; (most probably, here the Brahmins were forbidden to hear any religious teaching in a Prākrit or a foreign tongue).

Language controversies in modern times are mostly a by-product of our new concept of nation or nationality, which assumes without much justification that a nation is a group of people having the same race, language and culture. Modern anthropological and sociological researches have shown that ethnic units based on race, language and culture need not coincide in the least. Even Risley who used the terms 'Aryan' and 'Dravidian' in a more comprehensive sense, admitted that he was warned by Max Muller against the confusion which might arise from using the philological terms to denote ethnical conclusions (*Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, I, xxxi, xli, 1891). But laymen are not interested in these academic subtleties. They still usually believe that a group of people speaking a distinct language or belonging to a separate religious group, should also be a distinct cultural and racial unit.

Laymen do not also realize that countless variations are possible in human speech. This is an argument against all linguistic narrow-mindedness. No two persons speaking the same language speak alike. We use our speech in a more or less individualized form. Even the father will differ from his son, and one brother from another brother in this respect. An individual's speech is called an 'idiolect'. On the other hand, two intimate friends may have greater agreements in their speech in matters of their pronunciation, use of idioms, slangs and other linguistic features and innovations.

Language being a great socializer, every kind of social grouping is likely to be associated with the development of some linguistic peculiarities. Even sex-groups, different age-groups and different occupational groups may have some distinctiveness of their speech. The linguistic distance between two groups of people is likely to be enhanced if they are quite distant from one another culturally, spatially or temporally, or if they happen to speak two languages belonging to two distinct families, when two groups of people speak mutually unintelligible tongues, they are said to speak two 'languages'. A language may comprise some mutually intelligible speeches with graded differences. They are technically called 'dialects'. Thus, Bengali and Hindi are two languages, because they are mutually unintelligible. In other words, these two speeches in their phonemics, morphemics, syntax and other linguistic matters, have sets of matrices which in most cases cannot be applied one into the other. As a result, the two groups of people do not understand each other's speech. But the term Bengali language which though strictly speaking, is applicable to the standard literary dialect and the standard colloquial dialect, of this speech, also expresses the different forms of speech spoken in the different districts and localities of the whole area which was once called 'Bengali', and also the tongues of some tribes inhabiting the borders of this area. These speech-forms are the different dialects of Bengali, all of which and the two standard dialects are more or less mutually intelligible speeches. As far as we have seen, the different Bengali occupational groups speak one Bengali dialect or another with characteristic variations. Technically speaking, what they speak are not dialects, but substandard dialects. The jargons, i.e., the specialized speech of occupational, professional, military, religious or scientific groups, and also the *argots* or *cants*, i. e., the speeches of the underworld groups in India (thieves, beggars, addicts, etc.), generally speaking, are to be classed as substandard dialects.

Leaving aside the idiolects, the infinite variety of speech-forms to be found in the different social levels in a single language often can be classified under three major heads, namely, language, dialect and substandard dialect. The variations in speech are associated with the concomitant variations in culture the correlations of which have not yet been fully explored. Thus, Bengali and Hindi are two distinct languages of the Indo-Aryan speech-family. Inspite of the family-likenesses in the culture of these two peoples, they differ from one another in many significant items of their culture, e.g., food, house type, customs, emphasis on religious practices, etc. A Bengali of Burdwan district, on the other hand, culturally will differ less from a Bengali living in Midnapur district. And a Bengali weaver of the Burdwan district is likely to have even fewer cultural differences with an oilman of the same district, unless all these people belong to two different religious groups. Conversely, for obvious reasons, the linguistic and cultural distance between a Bengali

and an Egyptian will be much greater than that prevailing between a Bengali and a Gujarati, or a Bengali and a Tamilian.

We have so far discussed the unique position of language in human society, and its diverse remifications in different social levels. The attitude of the different social groups to their respective speech types, be it a language, or a dialect or a substandard dialect, is not easy to judge without proper survey. It is likely that every one is quite conscious of the excellence of his own speech-type. But it also appears to be true that a speaker of a substandard speech has some softness also for his own local dialect, and both he and the speaker of the local dialect, will feel proud also of the standard dialect of their province. At present in India the linguistic parochialism *mostly* centres round the different state languages, although there are still some states in India lacking in such a native standard language (e.g., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh). Some of the states are named after the provincial languages, e.g., Assam, Orissa, etc. It is a fact that a common language stands as a symbol of the social solidarity of the people who speak it. A traditional language with its cultural accumulation in the forms of folklore and literature can provide the much needed sustenance to its speakers. In modern India our social structure is often also based on language endogamy. These are some of the reasons why we can not ignore the influence of our language in our mental make-up.

So long as our pride in our respective languages expresses itself in a healthy competition with people of other linguistic regions, and in nation-building activities taking into account the welfare of the whole Indian nation, it is not bad. But if this pride makes us selfish and narrow and incites us to work to the detriment of our national interest, it will land us in miseries. It has been shown by many illustrious sons of India, born and brought up in different parts of this sub-continent, that we may have a great natural love for our regional language and culture, but at the same time we may also be in ardent love with all the other patterns of Indian languages and cultures. Tagore was a great lover, and himself a great protagonist of Bengali literature, language and culture. But that did not prevent him from being a nationalist. Asutosh Mukerji introduced Bengali for the curriculum of Calcutta University for post-graduate studies, but he made it compulsory that the students should also study a subsidiary modern Indian language for their examination.

If we leave aside the question of great personalities, we find that even a common man of the rural side of India bears the image of the whole of India as his country. Not only the powerful kings in ancient India aspired to be the Emperor of the whole country by performing sacrifices, even an ordinary common Hindu of modern India will consider it an act of great virtue if he can visit all places of pilgrimage scattered all over the sub-continent. The toponomy and the peoples of India, described in ancient *Purāṇas* represent the whole of this country. And even today an ordinary Hindu, while performing

his *tarpana* with water oblation, will invoke all the big rivers of the north and the south. The five fundamental doctrines (of karman, of transmigration of soul, etc.) common to all the major Indian philosophical systems of India, and accepted by most of the branches of Hindu religion, have permeated through the whole of Hindu India both in the north and the south. If we read Indian literature in any of our regional languages, we will find more or less the same society and the same types of character, action and imagery. The diversities to be found in India are but natural and appear due to the vastness of this country and the various disuniting factors operating here from ancient times. But the unity we find here in the people's culture, language and philosophy of life, is unique and should be given a greater importance.

It is true that there are many mutually unintelligible languages spoken in India. The position has become more complicated due to their belonging to four major language families. But we should not put much emphasis on the genetic classification of Indian languages, because speakers of these tongues never lived here in perfect isolation. There has always been enough interaction among these languages. There have been both primary and secondary contacts among the speakers of these languages belonging to different speech families, which have led to much mutual influencing. All the Indian languages are, therefore, found now in a mixed state. If we apply the other two methods of linguistic classification, namely, topological and area, we will find that the Indian languages are much nearer to each other than are usually thought to be.

An analysis of linguistic regionalism will perhaps reveal that *ego* and *ignorance* are mainly at the root of this type of outlook. It is difficult to cure egotism. But we can surely fight against ignorance by spreading the knowledge about the different patterns of languages and cultures in India. Knowledge about them will undoubtedly increase a sense of toleration in us. We may utilize all the regional literatures and other media of mass communication for creating public opinion. Concrete steps should be taken to encourage contact and interaction among peoples of different regions of India. Steps should also be taken to rectify the popular notion that the Indian languages are divided into four air-tight compartments, called language-families. The similarities among the different languages of the same speech-family should also be demonstrated by us in the form of popular articles, and by compiling Comparative Basic Dictionaries. It may also be explained that the term *nation* is not applicable to the different language groups of India (e.g., the Bengalis, Punjabis, etc.) in the sense it is applicable to the English, French or German people.

Even mono-lingual countries like England, Germany, France and others are now realizing the value of multi-lingualism for the sake of a better understanding of their neighbours and the world. They are, therefore, encoura-

ging people of their countries to learn foreign languages. The Science of Applied Linguistics or Language Engineering, whose two important limbs are 'to teach a language to a non-speaker' and 'to learn a language other than one's tongue', has made important strides of progress in America, Russia and other progressive countries of the West. To know another's language is a great thrill. It also widens our mental horizon and gives us a first hand knowledge of another's culture. The Indian universities have already adopted a multi-lingual policy in their educational system. Our countrymen should be inspired to learn other modern Indian languages in their leisure. There should be institutions in all the big cosmopolitan towns of this country affiliated to a Central Body, for teaching different Indian languages to non-speakers. But the method of teaching these languages to non-speakers should not be the same old one of learning by rote. It should be based on the modern linguistic methods. We may speak from our own experience that to learn a few modern Indian languages for an educated person within a short time and without much exertion, is quite possible if the proper methods are applied. The science of Applied Linguistics should be developed to suit the Indian situation, and be used in teaching languages not only in the institutes mentioned above, but also in the schools and colleges.

GULABDAS BROKER

Language and Regionalism

THE problem of language is always a very important one. It goes back to the very roots of human civilization. The most fascinating study may perhaps be the study of how language developed. And the next in importance would be the allied one of how language came into being into the different regions of the world. The difference that the differing regions made into the pattern of language-formation and into the expression of some basic ideas and concepts is a field of study which has an ever-abiding charm of its own. Many scholars have devoted much attention to that branch of study, and every day new work is being carried on therein.

But at the present moment we are not concerned with that branch of the science of language. We are faced, in India today, with the very practical problem of the various languages that we have, and the various regions that claim some of these languages as their own.

It is all very well as it is. Regions are geographical and languages also have a geographical origin. So there is nothing wrong in regions having their own languages. Trouble arises only when those regions begin to quarrel among themselves on account of the different languages that they possess—each or some claiming that its or their particular language possesses some superior qualities, and thus is in a better position to see that no other language has advantages—imagined or otherwise—that their particular language cannot have.

This problem of many languages has been with us for a long time, but it has assumed an extraordinary importance since India had the temerity to divide its provinces on the basis of language. It gave rise to all sorts of problems and in some parts some blood was also shed. After that, while the

whole thing was on the point of cooling down a little, a new edge was added to the problem by the announcement of the present Central Minister of Education that regional languages shall, within a period of some years, be made the medium of instruction at all levels of education.

This announcement has given rise to a debate all over the country and all sorts of opinions are floated about, and all sorts of fears expressed. Some feel that if ever this reform comes into being it will lead to balkanization and disintegration of India, while others feel that it will make for a new spirit of unity, confidence and self respect, and for a great awakening among the masses.

But what we should consider here is the problem whether the regionalism and the chauvinism accompanying it is the result of different languages that we have, or whether this new spirit of linguistic chauvinism is the result of new forces of separation that have emerged during the recent past of our history. In short, what we have to consider is whether we can blame the different languages for the separatism that is evident to-day, or whether that separatism is there on account of entirely different forces, and the languages have become merely a handy victim on account of its manifest presence.

I do not think we can blame these forces of separatism and linguistic political opportunism for the presence of the different languages in India. India had all these languages all the time but very few people then felt either superior or inferior, blessed or besmurged on account of a particular language group to which they belonged. All people, though they spoke different languages and thought and wrote in them, felt that they belonged to one country, India, and that their supreme loyalty was to that one entity alone. Language or region offered no bar to patriotism then. A Rajguru could fight side by side with a Bhagat Singh or a Sukhdeo and they all could embrace death on the gallows with equal enthusiasm and pride. So it is no use blaming the different languages of India for the sorry spectacle of regional aspirations, ambitions and rivalries we witness today. On the contrary it was our proud boast in those days that our Mother spoke the same language through different mouths in a different manner, and that we owed our deepest allegiance to her and her alone.

Due to the differences in language, customs, and manners of living and thought India enjoyed a variety of cultural patterns that could be the envy of others. Life became diversified due to that, and through all the diversity a thread of unity that was the cultural heritage of India ran. That made it possible for a Brahmin from Madras to feel one with a Rajput from the western parts. For both that Brahmin and that Rajput worshipped the same gods, paid the same amount of respect to their parents and elders and had the same sense of honour where the dignity of their womenfolk was concerned.

The differences that were there were natural of course. Though we call India a country because it is culturally one and geographically compact, it is

almost a continent due to its size and the variety in its climatic and physical conditions. We fondly say that the British made a nation out of this hotch-potch of a widely divergent people, but then we conveniently forget that even before the British came, it had a cultural unity which was noticed by all the foreigners who visited it. Years before the British came the Sanskrit language had supplied a basis of cultural unity and intellectual intercourse. The Sannyasis that moved about through the length and breadth of India had no difficulty of discoursing on highly controversial topics among themselves and with the élite of the country who were interested in things that they discussed or stood for. The local language lent its own tang or twang to that language which served the purpose of linking up the cultural entity of the country together.

That, then, is the real problem. In spite of all the richness that the regional languages possess and all the varieties that they supply, if there is no language which can serve as a link between region and region, intercourse between one region and another would be difficult if not almost impossible. India cannot be the one great country that it is, if it is not united by a common tie which can be supplied by a language which people in all the regions acknowledge as the common link language. As Dr. Sankalia has so rightly put it, India has had periods of greatness in its history when there was a language which linked the country together. That language may have been Sanskrit in the days of its glory, or Persian in the days of the Mohammedans or English in the modern period, but without the unifying and edifying influence of a link language, India would surely be torn to pieces and divided in disparate parts.

So the most pertinent and potent question today before India is to find a language which all can accept as a link language for the whole country. This can be accepted only if no part of the country feels that its own language is superior to the languages of the other parts of the country. When we try to find out a common link for mutual intercourse we are not thinking of the superiority or inferiority of that medium, but we are only trying to find out a suitable medium which can be acceptable to all.

It is a fact, unfortunate though it be, that some language-groups think that their language is superior to the languages of the other parts of the country. At one all-India seminar I had the good fortune to learn from a speaker that his language had at the moment the most powerful literature in the east. My thoughts immediately turned towards Japan, where some literary persons have created masterpieces that are the envy of the outside world, but I curbed them. Another speaker was not so overwhelming, but he modestly claimed that his language was the sweetest language in the east. I could not vouchsafe for that because I could not make any head or tail out of the quotations that he made, but I thought in my modest way that if that was sweet-

ness my poor language also could claim some sweetness for itself.

This spirit of thinking that one's own language is of a superior quality comes much in the way of establishing unity on a regional as well as on an all-India level. This feeling persists because there is not much give and take between the different languages of India. That can be established if translations were freely made from one language into another. There is no doubt that in some branches of literature some language may have made a better progress than other languages, but then in some other branches those other languages may have perhaps something much superior to show. How is one to know about all this unless translations from one regional language into another are freely made and widely propagated. If that were done people would come to know that their own language only has not the monopoly of all the best that is written or thought about in India. When one realizes that, his sense of superiority vanishes and he can feel himself at one with the rest of his fellow countrymen. Even if he finds that some languages are really behind some others, his effort then would be to see that those languages were enriched, because then he would be knowing that if those languages are a little behind his own in certain respects some other languages are a little ahead of his own in certain others. I can say this with a certain amount of confidence because I am fairly in touch with some of the literatures in the northern languages of India, and I cannot honestly say that any one of those literatures is vastly superior to the literature of any other regional language. I do not know about conditions in the southern languages, but I do not think they would be very much different. It is ignorance that promotes so much of hatred and ill feeling and if that ignorance is removed much of that would vanish. Here, I do not blind my eyes to the political implications that have vitiated the atmosphere in the whole of India today, but I shall come to that a little later.

But, one may very well ask here, why bother about all these languages and create problems thereby and then try to solve them? If instead of that the whole of India had only one language, as many major countries of the world have, would not the position be very much better and would not all the quarrels about region and region and language and language cease? Would they? One may ask. If they would, there can be a case for that, though one would not know how that can be brought about with all the multiplicity of languages that we have, but even supposing that by some miracle we could arrive at a position where we have only one language for the whole of India, the position would not be entirely different. People have a tendency to form themselves into national, regional, provincial, and even smaller groups, and they have a tendency to quarrel and envy. People of England spoke the same language as the people of America. As a matter of fact Americans—a majority of them—came from the English stock in the early days. They

spoke the same language, but that did not stop them from having a big war from which America could wrest its independence. The Germans and the Austrians spoke the same language but that did not stop them from igniting the holocaust of First World War. Frenchmen have fought against Frenchmen and the Chinese against Chinese. National and pàrochial interests know no bonds in which language can bind them. These interests transcend whatever oneness a language can give, and the shallowness of the spirit endangered by those interests lie behind all quarrels.

Language, again, is not always the force for disintegration and disunity that it is supposed sometimes to be. When there is a common danger and where there is a common bond of oneness, different languages and regions do not matter at all. The whole of India rose as one man, in spite of all its internal differences when China attacked its borders. It showed the same spirit of unity and oneness when Pakistan attacked it. It should be said to the credit of the national spirit of India that at the time of the Pakistani attack India did not only overcome the barriers of different languages and regions but it also overcame the barriers of religion.

Apart from this sense of unity, the different languages and regions do not offer a big barrier so far as trade, commerce or industry are concerned. The Toyos of Japan were partners of the Poddars of Bombay, and the Marsdens of England were partners of the Manilals of Ahmedabad, many years back. The Poddars did not know Japanese perhaps, and the Manilals certainly did not know English. But why talk about them only? Traders from India are spread far and out in this wide world of ours and they are carrying on such a roaring trade in all those countries that their governments are one by one toying with the idea of driving the Indians out. These traders of ours have not gone and learnt at the universities of those different countries where they have gone to trade, but they have never found language a barrier to their vocation. It is a barrier that can easily be bridged.

Why then this hue and cry about the linguistic partition of India and the dangers inherent in the regionalism that is based on language? When we think about that, we come to the real crux of the problem, though an attempt is always made to shroud that real problem in a veil of mystery, slogans and shibboleths.

That problem is one of finding jobs for people of one region into other regions whose language may be different. At present that problem does not come in our way because English is the common link language of the educated people of the country, and therefore jobs where educated persons are required have an open field for all the Indians. When that link is snapped and only the regional languages come into their own, this problem will become a real problem. India is one because, inspite of all its multiplicity, that oneness is experienced by one and all, and free movement and employment any-

where is guaranteed not only by the Constitution, but it is a matter of everyday experience. If that link goes, what would happen is a real problem.

But, as we have seen earlier, India cannot do without a link language. Regional languages have a place and an importance of their own, but without a common link India would not for long remain one country. The question of questions is: should English remain the link that it has been so far?

English has attained its position of such great importance due to historical reasons. It was the language of the rulers of India and they made it the medium of instruction in our high schools and colleges. With the change that has come over India it is no longer possible, nor even desirable, that it should be the medium of instruction in our schools, for it is best for children to learn through the medium of their mother tongue. So far as higher education is concerned opinions are divided. Should a foreign language be for ever and ever the link that connects Indians with Indians? Is that morally correct and politically good ? Is that self-respecting also ? Is India so poor that inspite of all its plethora of languages it cannot find one language good enough to work as a link language? And are not the handicaps of a foreign tongue self-evident even in common and ordinary things? The advantages that English has conferred are many, but should the same advantages be a force for keeping us in bondage to a foreign tongue for ever?

If education at all levels is imparted in the regional languages the task of the link language will not be as great or as important as it is today. That language then would serve to make us understand each other in any part of the country and in some professions like law, for instance, that language may have to perform a higher function. But are the languages in India so poor that they can never perform this task? Should an opportunity be not given to them to see if they can do so?

One must not forget that high feats of engineering like the building of the Taj Mahal or of the rocking towers of Ahmedabad or of the resounding dome of Bijapur were performed in the days when there was no foreign language to guide us with their textbooks and their knowledge. Nor should one forget that most obstruse and abstract philosophical speculations were made in languages in India before one knew that there was a language like English. Also a high standard of efficiency in medicine and the arts was there for all to see.

If India could do these things in the past when forces of knowledge were not so vast, why cannot she do the same thing in the present day, and in the future, when knowledge has so much improved? She must be given a chance to do that.

That chance can be given to her only if we develop a link language of our own, because it can never be too much emphasized that without a link to bind her together India would be torn to pieces, and that link must be of Indian

origin only, not of a foreign origin if we want to stand with our heads erect in the assemblies of nations. No respected country except perhaps India talks in a foreign language in such assemblies. Pakistan of course does that, but Pakistan is a different matter.

What then must be the link language of India is a question that baffles all. Gandhi-ji and the Congress had for years said that the natural language for that purpose can be Hindi, or Hindustani only because it is spoken by a vast number of Indians. They never meant that Hindi was superior to other languages of India and therefore they had selected it to be the link language. The only reason why they said so was that it was a language spoken by many millions and understood by many more millions. One can see no reason why that stand should be opposed. The vast opposition that is gathered against it is due to two reasons. One is supplied by the protagonists of Hindi themselves. They have somehow or the other begun to feel, or at least they have made others feel, that their language is a superior instrument of knowledge, and that it will perform the same imperial function that the English language did formerly. That is entirely a wrong view, because nobody concedes that it is superior to other languages. It has only to perform a functional role of making each understand the other. And it has not to perform an imperial function at all. Today, if there is an Indian Empire, it is an empire of the people of India where all the people and all their languages are equal and important.

The other reason is the fear in the minds of non-Hindi speaking people, particularly the people in the south, that if Hindi is made the link language of India, they may lose many advantages that they have at the present moment. The Hindi-speaking people may, according to them, always possess a greater command and mastery over that language, and in a competitive examination it would mostly be they who would win. With English, the chances would be the same, but here the balance would be very much tilted in favour of the Hindi-speaking peoples.

I am certain that this fear is ill-founded. Language is an instrument which can be ably handled by the truly able only. In a competitive examination it is never only the fellow whose mother tongue is the medium of examination that wins, but it is the person who has the most knowledge. And friends from the south and from Bengal also, have proved their intrinsic worth in all spheres of life. If they have been able to master English, they will be able to master Hindi even more. In the scale of national balance, only ability would count and I do not think people have anything to fear on that score.

These difficulties and fears are, however, not imaginary but very real. But even so, one has to face difficulties and outgrow fears if one has to attain growth. The field is always open for the brave, and we should at the present juncture of our country be bold enough to take brave decisions. Here

I am not referring to the third factor which is a political one, whereby any instrument is good enough to beat the Congress with. But it is a temporary phase and must not be made much of.

The importance of English cannot and should not be minimized even if Hindi or any other language is adopted as the link language of India. It is a language of world importance and it should be studied as such. It is, to us, a window to the world. Our only demand is that a window should remain a window only, and not usurp the whole of the house. It should be made a very important subject of study, and in the higher classes it should be taught intensively so that through that language our people can get an inkling of what is happening outside. By and by, if we give a chance to our languages to develop enough, they also will perform the same function. It will of course take time, but then there is no help for it. When we have so many languages with us we cannot scrap them off, but we must make as best a use of them as we can and reap the best results therefrom.

That can be done only, if we are inspired by a truly national spirit, and really become one in spite of all the different languages that we speak. If we do that we can attain knowledge also, because knowledge, though some of it can be got through the medium of language, is in itself not language.

It is through superior knowledge, and not through a superior language, that the nations of the west have captured vast markets and vast horizons. When Japan or Russia attained knowledge of that kind they too became powerful and redoubtable. If they could attain knowledge through the medium of their own tongues, why can not we do the same?

They had only one language, some would say. Japan had, but not Russia. If they have made Russian the link language for all parts of Russia, why cannot we do the same by making one of our languages our link language?

We should face facts as they exist. We are a multi-lingual country, it is true, and we are a poor country too. This fear of getting or not getting a job or an employment springs out of that poverty of ours. But once we took courage in all our hands and began to work, poverty would be vanished and then these languages which have created a narrow regional spirit, instead of being the curse that they seem to us today, would seem to us to be the manifestation of the rich variety of cultural patterns and modes of living and thought that we have developed. Let us hope that day dawns very soon.

MANMOHAN CHOWDHURY

Hindi-Hindustani

MANY ideas have been expressed here about the form and the content of the language to be used for all-India contact. At one end it is expected to draw upon the rich store of Sanskrit roots and words and naturally to be of a high literary style. At the other, the intermingling of people from all regions at the sites of modern industrial complexes etc. is expected to give shape to it. Various opinions have also been given out about the degree of admixture of words drawn from other sources it may tolerate. Many nomenclatures have also been suggested that seek to emphasise particular concepts about its form.

I feel that this variety of apparently divergent views illuminate important aspects of the problem, and need not lead to contradictory stands if we keep in view the ideas Gandhi-ji had about the nature of the language of all-India contact. Just now I am not in a position to quote him and am merely paraphrasing his ideas.

He held that it should neither be exclusively Sanskritised nor depend exclusively on Arabic and Persian sources. It should draw freely from both and also not hesitate to accept words from other sources. He expected that since it will be used by the people of the whole country, it will also be given shape to and enriched by words, idioms, imageries etc., introduced into it from the various regional languages.

This he named Hindustani to distinguish it from the Hindi and Urdu of the purists.

A living language has to be in use at every level of society and in all branches of human endeavour. So there is nothing surprising about its

having a low bazzar form as well as a high literary form. But the language as a whole benefits by innovations introduced at either end as well as at the innumerable intermediate points. This has happened and is happening in English. Many words found in scientific and technological works have been coined by practical mechanics and engineers. Similarly, concepts coined by scientists and philosophers sooner or later have found their way into common use.

So let us have a clear grasp of the complex processes which are at the root of the evolution of a language. I feel that this seminar has contributed substantially to such understanding.

HARJEET SINGH GILL

Language and Nationalism

In this brief communication, I propose to discuss the process of linguistic evolution towards a standard language which serves as a medium of national expression and the political consciousness of a people of the struggle that leads towards a separate and distinct cultural entity. The two basic phenomena at work that bring about this evolution are historical and political. The historical factor is very simple. Over a long period of time, the old standard language becomes so different from the current speech of the people that, first, it is not understood by the common man, and, secondly, it loses all relevancy to the fast changing cultural and social patterns. It was due to this factor that Sanskrit gave way to the Prākrits which eventually took forms of the modern north Indian languages. For the same reason, we have from old Dravidian, the present south Indian languages, and from Latin, what are known to be the Romance languages, such as French, Italian, Spanish etc. In every language or what I would call at this stage, a dialect-group, there grows a body of folk and religious literature as has been the case with most of the Indian languages, but the development and standardization of a language that serves as a medium of national expression is always due to a culturally and politically conscious effort of a people who aspire to be a nation, which has been the case with most of the European languages. The change from Latin to French was no doubt a result of the historical linguistic evolution, but the basing of standard French on the dialect of Paris and its adoption by the Sorbonne as a medium of all theological and scientific writings were primarily political decisions. This change was not a simple affair. The old doctors of theology and the magistrates, who were used to Latin, made fun

of the difficulties that the French translators and writers ran into, but the political decision had been taken and the stupendous efforts of the Parisians raised French to the literary level. At one time, the French language and logic became almost synonymous terms, and by the eighteenth century, French became the supreme language of culture and diplomacy of all Europe.

In the nineteenth century, a strong political wind of nationalism blew all over Europe, and with it came the obvious assertion of national languages. It was very clear to all those various regions of Europe that a foreign language could not be a medium of national expression.

A language is not just a sum of phonological and syntactic patterns, it is, above all, a cultural phenomenon. The majority of words in any language are 'concept words', which are imbued with the local cultural history and can never be translated in another language. For the correct and effective use of these words and idioms, a native speaker has a built-in advantage over a foreigner. Moreover, it is not simply a question of framing the so-called 'grammatical sentences', a language is an expression of tradition and culture, and its literature carries that legacy which must influence those who employ it as a foreign tongue. Linguistic ascendancy goes side by side with the political ascendancy. The realisation of these important facts gave rise to what we now know as the linguistic states of Europe.

Here are a few examples. During the Norman rule and soon after—when French was the official language of England—only peasants and servants spoke English in England, and it was, until the nineteenth century, considered a vulgar tongue by the sophisticated French. We know very well where it stands today. The emergence of German as a national language is as recent as the Napoleonic wars. When the Parisian snobs ridiculed the French written by the westernized Russians, Tolstoy, Turgenev and others turned to their mother-tongue and within the span of thirty years produced some of the world's greatest literary works. They all started from scratch and faced exactly the same problems that any emerging language and nation might face today. They all proved that after the initial set-back the progress is rapid, and the growth of a creative and positive nationalism becomes almost an historical inevitability.

Though the principles are clear and obvious from the above historical narration, the factors that helped this rapid development are not as simple as that. For nearly two hundred years, almost all the countries of Europe participated in the overwhelming industrial and scientific revolution, and at the same time profited heavily from the then popular colonialism. As the nations grew, so grew their languages. The political situation of the world today is quite different. The impoverished nations, rising slowly after centuries of foreign economic exploitation, are asked to stand on their own and develop as full-fledged cultural and political entities. It is quite a task. It requires

far more seriousness of purpose and action than was necessary in the old days.

Here I must say something about the modern social sciences. Basing its operations broadly on the principles of general linguistics, the importance of synchrony and structure, initiated by Ferdinand de Saussure, the social sciences have brought new insights to the functioning and nature of languages and cultures. The scholars do not any more discuss the role of 'conscience' or 'subject', rather they study the 'rules', the 'codes' and the 'systems'. The general approach is structural and descriptive, instead of being historical and dynamic. The so-called discovery of the arbitrariness of a linguistic or social or ethnic structure has put all cultures and languages at par with each other. This has, on one hand, revolutionized the whole academic and philosophic approach to civilization, on the other, has reduced the study of a language to the understanding of the grammatical constructs and the study of man and society to the solving of certain epistemological or ethnographic jigsaw puzzles. The current popular debate in Paris between the structuralists, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Michel Foucault, Jacques Lacan and Louis Althusser and the existentialist philosopher, Jean-Paul Sartre, is indicative of the problems that the social sciences pose to the modern man.

All approaches to life are conditioned by certain social and political factors. Sartrian existentialism was a direct result of the havoc caused by the Second World War and the pessimistic mood of the French during the forties. It called for a philosophical re-examination of the condition of Man under the then powerful moral and political organizations. It called for a change. The structuralist movement has grown out of the affluent France of the sixties and its most important influence is that the sophisticated Parisian girls are wearing tribal ornaments. Both these approaches are irrelevant to the Indian conditions. We must evolve theories according to our own needs and our own social and political set-up.

We have to realize that though it is instructive to study the primitive man and his language and culture, it must not become a stumbling block in the primordial task of nation-building. Let us not forget that the countries which initiated these social sciences had an axe to grind. The efforts to understand the tribal cultures were primarily motivated by colonial ambitions. At that time, they served to keep different people under one yoke, today the same academic efforts are being used to sow the seeds of disunity. I have nothing against the descriptive and structural approach, but there must be a consciousness of the forward direction. I have great interest in the study of the dialects, but in no case can the standardization and development of a national language be ignored. I fully understand the importance of the 'system' and the 'code', but we cannot rule out our 'commitment' or 'engagement' to our people. Let us bear in mind that the political and linguistic situation of France, England, and the United States, where these concepts are

mostly talked about, is radically different from that of ours.

Different countries have adopted different solutions. The African countries, in general, have opted for the languages of their colonisers. This has certainly hindered their national cultural development, but on the other hand, has put them straight in step with the most developed nations. Actually, these countries did not have much of a choice. There are no literary languages, developed or even semi-developed. Each country has hundreds of dialects, with no or very little mutual comprehensibility. To produce national languages from this chaotic linguistic situation would have been almost an impossible task.

The Indian situation is quite different. It is more like that of Europe before the modern era. Each region has its own language which is fairly well developed. But for the Muslims and the British, these different states would probably have been separate countries, each having its own proper national language. This, of course, did not happen and we are faced with a strange dilemma. We fought, as one nation, to overthrow the foreign yoke and that momentum kept us going for a while. Now that the central political authority is getting weak and the cohesive national movement is falling apart, we are up against the most crucial moment of decision in our history. As subjects of the Muslim power or the British, we did not have any political responsibility, so we never seriously pondered over questions of such a gravity. Now, we are expected to behave like a responsible, independent nation and we do not know exactly where we stand. As a people, we are neither really sure if we are one nation, or several nations, nor is there a powerful political authority to mould us into a single national entity.

The moral is obvious. If this country of five hundred million people takes a political decision to make one of its several languages—not because it is any more developed than or superior to the others but simply because we must choose one—the medium of its national expression and pools all its intellectual and economic resources to achieve that end, we can rightfully aspire to be, one day, a great and powerful nation. It is quite clear that in the context of the historical and linguistic situation we are in, the other regional languages cannot be ignored, but it is one thing to develop their literature and quite another to employ them as the medium of instruction in all branches of knowledge. If the European history teaches us the importance of a native national language, it also shows the other side of the coin—that the number of nations is directly proportional to the number of national languages. To believe that with the present or even foreseeable economic conditions, we could develop fifteen languages to the level of the most important languages of our times is to have lost all touch with reality. This kind of thinking can come only when either we are simply not interested in India as one nation, or we just do not know where we are heading to, a deliberate intellectual suicide.

The concept of an official or a link language is absolutely meaningless. What a country requires to emerge as a nation is a national language which is used in every walk of a citizen's life, and which can properly be considered a medium of its national expression. The regional rivalries and aspirations are quite understandable but if a country of the size of India cannot stand on its own, its fragmented parts are not going to be any stronger. The world can probably afford to learn one more language, if the concerted efforts of as big a nation as ours produce in it great works of literature, philosophy, and the various sciences. But neither the world nor the Indians are going to waste time to get acquainted with imitation jewellery, or at the most, mediocre creations, in fifteen more languages.

The greatest contribution of Abraham Lincoln to the United States of America was not in the abolition of slavery, it still exists and in much worse conditions than in Lincoln's times, it was rather in his forcing the warring states to remain as one united political entity that has emerged as a powerful nation. India today is at the threshold of such a decisive moment of history. The lessons of the past are distinctly clear. It is upto us to decide.

M. GOVINDAN

Language, Regionalism and Nationalism

WE, the Indians are adept in understatement. The elaborate art of understatement pervades all aspects of our life—its art, literature, philosophy and sociology. The core of our cultural heritage and spiritual genius seems to be this habit. It contributes the necessary chromosomes to the chronic chaos in our individual and social life.

We called a continent a nation. This is one of the classic instances of our understatement. Then we went on adding accent to this understatement until it became a hollow outburst, the meaning and melody evaporated in the unreality. Before independence the crux of Indian nationalism was the understatement of religious differences. *Iswar Allah tere nam* we sang, the sweet melody switching our pet fanaticism to an almost inaudible wave-length. But we were not able to propitiate either Iswar or Allah. Allah wanted unadulterated Pakistan. Iswar had to accept this Fatwa and could remain in the rest of the land. To alleviate headache we refuse to take a dose of medicine, Ayurvedic or allopathic. And then we resort to the last act of cutting the head to heal the ache. This is too severe a penalty even for indulging in the art of understatement. But we had it and did not learn the lesson.

Now we are in the midst of two other gods—Hindi and English. The duel between them on the national arena is the burning language problem. There are many other gods, but they are regional, tribal and so very minor according to the educationists and politicians. Orthodox Hindu nationalism considered Muslims as aliens and Mḷechchas. *Angareji-Hatao* linguistic nattionalism is also following the same course. Religious intolerance played havoc in North India. *Angareji-Hatao* movement is also popular there. The

northern part of India was lost to Bharat as a result of religious fanaticism. *Angareji Hatao* movement may lead to the secession of the south where another kind of intolerance in the form of *Hindi-Hatao* has a history of a quarter of a century. I doubt whether a new slogan like *Angareji-Hindi bhai bhai* would save the situation. Hindus cannot be satisfied with two gods even when they happen to be fighting Almighties. Hence the demand for another—Sanskrit. Now the Trimurthi conception will be complete. We cannot get away from our archetypal patterns and ideas. They come to us everytime without giving a knock at the door. Even the celebrated three-language formula can be seen as a result of this inarticulate, but ever-present quest for Trinity. We have been living in the world of threes. Our ancient geography speaks of *thriloka*. Ethics *Triguna*, Religion *Trimurthi*, Hereditary medicine *Tridosha*. The most sacred places to immerse one's physical remains : *Triveni*, Flag *tri-colour*. From cradle to grave you are guided by *Trinity*. Is it just a strange coincidence that now we have Dr. Triguna Sen as the Education Minister to launch the three-language formula?

The habit of damning others who do not see eye to eye with one is a convenient devise to cover one's lack of understanding. I say this with regard to the attitude of some of us to what is happening in Tamilnad. By Tamil one should comprehend a life, a culture, a civilization which has a history of thousands of years. Many of the flowers and fruits of this civilization and culture are perhaps withered and rotten, but there are still some that give succour, vigour and meaning to the Tamils. The essential implication of these is to be understood in the right and liberal perspective. Wrongly used adjectives are not correctives but corrupt words that cloud the issue. Tamils, like the devil himself, need no advocate I know. They can manage their matters very well and they do. I am a Malayalee. Yet I say this because I feel I must. I do it as a good Christian. Tamils are my neighbours. I love them.

The purist trend in Tamil language about which many are worried and angry, is not a mischief of Tamils alone, if we call it a mischief. Every language, in an ever-ranging and varying degree, adopt this method. To an extent this is necessary. A language after all should uphold its individuality and maintain its self-identity. To that extent it has a purist character. Adopting words from other languages and assimilating them in one's own language have to be a careful process. The criteria cannot be lost sight of. The self-sufficiency of the language to express itself is there. If it could do it, well and good. Even in assimilation of foreign words changes occur: in accent, pronunciation, structure and sometimes in meaning too.

Are the Tamils the only culprits in this matter? What about the Hindi speaking people? They are not for retaining many of the English words that have become part of the Hindi language. They are supplementing

these words which other language people understand without difficulty, by artificially inseminated Sanskrit coinages. We array against purism when it does not suit us. And we rally round it when it suits us. Let us remember the opposition to hybrid Hindustani and its contaminative behaviour on the Highways of other linguistic zones. Look at the other side too : when a taxi driver talks hybrid it is contemptuous, criminal. But when Jawaharlal Nehru indulges in hybrid Hindustani—it is gazetted.

Hindi protagonists are as purists or more than the Tamils themselves when they are conducting a whole-sale campaign to evict the Urdu words settled in the Hindi language. This leads us to another more significant and serious problem—our concept of region, nation and the state of language within and of the transference of their accent, relevance and relative property from the pre-Independent period to the post-Independent plane after twenty years. As I see it, it is the major task which would facilitate freedom and unity in political, cultural, linguistic and economic spheres and keep Indians in the realm of real unity in diversity. 'Centre cannot hold' is the lamentation of many echoing Yeats. Yeats used these words in his poem entitled 'The Second Coming'. Therein he lamented: 'The best lack all conviction, while the worst are full of passionate intensity'. The heart of the matter is that there has to be a second coming of Indian freedom. The intellectual élite cum lance corporal will not do the trick, though I do not deny its share in the scheme of things. The Indian intellectual, by and large, is still suburbanian. He has no metropolises in the country. Even a half-roasted rustic intellectual like me who also finds a place in the contemporary cultural claptrap is bewildered at the gloomy prospect.

Indian intellectuals are like six characters in search of a soul. The search goes on until and unless they achieve it; they will be neither soul-centered nor social-centered, but decentered beings in search of a centre in the frame of free areas of existential fulfilment. In this grand movement, in this exodus in space and time, the politicians, experts and intellectuals lag behind the people. The intellectuals wedded to bureaucracy and in illicit relationship with foreign metropolis, lack native conviction and are full of foreign-feulled passionate intensity. They have failed on the Indian scene. I say this in a spirit of self-criticism. Let us have a look at these two intellectuals and their methods of solving the problems. 'Well, Dr. Thomas, your points of view on the emerging significance of Indian polity are quite appreciated. But would you kindly tell me Dr., how can A be B' ? "Oh Professor Shanker, have you not heard of para-proto-personal methodology of meta-political identification process perfected by Dr. Patterson of Michigan University"? And this goes on and on : yet the Indian situation remains the same. We all expect much from the university élite. We join them in their struggle to extricate themselves from the bureaucratic clutches. But where do they stand, at least

a host of them? Here I am reminded of what Kierkegaard wrote about the intellectuals and philosophers of the 19th century Europe, especially of Germany where the official Hegalians had their heyday.

I am not quoting St. Peter of Existentialism. But constructing his words from memory : 'The life of our intellectuals is pure boredom. They don't have even a good married life even after years of their wedding..no love to lace the monotony. They have no time to devote to their wives even at night, because they are so anxious; they sleep with the thought that at least in the dream they could play the role of a professor in the Berlin University'.

The idea of nationalism which came in the wake of Renaissance and French Revolution in Europe found its support in European predicament and conditions. When the idea was grafted here it lost part of its original characteristics and the developmental perspectives and patterns too. Yet it worked in a negative way in India. The reason for its initial success was the presence of a factor which itself was an inflated and illfated offshoot of European nationalism, i.e., British Imperialism. India was one when there was British overlordship. India became two when it retreated; what shaped the outer character of the nationalism of the pre-Independence days was the opposition to foreign imperialism, its inner core; the aspirations of the Indians to shape their destiny. The first is absent now. The second has come to the forefront. Even after Independence for a number of years Indian people were not able to come to their own. They were living in the age of Heroes—of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal and of other minor luminaries. The age of the Hero is past. The age of the people is slowly coming in. These will definitely upset the heroic romantic harmony of the past age, stage-man aged and conducted by a charismatic personality. In fact there was no harmony as such then. The solo song of the Hero was repeatedly recited by the people—but now the problem is different and difficult. The chorus has started. The peoples chorus. There are many instruments, conductors and participants. The orchestrisation demand careful handling, and a new approach and a new music. Whether we do it with two languages or three languages or thirty two languages is not the problem. This orchestrisation is what matters.

The new type of polity that may emerge in the coming years will be mainly determined by language rather than by religious, economic or communal factors. The era of the people and their participation in power require decentralisation and communication more and more in all parts of India, and in the initial stages may cause certain uneasy reactions, adjustments and new thinking too.

And we have to think about language not only in terms of communication at social or official level. Language has social as well as psycho-biological heritage. The biological aspect of language is expressed by the very term mother tongue. It is concerned with the development of personality. Half

the man is expression, so goes the saying. And the basic expression of a man is through his language.

The understatement implied in the term regional language will not help this evolution. The word region is not appropriate. It is not just a verbal adjustment or change that is called for but change in vision. Indian situation especially in the context of the coming next twenty years or so will be manned by a new generation quite unaccustomed with the earlier nationalist historical reflexes. This generation is nationalist but the operation and evolution of its democratic ideal demand active participation or rather direct participation and here the possibility may be that it would like to have a multi-national, multi-lingual state in India. 'The problem of that centre cannot hold' will be solved not by centre becoming more powerful but less. It is likely that we may have a 'link' centre. The Federal structure of India will have to be recast as confederal. This will suit the nation states, economically and politically too. In this process Mother India will have her proper role as Grand Mother India.

That language is a really significant factor that determines nationalism and democracy above religion and economics and is becoming more and more pronounced in India today. The victory of D.M.K. in Madras has shocked many people. Yet the proper conclusions have not been drawn. How could you account for this phenomenal thing? In India it is only the D. M. K. that has absolute majority in the Assembly. The opposition parties all put together did not fare much in other states. In fact, D.M.K. is not that kind of a political party. It started as a movement for social reforms, through it to language reform and love of language. Just a few years back it was a movement of language lovers. Instead of politicians using language to further their ends as it occurs in other parts of India, D.M.K. in Madras is playing something different. Politics came to these language lovers in the sense that people voted them to power to achieve their aspirations. This phenomenon is not that strange. It is coming up in other countries too. Take the case of Canada where the French-speaking people want a separate state. Let us also think of President de Gualle's call to eschew English words from the French language. We may recall also the recent trouble in Yugoslavia on account of language. There was so much heat and controversy during summer in 1967 both in Belgrade and Zagred about a public statement of writers, scientists, men of culture and educationists demanding that Croatian language should be constitutionally made a separate language. What they wanted was the division of the Serbo-Croatian language which is the language of Serbia and Croatia to be split up as Serbian and Croatian, Serbian language in Serbian Republic; Croatian in Croatian Republic. The movement is a little subsided now due to the strictures by the party and Tito, but it is there in the underground and some day it may gather momentum.

It is not intelligence of the intellectuals or the expertise of the élite that will shape the destiny of India, if it has to remain a secular democracy with socialist content, it is the shrewd commonsense of the people. The failure of the leadership at all levels and of all professions shows it graphically. An élite-based aristocracy will not go well with the making of a participant democracy. It has always shown that the élite can come into terms with the powers that be and help the forging of totalitarianism of all types. If India is not yet totalitarian we have to thank the people alone for having withstood the temptations and provocations, and also for having acted as the valiant vigils of democracy.

Let us turn back to the general elections in 1967 and assess it in developmental perspective. What was it that happened? Was it just the dislodging of Congress from power in certain states? Was it a mere deliberate 'no' to the bosses who believed that it was the tail that wagged the dog, not dog the tail? Well, all these happened and much more too.

For ages the suppressed, disinherited and willingly kept away from the scene by various forces of vested interests, the inarticulate masses of Indian people did not come to their own. The Indian peasant was mocked at by the intelligentsia. It is this mute misery-ridden, illiterate peasant who has now turned the scales of power and privileges. And how cleverly he did it and with what account of commonsense. He took into consideration all the claims and aspirations advanced by all parties—the ruling party as well as the parties on the opposition. All were unanimous about one thing: their eagerness to create a paradise in India, provided a chance was given to them. The illiterate peasant heard all patiently, weighed the claims and promises in the balance of his rustic conscience and came to a decision. 'All right, all of you will have a chance: well you go ahead and show me how you fulfil the promises. The Congress has been talking too much and doing only a little. It will be punished for this immoral behaviour but not be completely vanquished. Let it have the Centre and a few states. A known devil is preferable to an unknown one. The leftists who talk so much about the people, let them have Kerala and West Bengal, and place in the ministry in other states. Let Jan Sangh have Delhi; Swatantrites Orissa; D. M. K. Madras. Now let me see how you fare in this business of ruling us. And the illiterate peasant said in undertone or was it just a monologue, I can't vouchsafe. But this is the gist of it: Vociferous, power-crazy fellows, this is a home work. If you do it well, I will give marks and you pass the test. Whoever gets the maximum amount of marks will be promoted to the higher class'.

The peasant went back to his hut and the politicians to ministerial seats. The peasant will meet them only in 1972. I am of the view that it is this man leaning on his plough who will shape the destiny of the country along with others.

This land of ours is a complex one and all predictions or approach to the would-be with dogmatic certainty may not prove helpful in the long run. Indians to an extent differ in their complexes, but all these different complexes lead to the same result. I have deducted three main complexes operating on the level of our consciousness, one alien, the other two cent per cent indigenous. The foreign one, as you know, is the oedipus complex. The dawning of Independence saw the working of the oedipus complex. We enthroned Mahatma Gandhi as the father of the nation and then assassinated him. And then there is the Krishna complex that has more relevance and significance: killing of the uncle and becoming the king. Krishna killed his uncle Kansa and became the ruler. Uncle Nehru escaped this tragic fate physically. But spiritually he could not, we can presume so, taking into consideration all that now has happened since his demise.

And now the last one, that is my complex, I mean the complex inherited by Malayalees from the founding father of their Home-land, Parasurama. This complex can be christened as Parasurama complex. Parasurama killed his mother at the behest of his father. He butchered the ruling classes of India twenty one times and then came to Kerala to do the penance by reclaiming that patch of land that lies between the Sahyadi and Arabian Sea and giving it to the Brahmins. He threw away his bloody axe to the sea and lo, there emerged the land Kerala. But that blood still remains in Kerala crying for what, I do not know. But the cry reverberates in the ethos and myths of Kerala. We, as a people, did *Prayeschitta* against the Parasurama complex by adopting the matriarchal system, placing the mother on the supreme pedestal in our social life. But now that system has also gone astray. I am just pointing out this complex so that it may also find worthy of consideration when we think of regionalism, nationalism, language, and culture. Malayalees, people agree, are not linguistic fanatics. Well, don't be so sure perhaps our fanaticism may be of a complex nature.

I have jotted down in this paper certain possibilities. If all these pieces are patched-up together, a picture may emerge out of them—it may be hazy, but even in haziness you may find sharp contrasts and interpenetrating proportions.

I did this so because I prize the value of man against everything else. By way of conclusion let me illustrate my belief this way:

Suppose God came to me and said : 'You Govindan !' (you should remember, God being God would not address you as Shri, Mr. or Dr. Govindan) Well here is the choice. Look at this man I brought to you. And look at Taj Mahal, the greatest wonder and work of art. You can't have both. You have to choose either of these. Shall I destroy the man and retain Taj Mahal or would you like to have this man as your companion and see the destruction of the beautiful work of man? Now tell me'. And I will tell him, 'Oh, Mighty God the names may be Iswar, or Allah, whatever it is, I don't want to enter

into a linguistic or theological controversy with you, my Lord. Let me have Man. Destroy Taj Mahal, if that is the price you demand. Man can again build Taj Mahal, Taj Mahal cannot create even a limb of Man—God, leave Man to me'.

JIYA LAL KAUL JALALI

Language and Regionalism

पुरुषस्य वाग्रस : ।
(PURUSEASYA VĀG RASAH)
The Essence of MAN is Speech.
—*Chhandogya Upanishad*, 1, 2.

God saw around (and said) "May I be many, May I grow", and the World was created with MAN on the top. And Speech was the first thing MAN got to express himself after he had been endowed by the Supreme Power. It is, therefore, that Speech is said to be the *rasa* (essence) of Man on the earth. According to the New Testament, 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God' (John, 1, 1). So Speech became the vehicle to give form and shape to thoughts, ideas, feelings, sentiments, emotions, desires, and actions of man, as his sphere of activity began to expand and develop. The oral Sruti in course of time became the written Smṛiti, and language took form.

What is language? It is the expression of thought by any means, and tongue is the speech or language of some one people, country or race. India is a vast country with one and a half dozen states, and each state is credited with a separate or regional language, although several hundred tongues or dialects are spoken throughout its length and breadth. Under Schedule VIII of the Constitution of India some 15 have been recognised, and as for the official language of the Union, it shall be its 'duty to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India, and to secure its enrichment by assimilating...Hindustani and other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule'. The Rashtrabhasha—Hindi in Devnagri script—was intended to be a language that would not only become the national language, but by becoming a link language would also impart a sense of oneness, a feeling of unity and create a consciousness to that effect in the different units

of the country, whether these units belonged to the north or to the south, to the east or to the west, with affinities or no affinities so far as speech was concerned.

Although I am not fond of quoting from others for support in matters which are self-evident and do not require any canvassing for 'vote-catching', I am tempted to give here an extract from what one of the drafters of the Indian Constitution, Sri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, stated after the Constituent Assembly had passed and adopted the final draft of the ponderous Constitution, justifying the need of one State Language: 'The Constituent Assembly has taken a wise and a bold step in regard to the State Language for the whole of India, realizing that language is the most important factor in consolidating and unifying a nation. At the same time it recognises the importance of regional language in so vast a country as our own. It has not lost sight of the need for English for legal purposes for some time and for scientific and international purposes in the world as constituted today'. Among the drafters of the Constitution, six in number, was the legal luminary, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, (a member of the scheduled caste) Chairman of the Drafting Committee, 3 members from the south, one from the east and one from the west. There was no member from the north or from the Hindi zone of the central belt of India. The Constitution was passed on the 26th of November, 1949, that is after 2 years and 3 months and 11 days of independence, and made applicable two months thereafter.

The language policy of the free, democratic Union of India was clearly laid down in Articles 343 to 351; and it only pains me to find what is happening today after 18 years, for which the leaders, the government, and then the South and, in a lesser degree, the East are responsible. It is always a capitalistic way of thinking to assume that only the privileged can think. Privileged thinking is unsafe, biased, and one-tracked. Human nature, as it is, is selfish and measures everything with the rod of self-interest and self-exaltation. It is not so in politics alone, where a politician, though untrained in the art, is taken as an authority as soon as power puts him in an Assembly, a Council or Parliament, and then in the Council of Ministers or the Cabinet. I do not mean any criticism of any honourable member thereof. Far from it!

But why has the present muddle reared its ugly head and made a Union Minister resign from the Central Cabinet on the issue of the language policy of the Government? Twenty years of independence have certainly raised India in the eyes of the world, and given us a new status in Asia and the East. But the misfortune has been that notwithstanding the professions of the public leaders, the administrative machinery has remained in the hands of those who had been the understudy of the British Masters with their imperialistic way of thinking, and who had to a large extent influenced and even retarded the pace of thinking of these leaders, the new Ministers. The leaders of 1947-49, in the

flush of power forgot what they had laid down in the Constitution and bound themselves as also the people to implement. Had they clearly thought and then acted boldly the present trouble would not have arisen at all. The sturdy shoulders of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru should not have shoved the responsibility, which notwithstanding the efforts of the late Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri to discharge, has now fallen on the present Prime Minister. The Persian maxim *du sad man ustakhān bāyad ki sad man bār bardārad* (one should possess two hundred maunds of bones to enable one to lift a load of one hundred maunds) reminds me how difficult and onerous the task, when the South and the East are set against the adoption of the official language (Hindi in Devnagri script) to the exclusion of English.

The Hon'ble Minister of Education has, it appears, taken it upon himself to divest the Union official language of its burden and responsibility, and shift the same to the regional languages of the various states. Educationists, though not all, consider it a desirable step to make the regional languages the vehicle of all education right from the primary to the post-graduate standard in all subjects, including technical, technological, scientific and the like. The zeal with which Dr. Triguna Sen is pursuing it *now* should have been shown by the leaders, the Ministers of Education, and the Prime Minister of India in the initial stages, so that by now the transfer would have become complete or reached a stage of decisiveness. By decisiveness I mean to convey the impression that the Government of India had before itself a clear picture of the situation created by the transfer, and the decision whether it would or would not be advisable to 'delegate' everything to the regional languages, or retain something for the official language to take upon itself for all-India purposes. In other words, it would have, in the interest of the country's progress, development, oneness, unity, scientific advancement, etc., reserved a place of privilege for the official language to act as an over-all liaison which, apart from official correspondence, would have tended to give to that language an authoritative role in the languages of the Union, and not made some blind-alley-thinkers cry out that regionalising or Hindi-ising would carry us back to medievalism.

So far as I have known some of the regional languages of my land, there are a few which have acquired a standard of efficiency: for example, Bengali, Tamil, Marathi, Gujarati, Telugu, Malayalam, etc., though every one of these languages may not be language *par excellence*, they have shown varying degrees of development. A couple of months ago I chanced to read a news item that the Vice-Chancellors of six universities and Heads of Boards of Secondary Education in West Bengal had taken a decision that with effect from 1968 the question papers for all examinations would be set in Bengali, and translations thereof provided for non-Bengali examinees. The youth of Madras would make Tamil the official language and scrap off Hindi, and the Government would oppose any move to impose that language. The protagonists of English would dis-

credit Hindi and its supporters because according to them Hindi would never attain the position of English as a suitable vehicle in the modern scientific and technical age in view of its not being rich enough to cover all the diverse fields of knowledge and instruction so far as text-books, scientific and technical terminology, periodicals and journals, etc., are concerned. But I fear there may be some other reason also.

The constitution of a country is a sacred document, more sacrosanct in a democracy, because members of legislatures, members of Parliament, Ministers, the President, the Heads of the states, the Supreme Court Judges, the Judges of High Courts, the Comptroller and Auditor-General all swear by the Constitution. It is true that Parliament amends the Constitution from time to time; and in our case our Government has hurried with no less than twenty-one amendments in these twenty years of independence, which the Parliament has passed and adopted. I do not want to say whether all the amendments were or were not wanted, lest it be deemed to be a reflection on that august body. But I think in a democracy everybody has a right to express his opinion freely, if he is not strangled by the privileged; he may be heard or not; but there comes a time when his thought gains momentum and circumstances are so created that his thought becomes the thought of many and eventually it is recognised and given a practical shape. Dr. Ambedkar as chairman of the Drafting Committee had expressed that 'the ideas of today may not be the ideas of tomorrow' but that the Constitution with all its amendments is always a sacred document of a people's guarantee of growth, development, freedom, progress, and security, which can never be under-rated or be-littled; and whosoever treated it otherwise would be another Coriolanus, who out of his foolhardiness would cry out, 'I banish Rome', and be himself done to death.

I do not want to be misunderstood that because the language policy of the country was enshrined in the Constitution that policy could not be amended or modified, if and when need arose. But what I have seen during these twenty years is an ugly tale of indecision, lukewarmness and the want of will to enforce the constitutional provisions with an earnestness that is seen *now* in the Government. For a Minister to resign on the language issue (as two Central Ministers have so far done for identical reasons), makes one ponder; and if I give a few hard facts, I hope I shall enjoy the indulgence of all of you notwithstanding some unpalatability in them. I am an Indian, a citizen of India, an old man, older than many if not all of you. What I have seen and felt has made me unhappy at times, and I have given vent to that unhappiness in my communications to some leaders of thought, may be some Ministers also. It is true that the Constitution provided 15 years for the English language to disappear from the administrative, educational, and correspondence or interstate communication field, so far as Government, institutions of learning, and the people's unifying link were concerned. The dilatory tactics provided in

Article 344 of the Constitution were adopted by Government to keep up the form of the said Article, and an Official Language Commission and a Parliamentary Committee (followed later by an Education Commission) were duly appointed, which in the end brought about the Official Language Act of 1963. But Article 343 gave the President of India power 'to authorise the use of the Hindi language in addition to the English language......for any of the official purposes of the Union'. Had there been any earnest effort to give effect to Article 343 (i) to make Hindi the official language of the Union, the Central Government should have made a start in the fifties, retaining English as well for such states, persons, bodies as indulged in it for the time being so that much of the unwanted and undesirable raucousness would have never been born to the detriment of the very purpose for which one common unifying language was provided in the Constitution. But it is never too late to mend!

Why I have dwelt on this aspect of the official language is because by now much of the responsibility that the official language would have taken upon its shoulders would have become defined and 'delimited', and that would not now have to be transferred to the *untried* regional languages. Along with the indifference of the leaders and the Government to move in time, came the 'hatred' of the 'South' and the 'East' for the northern language of Hindi. The universities never thought of shaking the snoring dormancy out of slumber, but desisted from interfering, lest the English language was made to decamp. It may be true that Bengali and Tamil are much developed, and could do better as an official language; but when 42 per cent of the country's population speak a given language (Hindi), the drafters of the Constitution, fifty per cent of whom belonged to the south, looking to the needs and national interests of the country *unequivocally* recommended, and the Constituent Assembly, where all the states of the Union were duly represented, after over two years' labour passed with *one* voice that Constitution giving Hindi the position of pride and privilege, not as *a matter of favour*, not for any considerations of location, nearness to New Delhi, or bias against any other language, it was and should even *now*, be the duty of every loyal citizen of India to abide by their verdict. Had Hindi been given a real go since 1949, I am sure, it would have by now relieved the English language of much of its burden in the fields of science, technology, international, inter-state and State-Centre communications and correspondence, etc., and prepared more than enough material for the regional languages to adopt and incorporate.

Regional languages are, as stated hereinbefore, in various stages of development. In my opinion all those languages should not be burdened with the task of isolating the states into regions of untouchability, and like the Madras students sloganning 'we banish Hindi', build an impervious wall of regionalism. I have been a student and just as vociferous as these Tamizgham student friends of mine are; but I find that between them and myself there is a difference. I

always cherished, notwithstanding my impetuosity, the ideal of *one* Bharatvarsha, which unfortunately had to be slashed because the imperialists would not condescend to leave unless he had given the Muslims of India a 'home land'. One quite well realises that if instead of Hindi, the Draft Constitution Committee had recommended and the Constitutent Assembly approved and adopted sanskrit as the official language of India—which I think it may one day become—there would have been no opposition from the south or the east; but then, I fear, there would have been a script controversy. Once I happened to be in Calcutta, and a friend of mine was reciting his *Bhagvadgītā* from the Bengali script. I was reminded of my *Gītā* in Sharada script. After he had finished, I asked him if he ever used the *Gītā* written in the Devnagri script for purposes of his daily *pātha* (recitation); and he replied, 'Never, we always read and study Sanskrit in the Bengali script'. His next remark made me re-think over my surrender in favour of the Devnagri script. But when I later thought over it again, I felt it was not an unwanted change, because we had adopted Hindi in Devnagri script as our official language, and I also had devised a new simplified Kashmiri script in Devnagri to fall in line with the general policy of popularising the Devnagri script not only for the Hindi language but for all the regional languages of India, although I had failed to persuade the Kashmir Government to recognise the said script for the Kashmiri language as an alternative to the Persian script adopted for that language. And it was all done out of a sense of patriotism, which I would earnestly wish the Tamizgham students of the south and the Bangla students of the east followed. My advice to them is : be not rash, think of the future of your country extending from the giddy heights of the snowy *gangris* of Ladakh to the low levels of Kanyakumari (Cape Comorin), and even if you have to make a little sacrifice, do not hesitate, and do not become the catspaw of those powers who egg you behind the scenes in their own capitalistic interest to make you the slaves of their children and then of their children's children.

These controversies are but natural, and are born of narrow nationalism, or loyalty to one's region or stage. It is not a bad or unhealthy sign, for charity begins at home. I consider it the beginning of the revival of the sense of true *patriotism,* which I fear we Indians have either forgotten or allowed to hibernate in the recesses of isolation created by the unfortunately-unhealthy lead given by the leaders for the sake of political power. Had not the greed for power vitiated the mental vision of our rulers, when clean administration and honest public life were needed to guard against the prostitution of brains for selfish ends, there would have been no race for party-power, and defections in State legislatures would not have been deplorably so rife. When political life becomes corrupt, it goes to any length, double-crosses, and, but for some inexplicable inhibitions, would not hesitate to walk into anti-national lair, what to talk of floor-crossing. To us democracy is a pleasure garden, where just like

the Nishat Garden of Kashmir, the visitor enchanted by the bewitching verdured lawns, multicoloured flower-beds, sheeny cascades, and playing-fountains, is tempted to go up and down terrace after terrace only to see how the holiday-makers enjoy the hot tea from the steaming *somāvār*, sipped with the Kashmiri *kulcha* (biscuit). In a moment of despair Dr. Johnson denigrated patriotism as "the last refuge of a scoundrel"; but really speaking where there is no patriotism of the Japanese type, where one does not commit *harakiri* for having misused political and economic power for selfish and personal ends, there is no hope for the country or the nation to survive, especially when with the hoary tradition of the past, it has taken upon itself the bold experiment of people's Government as the biggest and largest democracy of the world.

Regionalism is welcome, but within limits. I would be the last person to endorse that the Union Public Service Examinations should be held in all the regional languages of India. That is not a unifying leaven; it is a direct invitation to separatism and stateism or regionalism. If we could adopt the English language as the medium for the Indian Civil Service, Indian Forest Service, Indian Educational Service, Indian Railway Service, Indian Accounts Service, etc., during the British regime, what un-Indianism, unregionalism, or difficulty there is and can be in holding such examinations in the Indian *rashtrabhasha* recognised by the Constitution as Hindi in Devnagri script, even if it means a little more labour, diligence and intelligence too ? My own experience is that southerners, westerners and easterners (in India) are good at Hindi, and some of the publications I have seen and read do a great credit to the authors thereof; for example, Gadgil's *Ek hazaar varsh baad* with its last chapter *Namardon ki duniya jine nahin deti* is an unforgettable contribution, (which I have read and re-read,) to Hindi literature. But to thrust regionalism everywhere is only another name for accentuation of differences as also of the consciousness that India is not one country even after the Partition of 1947, and that Indians are not one people, and do not deserve to be called so, but are the same old slaves who talk of retaining English. Here I am reminded of the remark of the late Shri B. G. Kher, Chairman of the Official Language Commission of 1956, who (when I appeared before the Commission), agreed with my view that opposition to Hindi in Devnagri script came from a dying generation, and that notwithstanding the advocacy for the retention of English, or for the adoption of the International script, Hindi was going to stay as our unifying national language enriched by the regional languages of India.

I am a Kashmiri. Under the Constitution of India, Schedule VIII, the Kashmiri language has been made a regional language. In my state of Jammu and Kashmir, we have a separate constitution, though that constitution has been adopted by Parliament as a part and parcel of the Indian Constitution. This word jugglery does not appeal to me. If I am an Indian, I must be governed by one constitution, and that is the Constitution of India:

and there should be no flying of two flags on the Government buildings in the state. I am not referring to it politically. I only want to point out that it creates in me a sense of separatism and dualism, which is reflected in the language as well. Under the constitution of the state six languages have been treated as zonal languages while the official language is Urdu. It is a riddle more involuted than that of the sphinx. If you shift to the regional languages, what would you prescribe for me, when under the latest Government order Kashmiri and Dogri have been made compulsory for the primary classes in Kashmir and Jammu respectively? Will all my courses be now translated into Urdu or our children shall wait until they come of age and with them the Kashmiri and Dogri languages attain puberty? There is some confusion somewhere. What you could not do in the past 18 years, you want to be done in 5 and 10 years, when there is opposition, but no correct meaningful solution of the all-India tangle, of the Gordian knot which requires to be cut, and cut once for all by some Hercules; and I would wish my young students of Madras and Bengal become the Hercules of my language knot and cut it with the sword of patriotic steel, that knows no community, no group, no compartmentalism, but one open Indianism, where sex, age, colour, tongue make no difference, but afford an ideal of One United India.

The above analysis leads us to the conclusion that taking for granted that the regional languages should be developed and made autonomous in the Central Educational Federation presided over by the Union Education Ministry, a line of demarcation is still needed where the official language and the regional languages are assigned roles which, on the one hand, maintain the internal unity of the state, and, on the other, cement the states into one India. I do not want to be a philosopher of education and dwell on the virtues of secularism, social-cultural values, intellectual-speculative traditions, or moral-spiritual history, because I do not believe in more abstruse thinking or dissertative exhortations. We are Indians: we have a culture, and we have to maintain that. Preservation of culture depends on political integrity, political unity, patriotic fervour, banishment of all extra-territorial loyalties, development of moral stature, nurturing of national consciousness to the limit of sacrificing one's life at the altar of the country's integrity, unity, security and safety. Education is the handmaid of culture, and unless right education is imparted, culture is in danger. Since culture connotes everything for an Indian mind: politics, economics, religion, spiritualism, progress, self-training, mutualism, etc., the states have to be careful lest by their philosophy of isolationism and touch-me-not-until-ye-surrender they only lend support to the forces of disruption. What we have, therefore, got to do is to assign respective functions to the official and the regional languages now and hereafter. Since the regional languages are not uniformly developed, transfer of functions may be regulated under an all-India plan and programme. In my opinion, the first step should be that under this programme

all states of the Union shall impart education in all subjects up to the school final standard in the state's regional language, and switch-over to the said language in the administrative field at the district level, exception being made in the case of such states as are not in a position to do that. In India most of the states have already taken over in this respect. In order to make the transfer complete a period of 10 years cannot be considered too long or too short. So far as the courts are concerned, there is no harm in doing that upto the High Court stage. The High Courts should have one common medium and that is Hindi, just as there is English at present. They can also use the regional language of the state concerned. The second stage would be regionalising upto B.A. and B.Sc. (in subjects like history, geography, political science, ordinary mathematics, physics, chemistry, agriculture and other technical subjects of ordinary level, etc). Then come the third stage, which covers M.A. and M.Sc. standard and regionalising of administrative ambit upto the state level, I mean the secretariat level, where both the regional language and the official Hindi language can be used.

As for the official language, it may be stated that Hindi as *rashtrabhasha* of the Union should have a defined role: that is

(i) It shall be used in all Central Government departments, in inter-state, and Centre-and-State correspondence, so long as English is not completely replaced by Hindi. This should have been the policy from the very beginning, when Jawaharlal Nehru was the Prime Minister of India;

(ii) It shall be used internationally, and start should be made immediately, if not already done;

(iii) Higher sciences shall be taught in Hindi, e.g., higher mathematics, higher physics, higher chemistry, nuclear physics, space-science, atomic science, higher technological subjects, engineering, medicine, logistics, air, naval and other military engineering and related matters. Special courses shall be at once prepared and, where necessary, arrangements made for imparting training;

(iv) Hindi shall be the language of the Supreme Court of India, as also of the High Courts; records in regional languages, where needed, shall be translated into Hindi. High Courts, as stated in the preceding paragraph, may have the option of using the concerned state's regional language as well alongside of Hindi;

(v) University education, other than M.A. and M.Sc., shall be imparted in Hindi, so that professors or Doctors in special subjects are produced on an all-India basis and can be appointed at the Centre, in other states, and industrial concerns without any handicap;

(vi) Banking, telecommunications, postal services, shipping industries, Air India, LIC and other public sector concerns, etc., shall use Hindi.

This shall apply to the private sector as well.

Complete Hindi-isation should be effected within the outer limit of 15 years. During this period English may be used side by side making necessary adjustments according to departmental and individual state or regional needs and requirements, until it is totally superseded.

The whole gamut of regionalism should be reviewed and considered in a conference where different points of view for working it out will be presented and a final decision taken, it being remembered that Hindi has to be allowed a greater latitude in the interest of all-India unity, mobility, travel, intercourse, association, exchange of information and knowledge. In other words, Hindi shall be treated as English at present is. For the success of the three-language formula of Hindi-English and state language, it is necessary that Hindi should be introduced in schools after the primary level as a compulsory subject in all the states, so that the boy or girl who goes to college and then enters the portals of the university may not have to stumble on the granite of fastidious isolationism for want of conversance with Hindi. In the case of the regional languages, it should be made compulsory that in order to ensure uniformity in scientific, technical and other subjects, Hindi terminology is used in place of regional concoctions. The apparatus used in physics, chemistry, etc. should be named in Hindi by all state educational institutions. The Central Advisory Board for Scientific and Technical Terminology is stated to have finalised two hundred thousand terms for use in and absorption by the regional languages in the departments of natural sciences, engineering, agriculture, the humanities, social sciences and medicine.

In short, there should be no water-tight compartmentalism in the states that strikes at the root of unity, and governance of the country as one Federation. There should be no such impression that each state is developing at a tangent to the other states or the Centre. The states should be like eighteen sectors of the union circle whose apexes meet at the centre of the circle, and the right bisectors of whose cords pass all through one centre. I repeat I am an old man, and I take leave entrusting the work to better and younger expert brains whose enthusiasm coupled with a high sense of patriotism is expected to make them pool their best for the over-all advancement and progress of the country, our ancient heritage, and the future of the people, the citizens of one India. I give them my blessings and pray:

भद्रं कर्णेभिः श्रृणुयाम देव भद्रं पश्येमक्षिभिर्यजत्राः ।
सिथरै रङ्गैस्तुष्टु वासस्तनूभिर्व्यशेम देवहितं यदायुः ।।
ओ३म् शान्तिः ! शान्तिः !! शान्तिः !!! कालोहं !!!

VEENA MONGA

Regionalism, Language and Politics

IN this paper, I propose to apply some of the results of sociological investigations to the understanding of the forces behind the controversies on language in India, and their link with regionalism. I hope to present my analysis in terms of the following principal objectives: (*a*) the understanding of the power struggle that can sometimes be discussed behind the linguistic controversies, and (*b*) the attitude of the policy makers towards implementation of linguistic policies. At the outset I may mention that my aim is to present a systematic account of the problem on the basis of work already done by some eminent sociologists and as such I shall draw freely from their work—especially from those of M. N. Srinivas and Selig Harrison.[1] Certainly, I do not pretend to be presenting anything very original in the paper.

Without going into any details about the origin of the various regional languages and the process of their development, I shall go straight to a consideration of the linguistic states and some of the forces which were operating behind the demand for unilingual states. The idea of linguistic states can be traced back to Gandhi-ji, who was the first person in the National Congress to emphasize the need of making leadership effective at the local levels by communicating with the masses in their own language. Though political exigencies, particularly the need to ensure mass participation, led him to advocate the cause of regional languages, his writings show a lively awareness of the inherent fissiparous tendencies that could be set in motion in India if the regional languages became the sole media of communication. To counteract these fissiparous tendencies he repeatedly emphasized the importance of accepting Hindi as a link language. Unfortunately for us, the first part of his theory was ac-

cepted and was given an expression in the creation of linguistic states. The second part though accepted in principle was not implemented. The result is that the social conditions in which Hindi was once acceptable to many of the non-Hindi speaking states have changed considerably, throwing up fresh problems which have not been placed in a proper perspective.

As I have just stated, the principle of linguistic states is ultimately traceable to Gandhi-ji's political ideology. But this does not mean that ideological issues or purely linguistic considerations can explain the controversies that raged between different sections, prior to the reorganization of states, or even that the reorganization itself can be explained in terms of linguistic criteria alone. Bernard Cohn[2] pointed out the difficulties of devising linguistic classification along which regions may be distributed—'If one starts.....with the *Literary Standard*, e.g., Bengali, Tamil, Marathi, one can extend or expand linguistic classifications into much wider areas, into language families, e.g., Indo-European, Dravidian, or one may reduce the span and nature of regions by basing the classification on *Regional Standards or Regional Dialects*, e.g., Awadhi, Konkani, the dialect of Bengali spoken in Chittagong, East Pakistan......The question of the use of linguistic criteria to establish a regional classification becomes a mixed linguistic and social one'. Srinivas[3] also is sceptical of the criteria used for the distribution of regions:

'If linguistic homogeneity was the sole principle, Bihar, U. P., Haryana, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan ought to have been one single state. If administrative convenience were an important consideration, Haryana would perhaps be too small and Madhya Pradesh and U.P. too large?'

It is clear that we will have to look to the social factors along with linguistic ones for fuller understanding of the linguistic classification on which regional distribution was based. Once we have come to a preliminary understanding of some of the social forces which led to the classification we may be in a better position to understand the present crisis created by the language issue.

It has been suggested by some that some of the forces that were rampant behind controversies over linguistic classifications were the conflicts for power between the regionally dominant castes. The most forthright expression of the view is found in Selig Harrison's *India*: *The Most Dangerous Decades*.[4] 'I may mention here that Harrison is often led to overstate his case and complex controversies are sought to be given simplistic explanations. Nevertheless, I am going to examine his arguments in some detail if only to use them in arriving at negative conclusions. In other words, while I do not agree with Harrison that conflicts between castes over control of key political and economic positions were the only forces behind controversies over linguistic classifications, I would like to point out that this was, at least, one dimension of the problem which was often ignored. I would like to submit that political and economic forces may serve as important motivations for *some sections of the community* to

exploit linguistic issues. Also linguistic conflicts may be interpreted by the people themselves as power struggles between different groups, and surely the people's own interpretations of these problems have to be considered if their suspicions and fears over the language issue have to be successfully allayed.

With the above qualifications in mind let us return to Harrison's argument. He starts by examining the relation between caste-organization and linguistic regions. He shows that while the smallest unit for purposes of caste-organization is the village, the largest unit does not extend beyond the linguistic borders. Thus a linguistic region is the largest unit over which caste-organization may spread and beyond which kinship hardly ever extends'.[5]

The organization of castes over linguistic regions may not have been very effective in the traditional society but with improved means of communication and better facilities of organization in the British period, the caste groups formed effective associations which took up important functions *within* the linguistic regions. The caste system did not provide for any structural ties beyond linguistic borders for which reason the organization of caste groups remained limited *within* linguistic regions. The understanding of this basic factor—that caste groups over the regions became organized but that the caste system did not provide for any structural ties beyond the linguistic regions is vital for the understanding of the vested interests that particular caste groups had in the different linguistic classifications and distributions of regions.

In the multilingual states that existed prior to the formation of linguistic states, a particular balance of power was maintained between different castes of the same linguistic region on the one hand and between dominant castes of different linguistic regions but the same political division, on the other. Naturally, the creation of linguistic states would drastically affect the balance of power between different castes, narrowing the field of conflict to a few dominant castes, since organization of caste groups does not extend beyond linguistic regions. It was this power-struggle that was behind the conflicts over the reorganization of states.

An interesting though not isolated example of the effect that the creation of linguistic states had on the balance of power between the regionally dominant castes is provided by Mysore. The main contenders of power in Mysore state were the Lingayats, originally a religious sect, and the Okkaligas, a peasant-proprietor caste. The Lingayat State in a United Karnataka was clearly articulated by the Virshaive Mahasabha—a caste association of the Lingayats formed in the early twentieth century to invoke a united caste consciousness among them. The Mahasabha was for a united Karnataka covering all those areas which had a predominantly Kannada speaking population. The spokesmen of the Mahasabha argued that while Lingayats were in a minority in the then existing princely states of Mysore, in a united Karnataka composed of all the Kannada speaking regions they would form a clear majority and hence

would be in a better position to dominate. For the very reason of the fear of Lingayat domination, the Okkaligas opposed the formation of a united Karnataka. The States Re-organization Commission considered the Okkaligas argument about Lingayat domination but rejected it on the grounds that though Lingayats constitute 35% to 40% of the population in the proposed united Karnataka—no *one* community could dominate if all others joined hands against it. The Lingayat-Okkaliga controversy over the proposed linguistic state became so intense that no attempts were made to camouflage it in different terms. Harrison quotes from newspaper editorials, conference-addresses etc., to show that the vested interests of the different castes behind the controversy were openly recognized. While allowing for regional variations, examples from other castes would be given to show that *at least one of the* forces operating behind controversies over linguistic states was the power struggle of caste groups which, in turn, was linked with the allocation of economic gains expected to follow from the control over the democratic institutions in the state.

An interesting example of the role of vested economic interests in supporting or opposing the formation of particular linguistic states is the Marwari opposition to a Samyukta Maharashtra. As supporters of Samyukta Maharashtra professed—the demand for a bifurcated Maharashtra came from the non-Marathi speaking Marwaris who had their own ulterior motives in demanding this. In short, the Marwaris feared that Marathas, being in a clear majority in a United Maharashtra, would be dominant and that they (Marwaris) would not be able to compete with them. However Maratha strength was only 24% in Vidarbha while there was a Marwari concentration in this region. Therefore, the Marwaris' logic behind the demand for a bifurcated Maharashtra was that while Marwari-power could not compete with the overall Maratha caste-strength in a united Maharashtra, it could go a long way in the smaller state of Vidarbha.

My whole point in the above discussion has not been to show that the only explanation of controversies over linguistic issues during the state's re-organization is to be found in caste politics, but to show that it provides one clue to the proper understanding of these controversies. Certainly Harrison's picture is over drawn and many arguments may be presented against it:

(1) Even if some members of a caste group had vested interests to serve in taking particular stands in linguistic controversies, it does not follow that all members were motivated by the same reasons.

(2) The minority castes also took active participation in the movements of different states but the above explanation does not take this into account.

(3) Vested interests cannot be the only *explanation*, for sometimes caste groups took stands that went directly against their vested economic

or political interests. In case of Maharashtra itself, the Brahmins supported the movement for Samyukta Maharashtra, even though they realized that this would mean a virtual Maratha dominance in the proposed state.

(4) Common language itself united many castes and they all agitated together for a common cause. For instance, to this day Maharashtrians refer to the Samyukta Maharashtra Movement as a movement that wiped away the differences between the Marathi speaking people for the first time in Maratha history.

I have not taken the above arguments into account, because my purpose was not to provide a comprehensive analysis of the problem but to point out to some of its neglected aspects. Since the above analysis shows that linguistic controversies also involve issues other than linguistic ones, we should try and discern these in the understanding of the language problem in its present state.

It is essential to explain two aspects of the language problem as a prerequisite to its solution. They are :

(a) Why the states have accepted, in principle, the switch-over to regional languages but at least some of them (Madras and West Bengal in particular) have refused to accept Hindi as the link language.

(b) Why the spokesmen of the cause of Hindi are demanding with sudden urgency, immediate imposition of Hindi as the official link language. The extreme expression of the view was recently found in the statement of Govind Das, MP and Chairman of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan who said that '...........The Centre should even use force to make any recalcitrant State to fall in line with the national policy if it tried to veto implementation of Hindi as the sole link language of the country'.[6]

One clue to the understanding of the first problem, to my mind, is provided by an analysis of the social background from which the different regional élites are recruited and contrast it with the social background of those who played élite role into late British and early Independence period.

It is generally assumed that the modern Indian élite has a disproportionate representation of certain sections of the population—especially, Brahmins. However, it is essential to keep in mind that the composition of the élite varies not only regionally, but also over a period of time. In the earlier stages it was generally the members of the high caste who obtained the new Western education and through it the well paid positions, and prestigious jobs including jobs in administration. The continuity between the traditional and the modern élite was most marked in the period just before World War I. A strong challenge to the position of these high castes who had undergone 'primary westernization'[7] came in the form of the Backward Class Movement. As Srinivas has noted, the movement was strongest in South India but it de-

veloped in other parts also, sometimes disguised under other movements. Since well documented accounts are available of the movement in South India, I shall limit my analysis to area mainly for the purpose of showing the changes in the composition of the present élite.

The dominance of Brahmins has been most marked in the past in Tamilnad. In the British period the Tamil Brahmins took striking lead over the non-Brahmins and the non-Tamilian Brahmins in obtaining English education. Beteille states that "between 1892 and 1904 out of 16 successful candidates for the I. C. S., 15 were Brahmins; in 1913, 93 out of 128 permanent district munsifs were Brahmins; and in 1914, 452 out of the 650 registered graduates of the University were Brahmins". It is essential to remember here that all non-Brahmin castes were not economically or politically weak. As a matter of fact, along with numerical preponderance they owned vast quantities of land with which power in the rural areas was closely associated. The only field in which they lagged behind the Brahmins was western education and consequently their number in the professions and services was minimal.

It was from these rurally dominant peasant-proprietor castes, that the challenge to Brahmin dominance came in the form of the Backward Class Movement. It is significant that it was the prospect of the transfer of political power from the British to the Indians that enabled the movement to develop. The leaders of non-Brahmin movement feared that in the transfer of power, the Brahmins may, due to their relatively superior position with regard to western education, seize the positions of power. It was to allow these few that the principle of communal representation was evolved. The principle of caste quotas enabled these castes to secure a sufficiently large proportion of jobs in the professions and services.

With independence and adult suffrage these peasant-proprietor castes became more powerful and all political parties had to come to terms with them. They were well represented in state legislatures and cabinets, village panchayats etc. and though conflicts between dominant castes of particular regions were only to be expected—from the point of view of the other, less powerful castes, it is the few regionally dominant castes who have usurped all the positions of power.

The upshot of the above discussion is that in states such as Madras and Maharashtra, the westernized Brahmin élite has been replaced by the rurally dominant peasant-proprietor castes. The social background of the members of these castes with their strong 'ties with the soil', provides *one* explanation for the readiness with which switch-over to regional language is being accepted. The D.M.K.'s coming in power with its strong parochial approach highlights the regional character of the present political élite.

But the fact that those who are in positions of power in the states are ready to switch-over to the regional languages does not mean that they will be ready

to accept Hindi. It would be sufficiently clear that if Hindi is made the official language, the Hindi speaking people will be placed in an advantageous position with regard to the jobs in the Centre. Therefore, from the point of view of the political élite in the states now—if Hindi is made the official language—the positions of power which were held previously by the English speaking Brahmins will pass to the Hindi speaking north Indians. Their opposition to Hindi, therefore, is one aspect of the power-struggle between the prospective Hindi speaking political 'haves' and the non-Hindi speaking 'have-nots'.

The suspicions of the non-Hindi speaking people are intensified by the increasing urgency with which the Hindi speaking people are demanding 'immediate' imposition of Hindi 'by force, if necessary'. In the article quoted before, Srinivas[8] has stated—'It is indeed unfortunate that the Hindi speaking area which from the national point of view is the majority area, is also the area of social and economic backwardness; three-fifths of the children in the age-group 6-11 who are not attending schools are in a solid block which include the Hindi-speaking area, and Jammu and Orissa..........The area also includes some of the poorest regions in the country—eastern U. P. and Western Bihar, the deserts of Rajasthan, and the tribal belt running through Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, and Bihar. The point which I am making is that if this area had been more forward-looking, it might have been more generous to minorities'.

In some respects, the movement of the Hindi speaking people to impose Hindi can be interpreted as a Backward Area Movement. Statistical statements from articles of D. K. Bose and Ashok Mitra[9] show that U. P. can be placed at the lower levels of development. Its industrial output is one of the lowest. Next to Jammu and Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh has the largest percentage of cultivators coupled with lesser people in service. The distribution of its population along levels of development shows largest concentration of population of U. P. in the lowest level.

If Hindi is made the official link language it is precisely the people of the area, who will be placed in an advantageous position to capture political and economic power. I am not suggesting that this is the sole motivation for their demand of imposition of Hindi or even that *all* Hindi speaking people are motivated by economic or political forces. However, this may be one important motivation and certainly the people of the non-Hindi speaking states cannot be blamed for interpreting the demand in these terms. If Hindi is to be made the official language, it will be essential to offset the disadvantageous position of the non-Hindi speaking states by other measures. Use of force in imposing Hindi will only worsen the position, confirming the worst fears of the people of southern states. It is to be hoped that an understanding of the under currents operating in the linguistic controversies will help the policy-

makers to evolve more realistic policies with emphasis on implementation.

In the light of the above analysis I would like to point out that one grave shortcoming of our policy makers is that they seem to assume that policies are implemented in a social vacuum. The social base on which the policies have to be implemented is ignored resulting in a wide gap between policy-making and policy-implementation. In case of the language issue, it is important to realize that a particular language comes to be associated with a cluster of attitudes. However irrational these attitudes may be their presence has to be taken as a given fact. Unless an effort is made to understand these attitudes and the people's response to policies, it will be impossible to ensure the mass participation which is essential for the functioning of a democratic, developing country.

In this paper I have tried to bring out some of the under-currents operating in the language issues. I have not been able to present specific hypotheses complete with proofs either for accepting or rejecting them. I would plead that the nature of the subject coupled with very little research on the politics of language, make it difficult to present a very neat analysis. However, I hope I have been successful in throwing up a few questions for discussion of the problem in this light.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. I am extremely grateful to Professor M. N. Srinivas for his help and encouragement in the preparation of this paper. My debt to him would be obvious to any one familiar with his writings, though of course, the responsibility for the errors is solely mine.

2. Bernard Cohn, "Regions Subjective and Objective : Their Relation to the Study of Modern Indian History and Society" (from a preliminary draft).
3. M. N. Srinivas, "Is the Sun Setting ?", *Seminar*, No.90, February 1967, pp. 12-16.
4. Selig Harrison, Princeton, 1961.
5. Irawati Karve, *Kinship organization in India*, Poona, 1953, p. 5.
6. Reported in *Indian Express*, 28 September, 1967.
7. This term was introduced by Srinivas and it refers to a situation when linkage between western stimulas and Indian response is simple and direct.
8. M. N. Srinivas, "Is the Sun Setting ?", *op.cit.*, No. 90.
9. For details see statements from the following articles—

   D. K. Bose, "Regional disparities in India—an analysis through national sample survey data".

   Ashok Mitra, "Levels of regional Development in India".

   Both articles were read in International Conference on Comparative Research in Social Change and Regional Disparity Within and Between Nations with special reference to Southern Asia.

R. MADHAVAN NAIR

Language and Regionalism

WHICH came first—the egg or the chicken ? It is a bit of a puzzle. Which came first—language or region? There cannot be much of a puzzle here. Men had to inhabit some territory before they could invent a language. The subject under discussion is: Language and Regionalism. I would have preferred it the other way: Regionalism and Language. Language facilitates national and international intercourse. But it is not the absence of a universal language that has stood in the way of the Parliament of Man or the Federation of the World.

To get the priorities right, therefore, language must get out of the first place. For nationalism and regionalism alike, there must be territory first. Jewish nationalism was a disembodied spirit until it found a local habitation and a name in Israel. Regionalism without a region is hard to conceive, though regionalism can be preached in any language. Regionalism finds expression in language, and when language fails, it finds expression in actions which speak louder than words.

The concept of regionalism is itself without precise definition. The States Reorganisation Commission considered different regions like river valleys, nodal regions, and regions in which the per capita income would not be greatly below or greatly above the national average. Ultimately it gave up: 'It is either impossible to suggest an acceptable definition of a region or, if a definition can be suggested, to apply it in a dynamic situation where the entire economy is undergoing rapid change'.

What, then, do we understand by regionalism? Uttar Pradesh is a geographical region and a linguistic region. South India is a geographical re-

gion but it has many languages with many states. The formula of 'one language—one region' breaks down altogether when it comes to Urdu. Speakers of Urdu as a mother tongue are not relatable to any one specific region.

'Scratch a separatist in language', Mr. Nehru said, 'and you will invariably find that he is a communalist and very often a political reactionary'. Dr. Ambedkar told Parliament that Switzerland had no difficulty as a multilingual state because there 'linguism is not loaded with caste or communalism'. The report of the Committee on Emotional Integration said : 'What has dragged the problem of Indian languages down to the arena of acrimonious debate is the attempt by certain people to make language a cloak for their ambitious designs in other fields, notably politics and employment'. If these statements are correct, it should be perfectly in order to drop language and regionalism, and talk of the real thing which is language and communalism and/or language and politics.

Granted that language is a cloak for communalism. Granted, too, that it is cloak for politics. There is no gainsaying the fact that a great deal of our politics has been and is communal politics after all. But it is no use lamenting that politics is being dragged in unnecessarily into everything. Politics is the most important activity in any society. Politics makes and unmakes government. 'A complete act of Government,' as Herman Finer has said, 'consists of the conversion of the desires or will of some individual or groups into the behaviour of others or all in the society in which they dwell'. Hence the importance of politics in all things.

We see the J.V.P. Committee saying in one breath that 'the present is not an opportune moment' for the creation of linguistic provinces and adding in the next breath that 'if public sentiment is insistent and over-whelming, *we, as democrats,* have to submit to it, but subject to certain limitations in regard to the good of India as a whole'. (Italics mine). The Congress commitment in principle to linguistic states dates back to 1920. The principle that the language of the ruler must correspond to the language of the people dates back to Asoka whose inscriptions registered regional variations ranging from Prākrit to Greek and Aramaic.

Whether the Congress commitment to linguistic provinces has been really that altruistic has been questioned. According to Selig Harrison, for instance: 'In the independence movement, Gandhi and Nehru gave full scope to ten separate patriotisms within the Congress Party to arouse the spirit of each against the common foe'. Local patriotism is rooted in local history. Revivalism or the desire to re-live history is associated with it. The States Reorganisation Commission spotted this phenomenon. It said: 'It has to be recognised, in respect of some States, that this is one of the basic factors governing regional spirit and not to take it into account may be somewhat unrealistic'. Regionalism has thus a past history. It is not a sudden eruption.

We are in the habit of blaming Gandhi, Nehru and others for raising the linguistic ghost from its grave and making it walk the Indian streets in broad daylight. But, in point of fact, the British were as much guilty—if not more so—of preaching the linguistic principle and even practising it whenever it suited them.

The linguistic principle figures for the first time in a letter from Sir Herbert Risley, Home Secretary to the Government of India, to the Bengal Government in 1903 mooting the proposal for the partition of Bengal. Later, in the Partition Resolution of 1905 and in the despatch of Harding in 1911 proposing the annulment of partition, language was again prominently mentioned.

Then came the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918 which gave its blessings to 'linguistic states', though it did not exactly advocate them for other reasons. The report said: 'It is also a strong argument in favour of racial or linguistic units of government that, by making it possible to conduct the business of legislation in the vernacular, they would contribute to draw into the arena of public affairs men who were not acquainted with English'.

And then again, twelve years later, came the Indian Statutory Commission, popularly known as the Simon Commission, which spoke of the factors which should govern redistribution of the provinces. The Commission said : 'If those who spoke the same language form a compact and self-contained area and endowed so as to be able to support its existence as a separate province, there is no doubt that the use of a common speech is a strong and natural basis for provincial individuality'.

It is not necessary here to go into the various details of the redistribution of provinces under the British Raj which was undoubtedly done with mixed motives but which, nevertheless, paid lip service to the linguistic principle. At least this should help us to get rid of the notion that the Congress or its leaders were the original sinners in this regard. Indeed, if it comes to original sin, it would appear that nobody in India was more responsible for the ascendancy of the linguistic principle as an article of faith and as a basis of polity than the Europeans as European history clearly shows.

The regional idea has been toyed with in India by many people in the past. In the not so distant past Sir Muhammad Iqbal propounded a 'territorial solution' in his presidential address to the League Session in 1930: 'The creation of autonomous States based on unity of language, race, history, religion and identity of economic interests is the only possible way to secure a stable constitutional structure in India'. In 1939, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan issued a pamphlet advocating the formation of seven regions. Later came M.W.M. Yeatts, the Census Commissioner, who argued for regional demarcation by river-basins. The motivation behind all these proposals was communal, showing that regionalism and communalism are Siamese twins in politics, while language and regionalism may only be second cousins.

The mix of language and regionalism has followed the mix of language and nationalism. The Constitution nowhere uses the word 'national language'. It speaks of the 'Language of the Union' or the 'Official Language of the Union'. But in the political parlance today 'national language' and 'national languages' have unsurpassed currency. By a curious inversion, a national policy for languages has become an issue of the national language policy. A national language is believed to stand for nationalism and regional languages for regionalism. 'We shall shape the pattern of our languages,' said the Official Languages Commission, 'and then the pattern of our languages will shape us'. This is a specimen of the native faith reposed in languages to shape or misshape our destiny, when, in reality, it may be other forces that are taking shape and, in turn, shaping our destiny.

The strictures of Mr. Frank Anthony against the first Official Languages Commission for using the expression 'Hindi and other national languages' seemed rather far-fetched at that time. The conferment of national status on as many languages as are mentioned in the Eighth Schedule, according to him, was meant to soften opposition to Hindi as a national language. But it has had the effect, predictably, of splitting India into as many national enclaves as there are languages by importing the multi-national concept into multi-lingual context.

Regionalism is often placed in opposition to nationalism and a nationalistic or a nationalised centre. Mr. K. M. Panikkar wrote in his *Foundations of a New India*: 'It cannot be emphasised too much that regional feeling in India has not been in relation to the Centre, except perhaps to a small degree in the State of Madras, but in a sense of rivalry to other regions. All are claimants for the patronage and bounty of the Centre'. Mutually exclusive and conflicting regionalisms can make mincemeat of the Centre. Apart from this, the thesis that regional feeling is not directed against the Centre is not quite correct. It is directed against the Centre to the extent that an over-represented region at the centre is a stone of stumbling and rock of offence to the rest.

Panikkar himself provides evidence of this in his dissenting note on Uttar Pradesh appended to the S.R.C. report. He makes the point that Indian federalism denies the federal principle of the equality of units. He says: If one were realistic and took into consideration the manner in which governments functioned all over the world, it would be easy to see that this preponderant influence which would accrue to a very large unit could be abused, and would in any case be resented by all constituent units'.

Even without linguistic states, the seeds of regional conflict were sown in the Constitution by the great disparities in the federating units. The seeds are blossoming today in the regionalisation of education also. To quote Panikkar again : 'Too great a disparity is likely to create not only suspicion and resentment but generate forces likely to undermine the federal structure

itself and thereby be a danger to the unity of the country......The real issue, therefore, is whether it is desirable to place any unit in a position to exercise an unduly large measure of influence'. If this is the real issue, there is no linguistic *mantra* by which it can be solved.

All the three Prime Ministers of India so far have come from one region which makes not only this region but every other region self-consciously and even aggressively regional. An analysis of the political power structure of the country might perhaps provide a more unerring clue to the rash of regionlism than chasing linguistic hares. James Russel Lowell defined a 'country' in its political sense as 'certain persons elevated for the time being to a high station'. In Plain language, it means the momentary rulers who speak in a nations' name. Even the nationalist as opposed to the regionalist has to hail from a region, and he is suspect in the eyes of other regionalists who do not accept his bonafides.

The oldest self-governing unit in the Commonwealth today is Canada. A Royal Commission on Canadian bilingualism reported two years ago : 'The chief protagonists, whether they are entirely conscious of it or not, are French-speaking Quebec and English-speaking Canada......Today, the kind of opinion we met so often in the province regards Quebec practically as an autonomous society, and expects her to be recognised as such. This attitude goes back to a fundamental expectation for French Canada, that is, to be an equal partner with English-speaking Canada. If this idea is found to be impossible, because such equality is not believed in or is not acceptable, we believe the sense of deception will bring decisive consequences. An important element in French-speaking Quebec is already tempted to go it alone'. In other words, regionalism derives from regional expectations for equal treatment or fair treatment.

Hitherto, we have proceeded on the assumption that regionalism is an unmixed evil. But it has also another side. Harold Laski says of the American states : 'They breed in most of their citizens an undeniable parochialism; but the states are few in which there is not something akin to loveliness in their parochialism'. Parochialism in America is lovely. It is lovely too in Britain where the auditory aspect of speech so effectively consigns a man or a woman not only to a particular region but also to a particular class as Pygmalion Higins so brilliantly set out to show—and did. How comes it that it is unlovely and poisonous in India except perhaps for purposes of the Republic Day tableaus and pageants?

A justification for American regionalism is furnished by F. J. Turner who distinguishes it from sectionalism. Sectionalism, by its nature, is based on factors of division which are always tending to conflict. Regionalism, by its nature, is seeking to unify interests in an area which has failed to realise its common institutional needs. In a country like India, which is a sub-conti-

nent, a vigorous assertion of regionalism was only to be expected as a consequence of the rise and fulfilment of nationalism.

Centre-state relations were not easy even when the glow of independence was fresh, and when a single political party was in command throughout the country. Now, with different parties in power at the Centre and the states, Centre-state relations provide an arena for the expression of party rivalries also. This is the extra dimension which the old problem has acquired.

In other federations, state parties preceded national parties. In India the process has been the reverse. This might well be one of the reasons why the equality of the federal units did not find constitutional expression as in other federations. Throughout the independence struggle the office of the Congress President symbolised the unity of India. He was called Rashtrapati—a term now reserved for the President of the Republic. But with the passing of the old order the journey from the familiar to the unfamiliar has begun. The familiar is reassuring. The unfamiliar is unsettling. An imagined future is projected into the real present, and it is assumed that Indian unity is already finished by linguism or regionalism or whatever it is called. Orwell called it a major mental disease—this habit of thinking that whatever is happening must go on happening.

Toynbee said in his Azad Memorial Lecture (1960) that 'while linguistic nationalism is a disintegrating force, it is a fair price that India has to pay for the introduction of democracy'. It is reminiscent of the J.V.P. Committee's phrase: 'We, as democrats......' etc. We, as democrats, must come to terms with the regions and the languages and the linguistic states. To attack regionalism by attacking language as if that was the sole culprit is to sidetrack the issue of democracy's fair price. This price has to be paid in political and economic and social coin. The economic evil is the failure to achieve a balanced economic life. The political evil is the failure to treat equal and uniform needs in an equal and uniform way. The social evil is the miscarriage of the socialistic pattern of society by the rich getting richer and the poor poorer. Can language solve these problems? No, the problems will remain what they are, no matter what the language.

In so far as language can help to lower the temperature of the body politic at the centre, the states or the regions, it is the language of accommodation that is called for. This too is a principle of democracy which we, as democrats—and I hope we are democrats—cannot afford to forget for even a moment. To be clad in the armour of righteousness, said William Jennings Bryan, would make the humblest citizen stronger than all the hosts of error. But, as Walter Lippmann pointed out, that is not quite true, because the hosts of error believe that they are also clad in the armour of righteousness. The chair of office is peculiarly liable to produce in those who sit in it a belief that they have exclusive possession of the entire armoury of righteousness.

Lowell's description of 'country' in its political sense, cited earlier, is in its perverted sense. In its true philosophical sense, a country and its people are a corporation, an entity, while individuals come and go. Language and regionalism, like language and nationalism, will fall into proper perspective only when we start playing rational politics. The cure to language and regionalism is language and rationalism. Reason in politics might itself seem an irrational concept. And so it is. But reason in politics means the recognition that practical politics is not based wholly, solely and exclusively on reason. Burke put the matter succinctly: 'Politics ought to be adjusted, not to human reasonings, but to human nature; of which the reason is but a part, and by no means the greatest part'.

K. SESHADRI

Language and Regionalism

An attempt, howsoever cursory, is made in this paper to delineate the socio-political assumptions of language and its interaction with region and vice-versa, and to conceptualise regionalism as a functional basis for the study of the contemporary political chaos that is threatening to disintegrate the country. The focus, therefore, is rather narrow, since it does not pretend to analyse the geographical aspects of regionalism.

To the western mind, the term 'regionalism' is not, comparatively speaking, overburdened with emotional and political overtones with which an Indian would associate it. It is a French word applicable both to geography and politics. Even though geographers, historians, anthropologists, linguists, artists, economists, sociologists, political scientists, administrators, architects, engineers, and planners have all been fascinated by the term and contributed richly towards presenting a variety of nuances of definition and description to it, still it remains an emotionally unattached but academically challenging concept. A balance is always achieved between the forces of regional priority and those seeking expression of relation of the regions to the total. Especially, with the growth of planning, the regionalisation of the country for efficient execution of various plans on the basis of homogeneity in contiguous regional units—homogeneity in economic or physical or geographical or ecological factors or because of the commonality of problems that have to be faced by people inhabiting a given area, as in the case of T.V.A., has become an administrative necessity. Services and their relationship to areas have been a problem of administration (See James W. Fesler, *Area and Administration*, Alabama, 1949).

There is no neat division by nature of any land into definite and distinct areas, and even if there can be some such natural carving, man through the ages has not obeyed these limitations. Howsoever one might declare, as is being wrongly taught in the primary schools in our country, that the mighty Himalayas insulated and protected the country from the rest of Asia, men through history have paid scant respect to this 'natural boundary', and have made repeated political incursions and invasions which in their train brought about bewildering changes in the sub-continent's different cultural patterns of which languages are important ingredients. The chequered history of this sub-continent, which till the stabilization of the British rule was never brought under one umbrella, has contributed not a little to arbitrary patterns of human habitation. Kingdoms and empires changed not only their dynasties but also their boundaries, and thus a medley of cultures has emerged which has been euphemistically styled as 'composite culture' of India.

The heterogenous nature of this country has been the result of its historical exposure to the 'cultures' of the various people from outside belonging to entirely different ethnic, religious, and linguistic stock. It is claimed that India 'assimilated' all these cultures and the languages thereof, and that only in the case of the British there has been resistance to the penetration of their culture. The British rulers also did not force other forms of their culture except language, which was introduced for the unification of the services and the running of the administration. At least the Mutiny of 1857 did away with any lurking doubts in the minds of the British that their 'superior culture' could be introduced into the country by force. Therefore, with absolutely no respect for the separatedness of the various languages and sub-cultural patterns in the country of which they understood precious little, they imposed an arbitrary pattern upon the features of habitats, which has become, after a long and mute acceptance by a subject people, as significant and matter of fact as nature itself. The English language linked the élites of the country, who alone mattered in the then non-participatory bureaucratic political context.

It should be said here that, in India, if there were any imperial dynasties expanding over vast territories inhabited by people speaking different languages, the language of the court and of administration has never been the regional language but Sanskrit or Persian—the languages of the élite. In the south, Persian did not make its impact, and in the pre-Muslim period, Tamil was the language of the court as well as of the common folk. Thus the English language covered all these regional incongruities as did Sanskrit and Persian in their respective eras, by a thin and opaque film of centralised uniformity. The realization of the under-current of 'unity in diversity' in India is also attributable to this uniform coverage by English.

Compared to this picture of India, there is a greater cultural unity in Europe among its various nations. With the unity in religions and other

cultural and art forms like music, dance and dress, and even food habits that Europe exhibits, the unity that is attributed to India is lackadaisical. There is no common ground between a person from Kerala and another coming from Punjab, who feels more at home in the company of a Punjabi Pakistani. Neither the language nor the music, neither the dress nor the habits of the one is understood, much less tolerated, by the other. The unity of purpose which was fostered to give the people a feeling of patriotism became in the later years of the post-Independence era a demand for uniformity of behaviour. Here is the crisis in the contemporary Indian society which seems to throw up sectionalising forces frustrating all countervailing tendencies towards national uniformity. It may be argued that this is endemic to all nations attaining stability. But when sectionalising forces are not mutually complementary to the total but grow mutually antagonistic, it becomes menacing.

As the British made India politically one unit, they had ultimately to face opposition from not disparate groups, independent of and separate from one another, but from a politically 'unified' and 'consolidated' nation which had been newly reawakened into that consciousness indirectly by this very process of anglicisation. It is perhaps because of the unification of the country in its struggle against the British rule that a sense of unity still endures in the country. This was reinforced by the cultural ties that were emphasised during the whole century and a half of colonialism. Otherwise, what is happening in Nigeria today, where all the democratic and constitutional trappings were present till recently, would have befallen this country also. In the course of the national struggle an injured sense of mortification was generated and deliberately fostered among the people speaking different indigenous languages, as part of the total strategy of the emancipatory struggle.

A new political idiom was developed by Gandhi-ji as a counterpoise against gigantism of the British Imperialist rule with its uniformity of administration, standardisation of production, and centralisation of power. Gandhi-ji, therefore, opposed this gigantism by appeals to regionalism, the centralization by conjuring up nostalgic visions of village panchayat republics of old, and standardisation by cottage industries etc. It was an attack on the Leviathan. None realized that regionalism would degenerate into a dogma and then a 'cult', supported by demagogy leading to mass hysteria reminiscent of anti-semitism of Hitlerite Germany.

It is interesting to note that Urdu linguism, not having a definite regional unit for itself, has come to be dubbed as communalism. Like English, it suffers the stigma of being patronised by a minority.

Love for regional language was encouraged by Gandhi-ji, who, together with the insistence on 'national dress', placed great emphasis on the mother-tongue. His scheme of basic education and the boycott he organised of the British schools, were all factors that were meant to unify the people by establishing

communication between the village and the city, the educated élite and the rustic masses. Nationalistic institutions were set up in many parts of the country with the mother-tongue medium as a result of the Gandhian boycott of British institutions. The writings of Tagore, Bankim and Sarat in Bengali, the inspiring poetry of Bharati in Tamil, the innovations in art forms devised by Vallathol in Kerala, the short story writings of Premchand in Urdu and then in Hindi, etc., to mention only a few, are all the blossoming of the native genius each emphasising the 'beauty' of their respective languages, as opposed to English.

Radha Kamal Mukerjee had defined regionalism as a 'common and co-ordinate set of stimuli, eliciting a similarity of responses, habits and feelings which are reinforced by gregariousness and which are moulded and stabilised into a characteristic mental type and pattern of living'. (*Social Ecology*, New York, 1945.) In a country so vast and varied as this country, to elicit a particular set of responses, in this case a patriotic fervour, and a national self-respect, a uniform act of stimuli cannot be adequate and hence a variety of them had to be used.

Emphasis began to be given to the regional history. All India political parties were organised on the basis of linguistic regions like the Andhra Congress Committee, Tamil Nadu Congress Committee, Karnataka Congress Committee or the Kerala Congress Committee, not corresponding with the administrative units. The Congress as early as 1920 passed a resolution on the formation of linguistic provinces in India, with a view to bringing the people speaking the same language together and thus ushering in participatory democracy. This was endorsed generally, and no one at the time saw the seeds of 'linguism' in this resolution. The Andhra area which was a part of the composite Madras Province was the most articulate in voicing the need for this linguistic autonomy as an integral part of the struggle for national liberation. Orissa had become a separate linguistic province, and why should not Andhra be also given the same status? Curiously enough, even Mr. Jinnah also supported the Andhra claim for a separate 'province-hood'. It was only Mr. Rajagopalachari who till the end stoutly opposed the formation of Andhra Province, and later on the formation of linguistic provinces in general. The Communist movement went all out for supporting the linguistic claims and even began glorifying and resurrecting the old forgotten folk-lore heroes of the various regions, and popularising them in their lyrics and other art media.

All these appeals to the glory of linguistic regions, and loyalty to the mother-tongue did not conflict with each other as long as they were concerted and united against the English. It is to be repeated here that during the pre-Independence period of glorification of regional languages, it was never anticipated that this would lead to the erection of linguistic walls between state and state. It is against this evil that Tagore warned the country—'where the

world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls,...... let my country awake'.

In fact, even to Hindi being accepted as a national language, much opposition was not evinced except by Dravida Kazhagam Party which was then a small minority party. Hence, while the Constitution was being drafted, the dangerous potentialities behind article 343 of the Constitution, were not visualized. Once the English language and the British rule, which were atonce the factors for India's integration and her slavery, were removed, the very regional differences and linguistic barriers developed formidably. A new linguistic chauvinism and a xenophobia developed by the time the States Reorganisation Commission set out to carve the country according to an already anticipated pattern after incurring a great deal of avoidable expenditure. This xenophobia, in the context of inter-state feelings, further developed into hideous and barbarous proportions manifesting xenelasia. Maharashtra had to be formed after much bloodshed and outrage, and now the Shiv Sena threatens to squeeze out all the non-Maharashtrians from Maharashtra, first starting with the weakest communities.

When the states were reorganised subsequent to the S.R.C., it was discovered that even this regionalism has its sub-regionalism. The political map of India as drawn by the British had already become an accepted fact, and when the boundaries were redrawn broadly on the basis of language, the inscrutability of this logic would not stop until the differences and the concomitant tensions between dialects and economic imbalance in the same language group began to come to the surface. The economic and cultural contours of a region unfortunately do not coincide in India, especially because of the uneven development in British India and the various native states. In the name of linguistic consolidation, the dominant regions wanted the less-developed regions to be integrated with them. What happened during the time of Lord Curzon when he divided Bengal got repeated after the reorganisation. The Telengana region reacted sharply against integration with the more developed coastal Andhra. Before this, the Rayalaseema area of Andhra insisted on their having the capital in Kurnool against all the strong arguments in favour of Vijayawada as presented in the Justice Wanchoo Report. Sub-regional demands for protected treatment are put forth. Tensions are visible in Mysore in regions newly joined from the former Hyderabad State, the areas torn off from the erstwhile Madras Presidency, and other areas. The Vidarbha, the Mahakosala, Telengana, Travancore, Cochin and Malabar regions, and so on, are all the logical concomitants of regionalism creating in its turn sub-regional tension areas. Each one of these regions may claim its ancestry to the old kingdoms mentioned in the epics! Separation of Haryana from Punjab is a supreme example of this regionalism within the same linguistic area having the same cultural and political background. The agitation for a separate

university in Rajkot is a similar syndrome.

This is the ultimate logic of regionalism in the multi-lingual, multi-cultural fabric of our society. Regionalism as a tool of administration and planning and social engineering, which alone is a justification for its recognition, becomes eclipsed in the emotive understanding of regionalism in a multi-lingual and economically under-developed context. While even small states in Europe, like the Netherlands, Belgium and even England, display regionalistic colours, they do not assume a bloody hue. An Englishman can joke at the expense of the Scotch. Dr. Johnson's jokes at the Scotch are an exemplification of the light-hearted nature in which regionalism is treated in the unilingual and developed nations.

In the developed and unilingual nations, region is only an inter-relationship between a certain set of facts, and hence there exist different regions whose boundaries overlap. In that context, there are no definite criteria for determining a region, as all criteria soon become obsolete; so a region is only a matter of administrative convenience, while the regional boundaries are highly perishable.

The tremendous progress in communication and transport, the great inter-state mobility of labour from Kashmir to Cape Comorin, the installation of huge projects and industrial complexes in different parts of the country which attract labour and engineering skill from all over the country, are all antidotal to the ill-effects of regionalism and linguism. The Bhilai Steel Plant or Chittaranjan Locomotive factory or the Bhakra Nangal or the Integral Coach Factory are all the new nuclei—the new anti-regionalistic regions where new hybrid languages would finally evolve as a result of this rub of the various cultures of the country. These new complexes, spreading their tantacles around and sucking people from the different 'regions' of the country, will themselves emerge as distinct 'new regions' with their own economic, cultural, social contours, synthesising the sectionalising and integrating forces, adopting and enriching a hybrid language of their own based on a liberal admixture of words from different languages on the base language of the area. This perhaps would be the new Regional Capitals or the *chef-lieu* defined by the French Regionalists (Robert E. Dickinson, *City, Region and Regionalism*, London, 1960). This is a hope, howsoever far away from the present generation. It is a thin and extremely dubious silver lining in the certain dark clouds.

Language, Regionalism, Nationalism and Culture in Other Countries

DEWAN BERINDRANATH

The Language Problem in Pakistan

AMONG all the national controversies commonly inherited by India and Pakistan, the language problem seems to be the most intricate and at the same time, the most interesting one. Interest and intricacy lie not only in the magnitude of the problem facing the twin nations, but also in the way sough to solve the same. One could feel amused, and yet learn a great deal from the mutual experiences in this regard.

To begin with, the language problem seems much simpler in Pakistan than in this country. For one thing, Pakistan is a smaller unit; major languages there are only two, compared to India's fifteen. The cementing factor of Islam was considered to be powerful enough to negate the force of the controversy Mr. Jinnah had contemptuously called 'linguism'. Incidentally, Mr. Jinnah seems to be the first person to have used this word in the sub-continent in its present connotation. Moreover, Urdu enjoyed a particularly advantangeous position. It had been in official use upto the district level in all parts of West Pakistan, from the beginning of the century. It was thus considered to have attained a higher state of development as a medium of official work than perhaps any language of the sub-continent.

Other languages of the West Pakistan region, such as Punjabi, Pushto and Sindhi, being in a comparatively lower state of development, the claim of Urdu as the only national language seemed absolutely uncontested at the time of the partition. The basis of this claim was the championship by the Muslim League movement of Urdu as the national language in the pre-partition days. Development of Urdu as a national language had become an integral part of the demand for a separate homeland for the Muslims of India.[1]

Yet, curiously enough, Urdu was not the language of any region of Pakistan. An Urdu enthusiast like I. H. Qureshi, writing in 1951 had called Urdu 'the only logical lingua franca of Pakistan'. But even he had to concede that as a spoken language Urdu is used only by the refugees who had come from India.[2] Actually, even this was an exaggeration. Urdu was definitely not the language of the Punjabi, Rajasthani, Gujarati and Bengali Muslims who constituted a large section of the refugee population of Pakistan. It was the language only of those Muslims who had migrated from the Hindi-speaking areas of India, like Delhi, U. P., and Bihar, as also from the former state of Hyderabad.

This fact was borne out by the census figures of 1951,[3] which gave the following figures of the proportion of people speaking the major languages in Pakistan: Bengali 54.5%, Punjabi 28.4%, Sindhi 5.6%, Pushto 7.1%, Urdu 7.2%, English 1.8%. Apart from these major and distinct languages there are quite a number of dialects spoken by a large number of people in West Pakistan. Take Multani, for example. This is commonly spoken in the south-western tip of the Punjab, and in Bahawalpur state.[4] In spite of being a dialect of Punjabi, it would be unintelligible either in Lahore or Rawalpindi. Similarly Pothohari, the mother-tongue of President Ayub Khan, the language of the rural areas around Rawalpindi and that of 'Azad Kashmir', can claim a distinct flavour of its own.. The presence of these dialects has, however, been very disadvantageous for the Punjabi in its endeavours to get an official recognition as the sole language of the Punjab. Moreover, it could not claim to have a standardised linguistic pattern and diction like Urdu or Bengali. The same was the case with Pushto which has Baluchi, Jatki, Urumuri, Khowar, and Brahui as different and distinct dialects spoken in areas like Baluchistan, Chitral, Gilgit, and Hunza areas. The existence of these dialects was used by the Urdu protagonists to weaken the case of Punjabi and Pushto. By clever linguistic manipulations, the type of which have been quite common in India too, these two languages along with Sindhi, were dismissed as mere dialects of Urdu. Pro-Urdu intellectuals, like I. H. Qureshi, Maulana Salahuddin and Maulvi Dr. Abdul Haq[5] claimed that Urdu was the mother-tongue of all the languages of West Pakistan. A major reason for West Pakistani languages being dismissed as such was the fact that Punjabi, Pusto and Sindhi as also their various dialects were written in variations of the Arabic script.[6] It was however conveniently forgotten that compared to Urdu's highly sophisticated and graceful Nastaleeq style which is a variation of the later-day Persian script, scripts of Pushto and Sindhi are akin to the medieval Arabic. They are so different that an Urdu knowing person cannot easily decipher either of them.

Coming back to the census figures, one must also take note of the pro-Urdu campaign which was launched by organisations like Anjuman-Tariqe-Urdu both in West and East Pakistan, persuading people to claim Urdu as their mother-tongue.[7] It was thus possible, as has been pointed out by Keith

Callard, that quite a few people showed preference for more than one language hence the total percentage proportion worked out to be over a hundred.[8] Keeping the regional distribution of population in mind, it should be a fair guess that at least one-third of the people who were shown to know Urdu did not know it as their mother-tongue. This reduces the percentage of those whose mother-tongue was really Urdu to less than even 5%. The position of Urdu was thus only better than English as far as the number of its adherents was concerned.

Speaking area wise, it was only in the city of Karachi where Urdu adherents could claim a proportion higher than 33%. Even in Lahore, known traditionally as the centre of Urdu journalism and literature, the percentage of people claiming Urdu as their mother-tongue fell far below 25%. In East Pakistan, the position was still worse. Not even 3% of the people could claim the ability to read or write Urdu, in that province.

It was made clear right from the time of the proclamation of Pakistan that Urdu was going to be the national language of the new State.[9] But from the very beginning of 1948, East Bengalis whose language could claim a solid block of 55% as its adherents, had started expressing great resentment over the predominant position of a language spoken by less than 5% of the total population. The first controversy of this nature, to take place in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly was an amendment moved in February 1948, by a Bengali Hindu member to the Assembly Rules to permit Bengali to be used along with Urdu and English. The move was summarily dismissed by the then Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, who replied by saying that 'Pakistan is a Muslim State, and it must have as its lingua franca, a language of the Muslim nation. The mover should realise that Pakistan has been created because of the demand of a hundred million Muslims in this sub-continent, and the language of a hundred million Muslims is Urdu. It is necessary for a nation to have one language and that language can only be Urdu and no other language'.[10] Similarity between the tone of Liaquat Ali Khan and other enthusiasts of Urdu in Pakistan and that of the Hindi fanatics in this country is interesting and note-worthy. The resentment in Bengal over such an uncompromising attitude spread so fast that, only a month later, Mr. Jinnah felt it necessary to go to Dacca and personally reiterate the official policy before an audience there. He is reported to have said, 'Let me make it very clear to you that the State language of Pakistan is going to be Urdu and no other language. Anyone, who tried to mislead you is really the enemy of Pakistan. Without one State language, no nation can remain tied up solidly together and function'.[11]

Khalid B. Saeed, in his *Pakistan—The Formative Phase*, has recorded the fact that the resentment against the impending imposition of Urdu had started growing in East Pakistan right from August 1947.[12] One comes across here an interesting coincidence and ironical similarity in the linguistic controversies

in the two countries. Just like India, where in Tamiland, the first linguistic controversy arose over the issue of some Money Order forms in Hindi, in Pakistan too, it were the Post Offices which triggered off the first wave of resentment against the imposition of Urdu, in East Bengal. This was partly heightened by the attitude of the West Pakistan officers who were posted in the province. They tried to impose Urdu by not caring themselves to learn Bengali—yet expecting Bengalis to learn Urdu and English. Due to an over-zealous decision of the postal authorities, documents like Money Order forms etc., were printed only in English and Urdu, thus giving a cause of great complaint to the Bengali population whose leaders started complaining openly that they were being treated as worse than colonial subjects.[13] An index of the popularity of the pro-Bengali movement is the fact that younger elements of the Muslim League Party like Mohammad Ali (Bogra), Taffazal Ali and Khwaja Nazimuddin, got into the leadership of the pro-Bengali movement. As has been recorded by Saeed, Mr. Jinnah of course found his own method of weakening this movement by sending Mohammed Ali as Ambassador to Burma and taking Taffazal Ali as a Minister in the Provincial Ministry.[14] The movement became weaker, due to a temporary loss of Muslim leadership. It was then easy for people like Liaquat Ali Khan to dub other supporters of the movement as Hindu agents working under instructions from Calcutta. The fact that most of the opposition in the Constituent and the East Bengal Legislative Assembly consisted of Hindu members of the Pakistan National Congress, added a semblance of substance to the charge. It is perhaps more than an irony that just as Mahatma Gandhi is quoted, and in fact misquoted, by some of the Hindi enthusiasts to prove the merits of their case, Jinnah too, is brought in by the Urdu zealots in Pakistan, and is misquoted exactly in the same manner.

Anyhow with Mr. Liaquat Ali at the helm of affairs, it does not seem surprising that the interim report of the Basic Principles Committee of the Constituent Assembly flatly stated that Urdu should be the national language of the State (para 120).

Agitation in east pakistan

But later, this very item proved to be responsible for igniting the first major popular commotion in Pakistan. In February 1952, after a very persuasive speech in Dacca, of Khwaja Nazimuddin, the then Prime Minister, on behalf of Urdu, the students of Dacca University brought out violent demonstration demanding the full recognition of Bengali. The police opened fire and about a dozen fatal casualties occurred. The day of February 21 is still observed as a Martyrs' Day in East Pakistan every year.[15] Incidentally, these students could be considered the first among the language martyrs.

After these incidents, the Chief Minister of the Province was forced to change his earlier stand and himself led a motion in the Provincial Assembly calling on the Centre to adopt Bengali as one of the State Languages. It was due to this pressure that later that year, when the final report of the Basic

Principles Committee was published it contained no mention of the State language. In the meantime, bitterness and uncertainty continued in East Pakistan, resulting in a complete rout of the Muslim League Party in the first-ever elections to be held after the establishment of Pakistan in East Bengal. It is universally admitted that a major cause of the Muslim League defeat was the language issue, since it was supposed to be a protagonist of Urdu at the cost of Bengali. The backbone of the movement were students and Bengali officials, who thought that imposition of Urdu would affect their job prospects most adversely.[16]

After the elections, Bengali members of the Constituent Assembly, regardless of their party affiliations, presented themselves as a solid block and were able to get recognition in May 1954 in the Basic Principles Report that Urdu and Bengali should both be the State languages. As a concession to the still dominant pressure of the pro-Urdu members, they accepted the clause that the 'State should take all measures for the growth of a common language'. The extent of embarassment the issue must have been causing to the leadership is borne out by the fact that in the Constitution of 1956, the clauses regarding State languages were relegated to a comparatively unimportant place in Chapter V, under the head 'Miscellaneous'. Article 214 thus said : 'That the State Languages of Pakistan are Urdu and Bengali'. It omitted any mention of a hope for a common language since Bengali members thought that would ultimately pave way for Urdu being recognised as the only national language of Pakistan. It was also provided that English would continue to be used for official purposes for 20 years. A commission was to be appointed after ten years from the proclamation of the Constitution to recommend ways for the replacement of English by national languages.

The Constitution of 1960 bearing the personal authority of President Ayub Khan too placed the provision under the heading of miscellaneous in Part XII and Articles 215 of the Constitution. Apart from the minor fact that it mentions Bengali before Urdu as one of the two languages, it differs significantly from the earlier constitutional provisions vis-a-vis English. It has now been given almost an indefinite mandate. This is borne out by the provision that 'The English language may be used for official and other purposes until arrangements for its replacement are made. In the year 1972, the President shall constitute a Commission to examine and report on the question of the replacement of the English language for official purposes'.

English at the moment is not only the State language of the Centre, but also of the two Provinces. Urdu and Bengali are used at the most till district level in their respective regions. The work of the Sessions Court, the two High Courts and the Supreme Court is transacted entirely in English. At the Session's level, however, the lawyers have been given option to argue the cases in the respective regional languages. The rules of the National Assembly

permit members to speak in English, Urdu and Bengali. There are simultaneous arrangements for translation in all the three languages. Medium for competitive examinations for higher services remains English. Even for provincial services, as well as for competitive examinations for military services, the medium remains English.

In February 1964, a demand was made in the National Assembly that both Bengali and Urdu should be permitted as optional media for these examinations. But the Government pleaded its inability to implement the demand on practical grounds. President Ayub Khan emphasised on many an occasion that a country like Pakistan could ill-afford to have either linguistic controversies or a loss of efficiency in service due to emotional attachments with languages which are not yet developed enough to take the place of English in administration and higher education. It is also recognised that services, both the Civil and Military, which have now gained a predominant say in the state affairs have developed a sort of vested interest in the retention of English.[17] The number of students taking up English literature for M. A. and in B.A. (Hons) degrees, has seen a three-fold increase—larger than any other language in recent years. Yet it has been generally complained that the standard of English has considerably deteriorated. One example of this has been that B.A. result of the Punjab University this year was only 28%; 70% of the 72% candidates failed in English which continues to be a compulsory subject in B.A.[18]

Service regulations make it obligatory for a C.S.P. (Civil Service of Pakistan equivalent to our I.A.S.) probationer to gain an elementary knowledge either of Urdu or Bengali, whichever is not the language of his own region, during the one-year training he takes in Lahore prior to his taking up an assignment. It is however commonly complained that the period being too short, the provision remains largely unfulfilled, especially by West Pakistan officers who find Bengali to be a totally alien language.[19] If implemented properly, this practice could be followed with profit by the Civil Service in India too. But the question is, how many of the 15 national languages would an officer be able to learn.

On the other hand, it is quite common to read in the only Urdu daily published from Dacca, frequent complaints about 'step-motherly treatment being meted out to Urdu'. A general complaint has been about the non-availability of Urdu text books in Government Schools. Bengali papers like *Ittefaq* and *Sanghbad* retorted by saying that the position of Bengali in West Pakistan is much worse, than that of Urdu in East Pakistan.[20]

It may be pointed out that directives of the Ministry of Education provide that facilities are to be given in any school where a substantial number of students want to read Urdu or Bengali, as the case may be, in East or West Pakistan. Though the medium of instruction has to be the regional language,

yet the other language is encouraged to be taken as an optional subject in the Secondary Schools.[21]

The provision has evoked considerable bitterness from both sides with complaints about its not being implemented fully. Only recently a prominent Opposition leader, Mr. Ata-ur-Rehman, had said that if Bengali was not given the same position in West Pakistan as Urdu enjoyed in East Pakistan, the language controversy was in danger of being revived with all its bitterness.[22] One cannot fail to mark the striking similarity between such complaints of the non-Hindi states against the Hindi ones, and vice-versa, in this country.

The Pakistani version of the three-language formula, thus, does not seem to have much of a success in either of the two wings and the failure of Indian experiment has been duly taken note of by the protagonists of the respective claim of the two languages. Sanskrit zealots in India would find almost their exact prototypes in Pakistan, among those who have been clamouring for Arabic being given a place superior to all the languages prevalent in Pakistan.

The difficulties involved in imposing a common language over a country with an acute diversity of cultural background as also due to a vast cleavage between the two main languages, proposals to evolve a super common language have been rather frequent in the past few years.

One such proposal has been that of the Ulemma, especially of those belonging to the orthodox Jamat-e-Islami. The Jamat had said in its draft constitutional proposals in 1954 that Arabic should occupy the position of a supernational language in Pakistan. Significantly enough, this was accepted even by some Bengali members of the Muslim League who thought that this would eliminate the chances of Urdu becoming eventually the sole national language, and would also satisfy the spiritual urges of the Bengali Muslim population, which was supposed to be fundamentally more orthodox and pious in matters of religion than their West Pakistani brethren.[23] Yet, notwithstanding such attachment, no serious thought was given to the proposal that Arabic should be made the lingua franca.

Neither the press, nor the political parties in either of the two wings, seem to be much enamoured of it. The main reason is that not even 1% of the population can claim an effective knowledge of the language.

Another proposal which is occasionally made by some of the orthodox groups in East Pakistan is that Bengali should be written in the Arabic script.[24] This too has almost been summarily rejected in East Pakistan Provincial Assembly at more than one occasion.

Only recently, the Awami League Working Committee expressed strong resentment over the suggestion of Mr. Justice Hamidur Rahman of the Dacca High Court that Arabic script should be used for Bengali. The Working Committee viewed this suggestion as unfortunate and as an attempt to introduce Urdu from the back-door.

Apart from Arabic, Roman too has been suggested as a common script for the two languages. It was in early 1961 that President Ayub Khan himself had suggested that Roman should be adopted as a common script for the two languages and a common vocabulary should be evolved of Urdu and Bengali which may be called Burdu but this suggestion had to be unceremoniously dropped since it evoked bitter opposition from both the wings of Pakistan. Similarly, a suggestion of his that Arabic script should replace the present Nastaleeq script of Urdu and thus should have the way for the final integration of West Pakistani languages evoked strong opposition not only from Urdu enthusiasts but also from advocates of regional languages like Pushto and Punjabi.[25]

As a result of all such controversies, the linguistic scene in that country, especially in West Pakistan, has once again warmed up. Apart from many other reasons, this has been due to a feeling of impatience by the Urdu enthusiasts that time was running against them. There has been a large number of demonstrations, silent processions, and meetings in favour of Urdu in places like Karachi, Rawalpindi and Lahore. Youth squads to efface road-signs written in English and scribble their Urdu equivalents were also organised in February this year. Not much was, however, heard of such things after a few localised incidents. More persistent has been a campaign under the guidance of Anjuman Taraqe-Urdu to persuade owners of shops in posh areas like the Mall, to change their sign-boards from English into Urdu. There have been efforts to persuade caterers and hotellers to print their menus and keep their accounts in Urdu, instead of English. But, according to the report of the President of the Anjuman, response from the public has not been very encouraging. On the occasion of the convocation of the Punjab University this year, an unprecedented scene was enacted, when some students led by their teachers walked out when the Chancellor started addressing the gathering in English.

In December last, noisy scenes were witnessed in the National Assembly and a few members from West Pakistan, belonging both to the Opposition and the Government party, refused to abide by the Chair's ruling, unless it was delivered in Urdu. Members from East Pakistan retorted by demanding that if the speaker had to give his ruling in a Pakistani language, then he must speak in Bengali, not only because that happens to be the language of the majority of the people, but also because it was his mother-tongue. The problem was solved when the Speaker gave his ruling in Bengali, and the Deputy translated it into Urdu.

There has been a great deal of resentment against the decision of the West Pakistan administration to continue the use of Urdu 'till the position of the official language or link language is settled by the provisions of the Constitution, in or after the year 1972'. The only areas where Urdu has been given the status of the national language at all levels of administration is 'Azad

Kashmir'. It has been introduced there as the official language with English being recognised as the link and the associate language. Nothing has yet come out of the unanimous recommendation of the West Pakistan Assembly in 1964 that Urdu would be made the official language of province from 1967.

In his presidential address, to the annual conference of Urdu Associations and Urdu Boards, Dr. Syed Mohammad Abdullah, former Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore, has thus summed up the position of Urdu : 'There is no doubt that Urdu is making a steady headway. Since 1959, the medium of instruction upto F.A. has been recognised as Urdu. Students are also given option in B. A. to answer their papers relating to subjects in Humanities in Urdu. The same option has been provided to teachers for delivering lectures in such subjects. Yet, medium of higher instructions as well as of Science subjects remains English.

'Similarly, the emphasis in all the official work remains on English, the only exception being the family planning campaign, where hoardings and posters in Urdu have conspicuously out-numbered their English rivals. The other step is the change of name of certain roads like the Mall into Urduized names and the introduction of Urdu forms for registration, money-orders, and such other things by the P. & T. Department. But the Government is doing precisely nothing as far as the expectation that English would be replaced by the national language in the next decade'.[26]

Almost similar has been the position of Bengali in East Pakistan. Last year it was decided by the Dacca University Senate that from the year 1968, the medium of instruction in all subjects of the Humanities at all levels would be Bengali. At the moment, Bengali is the medium of instruction upto F.A. and is then treated as an optional medium for B.A. Scientific and technical subjects are, however, taught in English alone.

Coming back to West Pakistan it seems to be in the midst of a linguistic controversy, the like of which it has not seen before. The immediate cause of it is merely the introduction of a few Hindi-ized words into the Urdu news bulletins of Radio Pakistan. For some time past, the Radio has been using Bengali words like 'Purbo' instead of Mashraq; 'pachhim' instead of Maghreb; 'uttar' in place of Shumal; and 'dakhan' instead of Janub. Apart from this some common English words have been substituted for the Arabo-Persian equivalents used till now. 'President' has thus taken the place of Sadr; and 'resolution' is used in place of 'qurardad'. The policy of the mixture of vocabulary in the news bulletins seems almost similar to that initiated from All India Radio by Dr. B. Gopala Reddy in 1962 and abandoned after about a year. In the Bengali bulletins of Radio Pakistan, some Urdu-ized words have been in use from a long time. But there does not seem to be any new introduction of such words as they have been in Urdu. This perhaps expains the

comparative ease with which the new language policy of the official publicity media of the new government has been received in the eastern wing of the country. In West Pakistan, however, the extent of the furore the decision has created can be gauged from the fact that even the rabidly anti-Indian newspaper like *Nawa-e-Waqt* has commented that 'This would mean that one will have to turn to All India Radio for listening to the national language of Pakistan in a comparatively pure and chaste form'. The well-known Urdu writer, Shorish Kashmiri, editor of *Chattan* has gone to the extent of saying that 'what the Hindi zealots could not do to Urdu during the last 20 years of their repressive rule in India, the enthusiasts of English have achieved with a stroke of pen in Pakistan'. It has been pointed out by an eminent Urdu writer, Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, the grouse of Urdu enthusiasts is not over the introduction of a few words, but on a suspicion that this portrays a trend of mind of those in authority, which could prove most dangerous for the development of the Urdu language. It is interesting to note that the higher echelons in the armed forces have been strongly objecting to a switch-over from English to Bengali and Urdu. At lower levels, the Pakistani army continues to use Roman Urdu. At higher level, English prevails. They have also refused to change either words of command, or the vocabulary for the weaponery. Frequent use is now being made in officially sponsored Urdu translations of technical books of internationally used technical terms. The tendency is to adopt or Urduize all such words, as 'electronics', 'protein', 'vitamin', and so on, in their international form, rather than translate such terms into Arabo-Persian vocabulary, as was once attempted to be done at the Osmania University at Hyderabad.

Though for obvious reasons, he has not said so, the reference towards the trend is directed to a passage in President Ayub's recent book—*Friends, Not Masters*. In this, he has said that 'ultimately, Pakistan will have to have a single national language'. Not being a linguistic expert, he would not like to pass a judgment over how this language should be formed. Yet, he has said, 'it seems obvious that such a language would have to be an amalgam of all the languages being used in the country'. This reference is supposed to provide guidelines to the official language policy. The present decision of Radio Pakistan is directly traced to it. Though President Ayub has this time refrained from suggesting a common script for such a language, he is on record suggesting that 'Roman' should be highly suited for it. Sheikh Manzur Qadir, a former Foreign Minister and Chief Justice of the West Pakistan High Court had, in 1961, suggested that the common language of Pakistan should be 'Pakistani', and it should be composed of words from both the national and all the regional languages. He too suggested that the script for such a language should be Roman. President Ayub was known to have not only 'blessed but inspired the idea, which was vehemently opposed'.

Pakistani? language.

Taking perhaps a cue from his recent pronouncements, a committee of writers, intellectuals, and educationists connected with official, semi-official, and pro-government institutions and agencies was formed in Karachi in the middle of September this year to strive for the creation of a common language for the whole country. This, as expected, has once again been greeted by a large number of protests from all over Pakistan, particularly from the Western wing. Notwithstanding such protestations, President Ayub in a message has wished well to the Committee members in their efforts.

Speaking in Dacca on September 15, Qazi Anwarul Haq, Central Minister of Education thus clarified the government policy over the issue. 'It was beyond doubt', he declared, 'that the Government was eager to replace English by the national languages. But it is necessary to prepare the ground first for such a change-over'. He, therefore, emphasised for the need to accelerate the pace of translation work, both Urdu and Bengali, so that these two languages would reasonably be in a position to become the effective national languages in at least a couple of decades. Replying to the criticism that the Central Government was neglecting the cause of the national languages, he pointed out that since the establishment of the present regime, 4 crore rupees have been spent on the work of translating and publishing of books of academic and technical nature into Urdu from other languages. About the same amount has been spent on Bengali for the same purpose.

A recent complication in the Pakistan linguistic scene has been the demand by adherents of regional languages in West Pakistan that these languages should be placed at par with Urdu. This has almost coincided with the decline of the influence of the refugee leaders of the old Muslim League who were great advocates of Urdu. The new power hierarchy in Pakistan as represented in the Ayub regime seems to have not much of an attachment with Urdu. It may not be a mere coincidence that President Ayub Khan was the first Head of the State to have ever addressed a public meeting in his Pushto-oriented Punjabi in Lahore in early 1960. Though it gladdened the hearts of the local population, yet quite a few champions of Urdu like Maulana Abdul Haq and Maulana Salahuddin Ahmed were bold enough to take issues with the President and called the act a betrayal of the spirit of Pakistan.[27]

It was perhaps due to this sort of misplaced and overenthusiastic advocacy of Urdu which as a reaction in Punjab led to the demand that Punjabi should be accorded a place of honour as a medium of instruction and of administration in the Punjabi-speaking area. It was bitterly pointed out by advocates of Punjabi, like Prof. Sufi Tabussam and Maulana Salik, themselves writers of great repute in Urdu, that while even Sindhi and Pushto were media of instructions till the primary stages, Punjabi found no place anywhere in the official scheme of things.[28]

Later on Urdu writers of Punjabi went to the extent of forming a separate

unit of their own of the officially sponsored "Writers-Guild" and declared that Punjabi was much superior a language to Urdu, not only because it has nearly four times bigger a following, but also because it is more vigorous and nearer to the common life of the people.

On withdrawal of recognition to the Punjabi group by the Urdu dominated writers guild, they formed a separate and a private body of their own. Such was the popularity of the campaign for Punjabi that even a great enthusiast of Urdu and composer of the national anthem, Hafiz Jallandhri had to compose the only Punjabi poem he has ever written, for explaining his position as an Urdu writer. In that he said that while Punjabi was his revered mother, Urdu was like a wife who had served him well during all these years and he found it difficult to divorce her at that advanced age, especially when she had no place to go to and the doors of her parental home were closed on her. It is indeed interesting to note that the heavy reliance of the present regime in Pakistan over the efficacy of mass media of communications, like the Radio, the films and the television for the propagation of the personalities and policies of the government, has indirectly given a great fillip to the regional languages. Pushto and Punjabi programmes from Radio Pakistan have seen a manifold increase since the conflict in 1965. Some Urdu fanatics had protested over this policy, even to President Ayub Khan. The reply was simple. He was more concerned with the spread of the policies of his government and education of the people, rather than with the so-called purity of any language.

The number of Punjabi publications including many trans-literations in Persian script of Indian Punjabi writers like Amrita Pritam and Mohan Singh Mahir etc., are gradually on the increase. Quite a few Urdu papers of Lahore like *Imroze*, *Kohistam*, and *Nawa-i-Waqt* have found prudent to include at least a page of Punjabi writing in their Sunday editions. The indications are that demands for proper recognition to Punjabi and other regional languages of West Pakistan will grow with the passage of time and the renewal of political activity in that country. Thus the expectation that the creation in 1956 of a single unit of administration in West Pakistan would 'act as a curbing influence on the evil tendencies of linguism' as the President had said, seems unduly optimistic.

Meanwhile, taking note of the persisting cleavage between Urdu and Bengali, on the one hand, and English and the State languages on the other, a more vigorous application of three-language formula has been warmly advocated by many an educationist with an enthusiastic support from the President. This would make the teaching of Bengali or Urdu compulsory in the secondary stage in the region whose language it is not. English is proposed to be continued as a 'link language' and taught compulsorily after the Middle School level. But nothing substantial seems to have happened in this regard too. English continues to be the official language as also the medium of higher

education. The ruling group seems to be in no hurry to replace it by any of the two languages. The Constitutional provision of a Commission being appointed in 1972 to consider the case of its replacement seems rather far off.

Relevant lessons for us, in India, from the Pakistani experiment in the 'indigenisation and co-existence of languages', are simple and obvious. Pakistan is a unitary State. It is bound by a strong factor of religious affinity. Its language problem is much simpler than ours. Compared to us, it has only two major languages. In the Western Wing, the five important languages are linked through a common Arabic based script. On top of all this, the sort of regime they have, can to a large extent do what it likes.

Committed, as they are, to a philosophy of religious nationalism, the obvious course for the Pakistani rulers should have been to try to impose a linguistic uniformity over the whole country. Not being bound by the complications of a democratic system, they were in a better position to do so, than a domocratic government like India, could ever be. All these factors went in favour of the policy of a linguistic unification in Pakistan. Yet, we have seen the language, instead of becoming a factor of unity in that country continues to remain the main prop of regional nationalism.

The above survey has shown that inspite of the advantageous factors as compared to us in India, Urdu enthusiasts could not impose their favourite tongue upon an unwilling people. Could the results be different in this country?

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. See for instance the Nehru-Jinnah correspondence May 1958, for which Jinnah complained of discriminatory treatment being meted out to the language of Indian Muslims, the Urdu. Nehru informed Jinnah that Provincial Congress Governments would continue to accord fullest facilities to Urdu.
   See also Pirpur Report on treatment of Muslims by Congress Governments, 1938. Even as early as 1870, first cause of Sir Sayed's disillusionment from the Hindus of U. P. was considered to be the agitation for getting recognition to Hindi at par with Urdu. Dr. Abid Hussain, *Hindustani Musalman, Aina-i-Ayyam Mein*, Delhi, 1965, p. 56.
2. I. H. Qureshi, *The Pakistani Way of Life*, pp. 1-2.
3. *Census of Pakistan* 1951, Vol. 1, p. 71. Figures for 1961 have yet not been released.
4. Ian Stephens, *Pakistan*, pp. 52, 53.
5. For consistent and militant advocacy of Urdu, see various articles on Urdu in the official organ of Anjuman-Tarraqi-i-Urdu, *Quoumi Zaban* by Maulvi Dr. Abdul Haq, commonly known as Baba-i-Urdu (Father of Urdu). See also his pamphlet *Pakistan Aur Urdu.* He says that Urdu was the only civilized oasis in the linguistically barbarian desert of the sub-continent.

6. I. H. Qureshi, *The Pakistani Way of Life*, p. 2.
7. *Quoumi Zaban*, Karachi, July 1962.
8. Keith Callard, *Pakistan—A Political Study*, p. 181.
9. This was apparent from the rules of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly unanimously accepted in August, 1947, which permitted the use of only two languages and English in the Assembly proceedings.
10. Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. Report of the debate in *Dawn*, Feb. 26, 1948.
11. *Quade-i-Azam Speaks*, p. 133. Jinnah had however shown not much love for Urdu. His speeches were delivered almost always in English even in public meetings. They had to be translated into Urdu, Bengali or Pushto as the occasion demanded.
12. Khalid Bin Saeed, *Pakistan, the Formative Phase*, Karachi, 1960, p. 299.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 300-301.
14. Keith Callard, *op. cit.*, p. 181.
15. 'The day was solemnly observed and the usual pro-Bengali sentiments were expressed by speakers in public meetings held in Dacca, Chittagong and other cities of East Pakistan. A persistent demand was for making Bengali the medium of work and instructions at all levels of administration and education'. *Daily Pasban*, Dacca, 22 February, 1967.
16. Leonard Binder, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan*, p. 347.
17. *Chattan*, Lahore, 22 February, 1966.
18. Zameer Mustafa, *Pakistan Ka Lassani Massala*, Lahore, 1967, p. 58.
19. Hugh Tinkers, *A Handbook on India, Pakistan and Ceylon*.
20. Zameer Mustafa, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
22. *Pakistan Observer*, Dacca, 27 September, 1967.
23. *Jamat-i- Islami In East Pakistan*, Maktaba Islamia, Lahore, 1966, p. 137.
24. *Pakistan Observer*, 3 September, 1967.
25. *Pakistan Times*, 13 February, 1967.
26. *Nawa-i-Waqt*, Lahore, 3 October, 1967.
27. *Adabi Duniya*, IV, 1960, Lahore.
28. Faqir Mohammad Faqir, *Punjab Di Zaban* (Pamphlet in Punjabi written in Persian script and published by the Punjabi Academy, 1966).

M. V. LAKHI

Language and Regionalism in Pakistan

ALTHOUGH the two-nation theory on which Pakistan movement was based presupposed that the Muslim population of north-east and north-west India would constitute a monolithic nation, the fact is that this country is culturally as heterogeneous as any Asian or African state. The problem of national integration actually assumes a larger proportion in Pakistan because of its unique geography. The country consists of two wings rent about one thousand miles asunder by intervening Indian territory. The eastern wing, though only possessing one-seventh of the total territory of Pakistan, contains about 55% of its population. It constitutes only one province of the country, whereas the western wing, till its integration in 'One Unit' in 1955, was fragmented into a number of provinces and princely states, namely the Punjab, Sind, North-west Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Bhawalpur, Khairpur and Baluchistan States Union. Geographical diversity manifested itself into other differences regarding the language, habits of life, racial complexion, culture, climate and economy.[1] Even a casual reference to these differences is enough to convince one that unless they are superseded by an over-riding sense of national identity, they are likely to create regional problems of far-reaching character. That such problems were actually created even in Jinnah's lifetime is indicated in several of his speeches.[2]

The purpose of this paper is to show how far language has been a factor in the expression of regionalism in Pakistan and what efforts have been made to counter it by creating a consensus around the status of various languages.

Since languages became a factor in the politics of regionalism in the early fifties, the figures relevant for the purposes of this paper are those shown in

the 1951 Census. According to this census six major languages were spoken in Pakistan. They were: Bengali, Punjabi, Urdu, Sindhi, Pushto, and English. The percentage of people speaking them was 54.6, 28.4, 7.2, 5.8, 7.1, and 1.8, respectively.

Significantly enough, language did not figure as an important factor in or vehicle of regionalism in West Pakistan. There regionalism found expression in demands like greater provincial autonomy, increased representation in the national legislature, and larger financial allocations. As for language, there was a broad consensus among the different regional élites about the special and supreme position of Urdu. Thus we find that Urdu, despite its limited speakers, did not encounter a serious challenge by any regional language of West Pakistan. Interestingly, while Indian political system has witnessed reorganisation of provinces on linguistic basis, in West Pakistan the reverse process took place. In 1955, the Constituent Assembly passed a Bill to the effect that the erstwhile provinces of the Punjab, Sind, Northwest Frontier and Baluchistan would be integrated into what was termed as 'One Unit'. This integration was, of course, to imply the supersession of regional languages of West Pakistan by Urdu.

The consensus around Urdu in West Pakistan owed itself to some important factors. First, all the regional élites of that wing were invariably Aligarh educated; they were not only fluent in Urdu which made communication amongst them in that language possible, but also proud of it because of its association with the Mughal Empire in India.[3] The masses were not influential enough in making the regional languages a potential threat to Urdu, because of widespread illiteracy and political apathy prevalent among them. Politics in West Pakistan has always been an élite politics as contrary to mass politics.

Secondly, the Persian script and largely Persian and Arabic vocabulary of Punjabi and Sindhi, which they share with Urdu has minimised the cleavage between Urdu on one hand and regional languages of West Pakistan on the other. Not surprisingly, the Report of the Commission on National Education, 1959, spoke of 'an inherent and basic linguistic unity throughout West Pakistan'.[4]

The consensus around the supremacy of Urdu in West Pakistan can be deduced from the fact that it is the medium of instruction at the high school stage throughout the Province, barring the erstwhile territories of Sind, where it, nevertheless, continues to be taught as a compulsory second language.[5]

While Urdu enjoys the honoured status of *lingua franca* in West Pakistan, in the eastern wing it is spoken only in the limited sophisticated circles in the urban areas. The language of the overwhelmingly large majority of the masses there is Bengali; to them Urdu is nothing less than an alien tongue. And considering the fact that East Pakistan contains the majority of the population of the country and that most of the people speak Bengali, it emerges out as the

language enjoying the largest constituency of speakers. Since the Bengalis from the very outset were zealous of preserving their regional identity, the language controversy in Pakistan largely revolved round the demand for the recognition of Bengali as one of the state languages.

The dilemma that confronted the national leadership which in the initial phases of Pakistan's life consisted of Urdu-speaking politicians,[6] was that the country which was already ravaged by so many differences, needed one common language which could bridge those differences and knit the country in a single homogeneous unit. But there was the danger that existing differences might be aggravated if they rode roughshod and imposed Urdu on the unwilling people of East Pakistan.

Jinnah was, however, very clear in his mind on the question of the state language. While addressing a Bengali audience at Dacca on March 21, 1948, he remarked:

> Let me tell you in the clearest language that there is no truth that your normal life is going to be touched or disturbed so far as your Bengali language is concerned. But ultimately it is for you, the people of this province, to decide what shall be the language of your province. But let me make it very clear to you that the State Language of Pakistan is going to be Urdu and no other language.[7]

There were two arguments given in favour of the adoption of Urdu as the only state language. First, it had close Muslim associations, and when Muslims spoke of themselves as constituting a separate nation at the time of demanding a separate state, they had Urdu as their language in their mind. No less a person than Liaquat Ali Khan said in the Constituent Assembly:

> Pakistan is a Muslim state and it must have as its *lingua franca* the language of the Muslim nation....Pakistan has been created because of the demand of a hundred million Muslims in this sub-continent and the language of a hundred million Muslims is Urdu....[8]

Negatively interpreted this argument insinuated that Bengali owed its origin to and had liaison with Hindu history and culture. There were suggestions in some quarters that the demand for the rank of state language for Bengali was un-Islamic, and some had fears that this status would give rise to Bengali nationalism which, in turn, would tend to cultivate stronger and closer ties with its cultural counterpart in West Bengal at the cost of its ties with its political counterpart in West Pakistan.[9]

The second argument given in favour of Urdu being the only state language was that Urdu alone was capable of providing that linguistic unity which precedes all national unity.

Far from convincing the Bengalis these arguments actually caused much

resentment among them. The ignoring of their legitimate democratic right of having Bengali as their state language was unjust enough, but to label the demand for that right as contrary to the ideals of Islam, they thought, amounted to adding insult to their injury. As for the claim that only one state language could bring about national unity, they cited the examples of multi-lingual states like Switzerland and Canada, which were as cohesive and monolithic nations as any other. They maintained that far from loosening the bonds of political, national, and religious fraternity between the peoples of two wings, the recognition of Bengali as one of the state languages, would convince the people of East Pakistan of the fairplay and good sense of West Pakistan, thus resulting in increased cordiality and unity.

There were two reasons why East Pakistan felt very strongly on the language issue. First, its people are very proud of their cultural and literary heritage. They could not tolerate the contemptuous attitude of West Pakistan towards it. Secondly, they thought that if their language was not given the official status the government affairs and patronage would become the monopoly of the Urdu-speaking people of West Pakistan, and thus their already neglected economic interests would receive a further setback.

Bengali movement, then, became a symbol of East Pakistan's struggle for political, economic and cultural equality with West Pakistan. Each new effort on the part of Urdu-speaking central leadership to impose its language on the Bengalis strengthened the latter's fear that the former was bent upon converting their province into a colony. This fear reinforced regionalism and set in motion the chain-reaction of other demands, like grant of provincial autonomy, and allocation of a larger proportion of representation in the Federal legislature than that of West Pakistan.

The feelings of the Bengalis on the language issue can be gauged from the fact that Jinnah was publicly booed by the students in Dacca following his state language statement. And when in January 1952, the Basic Principles Committee of the Constituent Assembly which had been constituted to report on the constitutional framework of the country, did not make recommendation in favour of Bengali, the situation came to such a pass that Dacca was rocked with strikes, *hartals*, demonstrations, and eventually police-firings. On February 21 in a pitched battle between the police and the students in the campus of Medical College hostel, about 19 students were killed; and their 'martyrdom' till today is commemorated by observing that day as a provincial holiday. The climax of Bengali wrath against the Central Government was, however, reached in March, 1954, when at the provincial polls a 'United Front' of opposition parties on purely regional issues, the most important of them being the status of Bengali, threw the Muslim League Government, which had long been identified with East Pakistan's oppression by West Pakistan, not only out of office but also out of the province.[10]

The lessons of East Pakistan's revolt were driven home and the Muslim League Government at the centre by a modification in the Basic Principles Committee Report promptly accorded to Bengali official status equal to that of Urdu. That this step was, however, more an act of expediency than a change of convictions becomes apparent when one sees that the new language formula did not abandon the policy of adoption of a common national language; it only made it a long-term goal. It would be relevant here to quote the author of this formula, the then Prime Minister Mohamad Ali of Bogra, who, it might be mentioned, was incidentally a Bengali himself. He said in the Constituent Assembly:

> "Sir, it is true that Pakistan has a most peculiar feature and that is that we have two separate geographical units, separated by a distance of one thousand miles of foreign territory. In view of this it would have been certainly helpful if we could have adopted or evolved a common national language, so that there could be forged a linguistic unity, to promote cohesion and solidarity, between all the units that make up Pakistan. But under the present political situation it is considered necessary that the sentiments and feelings of all sections of the people in Pakistan should be respected.
>
> But we do realise, Sir, that in our present position it would be helpful....if we could have adopted one language. Therefore, in the formula that I have presented to the House we have a provision whereby a directive is given to the State which says : "The State shall take all measures for the development and growth of a common national language".[11]

Although the Ayub Constitution also recognises Bengali and Urdu as the two national languages of Pakistan, Ayub himself has, however, expressed from time to time, his desire for the evolution of a common national language. The most important problem which his regime has inherited from the past regimes is that of weaving the two wings in a single political community. The major hurdle in the solution of this problem, he feels, is Bengali culture loaded with Hindu influences. As early as 1954 he had remarked that Bengalis 'have been and still are under considerable cultural and linguistic influence'.[12] Hence, he feels that a change in the Bengali script would give 'tremendous psychological freedom to the people in East Pakistan from the forces of Hindu culture and influence'.[13] The change-over of the script, he once said, should be preferably to a one which would be common to Bengali and Urdu. This would eventually give birth to a composite language which would neither be Bengali nor Urdu but a 'Pakistani' language.[14]

Beside change of script, interchange of vocabulary between Urdu and

Bengali has also been suggested. As far as Bengali is concerned, this would in effect mean its de-Sanskritisation and creation of 'Muslim Bengali' as distinct from 'Hindu Bengali'.

But the hazards which the implementation of these suggestions will have to encounter become evident when one sees that a recent ban on recital of Tagore's songs on Radio Pakistan had to be lifted because of the volley of protests it evoked from East Pakistan. Similarly, in West Pakistan, Radio Pakistan's experiment with introducing Bengali vocabulary in its Urdu programmes provoked a sharp rebuke from Jamaat-i-Islami, an ultra-orthodox party of Pakistan, which said that Radio Pakistan was using 'Hindu' words despite the availability of richer and more meaningful Urdu equivalents.

It appears, then, that whatever efforts are made towards the evolution of a common national language in Pakistan, the policy pursued in this respect would be that of caution and moderation. Ayub fully realises that any attempt to the contrary is bound to prove disastrous and may set in motion in East Pakistan the events of the early fifties, thereby providing Bengali regionalism with additional fire.

Since this Seminar is primarily concerned with the linguistic problems of India, nothing would be a more fitting conclusion of this paper than to recall the lessons of Pakistani experience in this respect. Any endeavour on our part to impose one language on our country composed of diverse subnationalities is likely to widen regional cleavages, as in Pakistan. True, the linguistic unity promotes national integration. But the matters affecting language, tradition and culture touch the deepest of human emotions, and any effort to artificially contrive uniformity regarding these may, instead of countering regionalism, create problems of far serious regional character. Let not our zeal for national unity *via* linguistic identity induce us in committing the proverbial blunder of throwing out of the tub the baby along with the dirty bath-water.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. As one Bengali member remarked in the Constituent Assembly :

    Pakistan is a unique country having two wings which are separated by a distance of more than a thousand miles.... These two wings differ in all matters, excepting two things, namely that they have a common religion, barring a section of the people in East Pakistan, and that we have achieved our independence by a common struggle. These are the only two points which are common to both the wings of Pakistan. With the exception of these two things, all other factors, viz., the language, the tradition, the culture, the costume, the dietary, the calendar, the standard time, practi-

cally everything is different. There is, in fact, nothing in common in the two wings, particularly in respect of those which are the *sine qua non* to form a nation.

Abdul Mansur. Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, *Debates*, Vol. I, January 16, 1956, p. 1816.

2. For example, while addressing a Bengali gathering at Dacca on March 21, 1948, he gave a sharp warning :

   Now I ask you to get rid of this provincialism, because as long as you allow this poison to remain in the body politic of Pakistan, believe me, you will never be a strong nation, and you will never be able to achieve what I wish we could achieve.

   Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, *Speeches as Governor-General of Pakistan 1947-48*, Pakistan Publications, Karachi, n. d., p. 85.

3. Because of such an association, supremacy of Urdu to West Pakistani leadership "signified that Pakistan, at least culturally, would represent the continuation of a great tradition". Stanley Maron, "The Problem of East Pakistan", *Pacific Affairs*, June 1955, Vol. XXVIII, no. 2, p. 133.

4. Karachi, Ministry of Education, 1959, p. 291.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 292.

6. Most prominent of them were Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan and Khwaza Najimuddin. The first two belonged to Muslim-minority areas of India where Urdu was the recognised language of the Muslims. Although Najimuddin was a Bengali, his tongue, like that of the entire Muslim nobility of Dacca, was Urdu.

7. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

8. Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, *Debates*, Vol. II, February 25, 1948, p. 17.

9. There was even a widespread belief in West Pakistani political circles that demand for recognition of Bengali as a state language was receiving support from across the border. As Kamini Kumar Dutta, a prominent leader of the Pakistan National Congress, regretted in the Constituent Assembly, 'there is a whispering canard that Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee of the Hindu Mahasabha had also some hand in engineering this movement for Bengali......' *ibid.*, Vol. IX, April 10, 1952, p. 29.

10. Muslim League could secure only 9 out of a total of 309 seats. Chief Minister Nurul Amin lost to a student by a margin of 6000 votes in a poll of just over 29,000 votes.

11. Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, *Debates*, Vol. XVI, May 7, 1954.

12. Quoted by Colonel Mohammad Ahmad, *My Chief*, Longmans Green and Co., Lahore, p. 87.

13. *Hindustan Times*, March 29, 1962.

14. *Pakistan Times*, January 29, 1960.

SAMIR GHOSH

Bilingualism: some Cross Cultural Evidences and Considerations

MAN is a unique animal. He is not only able to acquire and use a language as his first choice (*language maternelle, Muttersprache*), but also can get along well with a second one, as a chance if the social, political, and cultural situations demand it. The history of *bilingualism* is of great antiquity.

But the assumption that bilingualism is '*equal* (balanced) and *advanced* mastery of two languages' is not a correct one. First, there are varying degrees and kinds of bilingualism. Secondly, to require that bilingualism be defined in terms of equal and advanced mastery is tantamount to excluding all *natural* bilingual populations, those of today as well as those that have existed since the dawn of history, from meeting the requirements of the definition. Certainly the hundreds of millions of Asia, Africa, Melanesia, East and Central Europe whom we usually think of as natural bilinguals, cannot be said to evince balanced and equal mastery.

In a multilingual country, like India, where nearly everybody is bilingual, but where the degrees and kinds of bilingualism differ very markedly, bilingualism can indeed be a fruitful field of sociological and psychological study.

Bilingualism is an old institution. From the time that two persons speaking different languages or varieties first came in contact, there have been necessarily cases of bilingualism. But its cross-culturally varied forms defy efforts at an easy definition. For this paper, we shall, however, accept the Fishman definition of this socio-linguistic phenomenon as the 'demonstrated ability to engage in the prolonged discussions concerning activities of daily life in more than one language (or its standardized varieties)'.

Several groups of workers do study the problems of bilingualism. Among

the social and behavioral scientists, the psychologists have been interested in the relation between intelligence and bilingualism; sociologists in the effect of bilingualism on group behavior; educators in the education of bilingual children; and linguists in the effects of bilingualism on the vocabulary and the structure of languages. On the other hand, language teachers (particularly foreign language teachers) who are producers of bilinguals, want to know which methods will be most successful in accomplishing this goal, and what additional consequences of greater degrees of bilingualism are.

The study of bilingualism as such in a country is very important in national development and integration. It involves the questions of *language choice* and *language engineering.* What languages or varieties shall be the official language(s) of the government, used in law, administration, and the armed forces? What language(s) shall be used as the medium of instruction at the various levels of the educational system? What language will be accepted for use in the radio, in publishing (press), in telegrams, and as school subjects? Language Engineering : once the language(s) has been chosen for certain purposes in a country, it may be necessary to take steps to assure its adequacy for these purposes. The questions to be answered generally refer to standardization and modernization : what variety of language should be selected or created (planned) as standard form and for speaking purposes? What means shall be used to provide modern terminology and the needed literacy and the scientific forms of discourse?

The problems of bilingualism, where it exists, affect not only the individuals but also the State. It is of crucial importance as regards the economic, social, and political development of a country. Development of the educational system and development of communication networks within a country will depend upon such language policies. Ferguson has argued that 'decisions must be taken on language questions in terms of at least three important goals; national unity and national identity, access to modern society and technology, and international communications'.

In determining the bilingualism in a country, it is necessary to distinguish the major and minor languages spoken in that specific country, and gather basic socio-linguistic information about them. Sometimes the determination is relatively simple, sometimes it is difficult. The number of major languages in a country may vary from one to a dozen or more. For example, one major language area: Thailand, Costa Rica, Germany. Two major languages: Belgium, Canada, Madagascar, Paraguay. In Madagascar, Malagasy, spoken by 90% of the population, and French is the language of government and education. Three or more major languages: Bolivia, Ethiopia, India, Kenya, Nigeria, Switzerland. Bolivia has three: Spanish Quechua, Aymara, the native language of roughly equal to one third of the population. Kenya has probably ten major languages: eight languages spoken by more than 200,000, each;

Swahili, a widespread lingua franca; and English, the principal language of government and education.

A social or behavioral scientist views bilingualism 'as a prism that breaks up the subtle and continuous spectrum of language behavior into more recognizable strands or rays'. His interest may be one of many studies in the problems of language differences, bilingual interferences, language development, language alternation, language distance, in habitual language use ('ethnography of communication'), language contact, socio-cultural differences in language use, bi-culturism, group dominance, group attitudes, the interaction of language groups, behavior of bilingual minorities, language loyalty and antipathy. Among them, the psychologically oriented group may study the question of bilinguality, language balance, bilingualism and thought processes, bilingual and mental achievement, psycholinguistic measurement of bilinguals. Case studies of how people become bilingual, cases of language loss, development of bilingual children, personal language dominance, are also profitable studies. The institutional studies will cover questions of bilingual states and institutions, as well as the demographic, municipal and historical aspects of bilingualism. Language teachers, as we have already noted, will be interested in the basic research on second language acquisition, and on the methods of making populations bilingual. Whatever may be the ideas and ideals, it is often the case that 'bilingualism permits a clear recognition of the processes that must be investigated'. To quote Fishman : 'Bilingualism provides the investigator with benefits akin to those of binocular vision and biaural hearing when the latter are compared with monocular vision and monaural hearing. Far from being a complication in the field of language-related behavior, it frequently reveals such behavior with greater clarity than does mono-lingualism.'

Certain notions as regards the degree of bilingualism should be distinguished. These are applicable both to an individual's bilingualism as well as natural bilinguals (those rendered bilinguals by their total community).

Media : The degree will rarely be the same in various media, such as speaking, reading and writing. Schwyzertutsch is widely spoken in Switzerland, although its speakers use High German for reading and writing.

Role : The degree will rarely be the same in various roles, such as comprehension (understanding messages from others), production (sending message to others), and inner speech (talking to oneself, thinking out loud).

Level : The degree will rarely be the same at various formality levels, such as intimate, casual, and formal levels. Each level of formality requires a vocabulary, a sentence structure, and a set of attitudes toward oneself and one's interlocutors quite different from those required by the others. Take the case of a recent African state Mauretania. It is situated, culturally and ethnologically, on the borderline between Arabic North Africa and negroid Central

Africa. As a tribute to Arab nationalism, and Islamic faith, Arabic was declared the national language. But to assuage fears of Arab domination—which has given rise to so much violence and bloodshed in a country in an analogous position, Sudan—and to keep the country in contact with the world at large, French was retained as the official language, with no provision for a change in the future. The Indonesian diplomats at home and abroad, are advised by their government to speak only Bahasa Indonesian on formal occasions, though they may come from Java, Sumatra, Bali or any other small island.

Domain : The degree of bilingualism will rarely be the same in various domains of interactions. Speakers of Berber languages *feel* generally that Arabic is superior to Berber languages for all purposes except intimate, domestic conversations. Speakers of Kurdish generally *feel* that Arabic is better than Kurdish for statements of religious truth and as a lingua franca with the Arabs and Muslim speakers of other languages. Obviously, educational policies in Arab countries with Berber or Kurdish minorities are related to this difference of attitudes. Until very recently in most European countries, *die Konferenzsprache* was High German, although the respective speakers were native speakers of Polish, Hungarian, Czech, or Finnish. Wallon-Flemish bilinguals in Belgium may well speak Flemish to each other about hearth and home, but utilize French in speaking about art, music, and government. Note that the language of religion and poetry may not be the language of business and family affairs; the language between a nobleman and a commoner may not be the same as the language between nobleman and nobleman, or between commoner and commoner. The classical variants of a language (*sadhu bhasa*) may coexist with the colloquial variant (*calit bhasa*). A Japanese must know about what topics, to whom and to what range of social topics, he is communicating.

The *bilingual dominance configuration*, i.e., a configuration derived from the measurement of bilingual performance when such performance is viewed in terms of simultaneous interaction of media, role, formality, and domain considerations, is a necessary enquiry in the study of bilingualism.

This paper reports below two different cases, already known to the sociolinguists, of bilingualism. They are randomly chosen. Norwegian is taken as a unique example of a bimodal standardization based neither on religio-cultural differences (as in Serbo-Croatian), nor on 'vertical', i.e., role differentiation (as in Greek), but rather is a created problem. Situation in Paraguay—a two major languages area—reflects a natural bilingual setting where Guaraní is widely spoken, although its speakers normally use Spanish for reading and writing.

Norway

The case of Norwegian is a man made problem. Strange as it may sound, Norway is still beset with anti-colonial complexes, and this has shown

in linguistic matters too. Old Norse, which had produced such an astounding body of writing, went out of use in Norway towards the end of the Middle Ages as too archaic. During the four and a half centuries when Norway was under the Danish crown, Danish became the normal vehicle of written expression, and also, to a certain extent, though with difference in pronunciation, the spoken language, especially in the south-eastern districts which were closest to Denmark. In 1814 the country passed under the Swedish crown, but this did not affect the language habits of the population.

In the course of the 19th century, in Norway, as in Germany and other countries, the old local dialects were discovered and recorded by scholars. One of the first, and the most enthusiastic, among these scholars, was Ivar Aasen. He conceived the project of creating a genuinely Norwegian language by taking the more archaic dialects of the west as his point of departure. *Landsmål*, as this new synthetic language came to be called in opposition to *riksmål*, the more Danish variety was greeted with enthusiasm by the nationalists and used and refined by a number of gifted writers with a rural background, although the giants of Norwegian literature, Ibsen and Bjørnson, as well as Hamsun and Sigrid Undset in this century, continued to write in *riksmål*. In 1885 the two languages were given equal status by law, both had to be learnt in the school, and the local school authorities, following the wishes of the parents, had power to decide which should be the main medium of instruction. About one-third of all school districts, mostly in rural areas, adopted *landsmål*, but *riksmål* continued to be most used in the cities, for practical purposes, in the Press, and in publishing. The theory was that the two varieties would gradually adapt to each other and finally merge. The Parliament tried to hasten this process by successive reforms of spelling and inflexion, mainly by introducing *landsmål*, that is more 'Norwegian', forms into *riksmål*, either as compulsory forms or as alternatives. This meant that these linguistic discussions acquired a highly political character; the various parties had to take a stand, and the reigning Arbeiderpartiet—the Labour Party—became identified with the ambition of bringing about the desired middle form, *samnorsk* (common Norse). At the same time, *landsmål* was freed from its rustic flavour by being called *nynorsk* (new Norwegian) in 1929, while *riksmål* was christened, '*bokmål* (book language). Following a proposition by the Department of Education, a fairly radical Norwegianization of *bokmål* was declared by Parliament in 1938, but the outbreak of the war and the German occupation kept it from being implemented.

When it was put into effect after the war, many parents were flabbergasted when they saw what a confusing language their children were supposed to learn. Prior to 1938 the reforms were introduced into the written language features, more or less common to the spoken language, but new forms were made compulsory which struck many people as artificial. Farmers had the names of their homesteads changed against their will, and literary people were shocked to

see what had been done to the classics. Ibsen's rhymes did not rhyme any longer because his works had been 'Norwegianized'. Writers were told by their publishers that their works had to be translated into *samnorsk*. Perhaps only the Greeks, who have fought similar battles in this century, can imagine the passions that were spent over one letter—whether 'forward' should be *fràm* or *frem*, 'snow' should be *snö* or *sne*. Even the Writers' Association split in two—those who advocated or accepted the government's policy, and those who resisted it. Those who wanted the two languages to develop freely called their opponents barbarians and authoritarians; they, in turn, were called anarchists and traitors (as being un-Norwegian) by the champions of *samnorsk*. Most professors of Norwegian, being dialect specialists to a man and full of national fervour anyway, backed *nynorsk* or *samnorsk*; most writers backed *riksmàl* (they refused to call it *bokmàl*). The most effective opposition came from parents, who founded a country wide organisation for the defence of *riksmàl*, forced referenda in a great number of school districts, and wrote their own, competing, school books which they pressed on the education authorities. The battle caught on the other areas of communication too, such as broadcasting, and programme directors had the unenviable task of sparing the susceptibilities of both listeners and broadcasters. The fight is going on and in view of the Viking stubbornness of so many Norwegians, may do so for decades—although it is possible that the recent change of government may bring about a more liberal attitude in the authorities.

Four phases of Norwegian: a sample line

From Ivar Aasen, Minningar fraa Maalstriden 1858 (Pub. 1859), Skrifter 2.147.

1. The Original (*Landsmàl* as writen by its creator).
   Det rette heimelege Maal i Landet er det, som Landsens Folk hever ervt ifraa Forfedrom, fraa den eine Ætti til den andre, og som no um Stunder, til Traass fyre all Fortengsla og Vanvyrding, endaa hever Grunnlag og Emne til eit Bokmaal, lika so godt som nokot av Grannfolka-Maali.
2. *Riksmàl* Translation (Danish in Norway, as written in Aasen's time).
   Det rette hjemlige Sprog i landet er det, som Landets Folk haver arvet ifra Forf e drene, fra det ene Slaetled til det andet, og som nu om Stunder, till Trods for al Fortreangebse og Ringeagt, endnu haver Grundlag og Stof til et Bogsprog, lige saa godt som noget av Nabosprogene.
3. Present-day *Landsmàl* (Known as *Nynorsk*).
   Det rette heimlege mal i landeter det som landets folk har arvà ifra forfedrene, fra den eine eatta til den andre, og som no om stunder, trass i all fortrengsle og vanvφrnad, enno har grunnlag og emne til eit bokmàl, like sà godt som noko av grannfolk-màla.
4. Present-day *Riksmàl* (known as *Bokmàl*).
   Det rette heimlige mal i landet er det som landets folk har arvet ifra

forfedrene, fra den ene dett til den andre, og som nå om stunder, trass i all fortrengsle og vanvørnad, ennå har grunnlag og emne til et bokmål, like så godt som noe av nabomålene.

Translation of the four versions (by Haugen: "Planning for a Standard Language in Modern Norway" in *AL* 1.3):

The right native tongue in this country is the one that the people of the country have inherited from their ancestors, from one generation to the next, and which nowadays, in spite of all displacement and contempt, still has the basis and material for a written language just as good as any of the neighbours' languages.

Paraguay

Paraguay presents a painful picture.

Of the nations of the Western Hemisphere, one of the last to have a claim for world renown is Paraguay. Relatively poor in natural resources, this nation of 1.5 million still bears the marks of a brutal and tragic history. And yet, when the sociolinguist probes for the roots of Paraguayan bilingualism, he finds not only a linguistic situation unique in the Hemisphere, but also the seeds from which a Paraguayan renascence may spring up.

Though Paraguay as a truly bilingual nation has long been known, only recently any studies of depth have been made of the phenomenon. This has been due at least in part to the turbulent political state of the nation, which only began to stabilize itself in the early nineteen forties. In all of south America, no nation is racially more homogeneous than Paraguay. The Spanish colonists of the 16th century intermarried very freely with the indigenous Tupi-Guaraní Indians, and the result was a complete blend of the two races and cultures. The physical aspects of Guaraní society seem to have been completely absorbed into the new culture, so that today no trace remains of the original Guaraní culture except the language. Because of the appeal which Guaraní had for the colonists, and also through the efforts of the Jesuit missionaries, who created a written form of Guaraní, the language has been well preserved.

The persistence of Guaraní as a Paraguayan major language was further strengthened as the increasing *mestizo* segment of the population began to develop a fierce nationalistic pride. This pride, more than any other factor, is responsible for the present situation, but the path which this development followed was bloody, and was punctuated by two disastrous conflicts. The first of these was the War of the Triple Alliance (1865-70), in which Uruguay, Argentina and Brazil crushed the forces of the Paraguayan Dictator, Francisco Solano Lopez. In this exhausting conflict the male population of Paraguay was decimated, and the pure blooded Spanish families of Paraguay were all but wiped out. The preceding Dictator Francia, called *el Supremo*, had enforced a ban on marriage with white persons, and in the War of Triple Alliance, Lopez

insured the future racial and cultural homogeneity of the Paraguayan population by sending all able-bodied men of Spanish-descended aristrocracy to combat, in areas where fighting was the heaviest. While other Europeans came to Paraguay after 1870 and established a new aristocracy, this class never retained its European character, and its members intermarried with native Paraguayans. A new nationality had been born.

It remained for the Chaco War (1932-35) to finally give Paraguayan society its present shape. Disastrous as it was for Paraguay's economy and population, the Chaco War welded the people together in one concerted effort to defeat the Bolivian invaders. Men of all walks of life, aristocrats and peasants, fought side by side under agonizing conditions, and carried the war to a successful conclusion. The Paraguayan had now become not only a man with a true racial nationality, but also a man who could boast of a homeland. And in South America, Paraguay was now unique in having a racially and economically homogeneous position, as well as a common indigenous language as a national pride and symbol—Guaraní.

From the foregoing remarks it would be easy to infer that Guaraní should be the official national language of Paraguay, and yet this is true only in a limited sense, for Spanish remains the nation's official language—as we know this is a bilingual country.

Respective roles of Spanish and Guaraní:

Spanish : Spanish is the only national language officially recognized by the Paraguayan Government. It is, of course, standardized, and almost all Paraguayan newspapers, periodicals, and for that matter, almost all writing, formal and informal, is in Spanish. For many years, the government has pursued a policy of elevating Spanish above Guaraní, and to this end it has decreed that all formal education be carried on in Spanish. Since all school textbooks, even at the most elementary levels of education, are in Spanish, even a non-Spanish-speaking child must learn the language as soon as he begins attending school.

There is little question that Spanish has in effect a higher degree of social prestige than has Guaraní, and any Paraguayan who aspires after more than a peasant life will have to learn Spanish. Nonetheless, Spanish is, in almost every case, a second language for the Paraguayan.

Guaraní : While Spanish is unquestionably the official language, it is just as true that Guaraní is the national language. So strong is the attachment which Paraguayans have had for Guaraní that Lopez in the War of the Triple Alliance and Estigarribia in the Chaco War found that commands to their armies issued in Guaraní were obeyed more readily than when they were issued in Spanish. While the Jesuits of the 16th century devised a grammar and writing system for Guaraní based on Spanish orthography, no real standard has ever been set up, although a number of scholars have been working on the problem in recent years, aided, surprisingly enough, by the government-sponsored

Academia de Cultura Guaranî. One of the main reasons why Guaranî has never been able to achieve equal social status with Spanish is that it does not easily lend itself to technological environments. Its basic vocabulary is a simple one, as are its morphology and syntax. While it is replete with generic plant and animal names, lexical items, which are not of Indian origin, are usually Spanish loans. Examples:

Spanish		*Guaraní*			
Caballo	..	cavayú	..	..	'horse'
mesa	..	mesá	..	..	'table'
azucar	..	azucá	..	..	'sugar'
arroz ..	..	arró	..	..	'rice'

Originally, Guaranî apparently had numbers only from one to four, and in modern usage it has become customary to count beyond five in Spanish when speaking Guaranî.

On the other hand, since Paraguayan civilization is primarily agrarian, the major part of the population rarely encounters situations to which Guaranî does not readily lend itself. Moreover, in the popular mind, Guaranî is believed to be far more musical and aesthetically pleasing than Spanish, so that even among urban Paraguayan, Guaranî is the language of gentility and romance.

Note that Guaranî is neither taught at the schools nor are there any codified norms at present for it. There is one reason for a general dearth of Guaranî literature. There have been attempts to publish periodicals in Guaranî, and a few Guaranî poems and plays have also appeared, but there has been little evidence of popular acceptance of Guaranî as opposed to Spanish.

Bilingualism: Since Guaranî is the first language of almost every Paraguayan, the measurement of bilingualism in Paraguay is really the measurement of the number of Spanish speakers. According to the 1951 Census, the national ratio of bilinguals was 52% of the population of about 1,500,000. As we might expect from the foregoing discussion, however, there should be wide variation in this figure if we contrast rural with urban statistics, and in a recent study Joan Rubin showed this to be the case. In a survey which she conducted, the tabulation came out as follows:

Asuncîon	..	..	(only major city)	..	90% bilingual
Luque	..	..	(suburb of Asuncîon)	..	60% bilingual
Rest of the country		..	(mostly rural)	..	48% bilingual

From these figures we might expect a corollation with education and literacy, since most Spanish-speaking Paraguayans learn the language at school. And in truth, our expectations are borne out by the literacy report of the 1951 census:

Asuncîon	..	..	..	..	85% literate
Rest of the country		..	..	..	60% literate

Apparently, bilingualism and literacy show a close correspondence. It becomes, then, clear that bilingualism in Paraguay is in a way artificial, i.e., Guaraní is the first language of the people, with Spanish learned formally, and only by those who attend schools.

Within the bilingual community, the interrelationship of the two languages is a very complex one. In her study, Joan Rubin paralleled the relationship of Spanish to Guaraní with that of the use of the pronouns *vous* and *tu* in French. In other words, a bilingual speaker will use Spanish to one who is socially superior to him, unless the two are solidary, in which case Guaraní is used. With social equals with whom one is not solidary, Spanish is used; otherwise, Guaraní. With people who are socially inferior to the speaker Guaraní is used, in case where the speakers are not solidary. Thus, as average urban white-collar worker will use Spanish with the government officials, medical and other professional people, social equals with whom he is familiar, and waiters, shopkeepers and the like with whom he is not familiar. He will use Guaraní with his family, his friends (regardless of status), and tradesmen with whom he is familiar, as well as with all monolinguals. Naturally, this arrangement is adjusted throughout the social scale. As far as writing is concerned, Spanish is the only language used, regardless of situation. Bilingualism in Paraguay exists only in speech. But in speech, the picture is more complicated than what we have seen so far. While social prestige and solidarity do play a part, other more subtle factors enter into the distinction between Spanish and Guaraní.

One of these factors is the position as a national pride and symbol enjoyed by Guaraní over Spanish. Paraguay is the only nation in the hemisphere with a major *indigenous* language conterminous with its political boundaries. The Paraguayan feels an intense pride in his native language, and thus it happens that Paraguayans who meet while abroad will almost invariably use Guaraní with one another, even though at home they would use Spanish.

Another aspect of popular feeling is the notion that Guaraní is a more romantic language than Spanish. Thus, in boy-girl situations, especially in urban areas, conversations taking place following formal introductions will be in Spanish, but should a courtship develop, Guaraní will be used. On the other hand, couples who meet in the country will use Guaraní from the outset, even though they may be city-dwellers.

Still another factor to be considered is the situation in which the speakers are of the same sex. While in many cases the general rules we have outlined apply, in the upper classes men tend to use Guaraní with other men, but women tend to use Spanish with other women, regardless of the degree of familiarity.

Insofar as conversation is concerned, we have seen that the tendency is to use Guaraní in most informal situations, and to use Spanish in most formal

ones. Why should it be, then, that Guaraní has never taken hold as a medium of informal written communication? This question forms just one more rather curious aspect of Paraguayan bilingualism.

While no standard form of Guaraní has ever been established, several attempts have been made to start Guaraní periodicals and newspapers, the earliest having occurred in 1869. But none of these ever won widespread popular acceptance, and Spanish remains the only written form of the nation. Paradoxically, most Paraguayans (writers) insist that they think in Guaraní and translate into Spanish before writing, and apparently school children learning to write for the first time (always in Spanish!) go through a similar process. The fact Guaraní has no corpus of older literature may in part account for this general attitude, but beyond this we would not venture an opinion before making a thorough first-hand investigation.

Finally, it should be mentioned that all Paraguayan radio broadcasts are in Spanish. Admittedly, this means that a considerable segment of the population, although not a majority, does not understand the programmes, but this does not seem to be a problem, any more than the lack of Guaraní newspapers is one.

In conclusion, it may be suggested that steps should be taken to insure bilinguistic stability in Paraguay, not through modification of either language, but by the introduction of Guaraní into the educational system after the acceptance of a set of norms, encouragement of Guaraní writing beside Spanish, and official recognition by the government of both Spanish and Guaraní as official languages.

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LOTHAR LUTZE

Language in Education
Outline of a comparative study of German and Indian problems

GERMANY, and the Federal Republic of Germany in particular, is a small, highly industrialized nation; here illiteracy is practically zero. At first sight a comparative study of German and Indian educational problems may seem futile; even where they appear to be similar it should be borne in mind that they will always be of different dimensions and intensity.

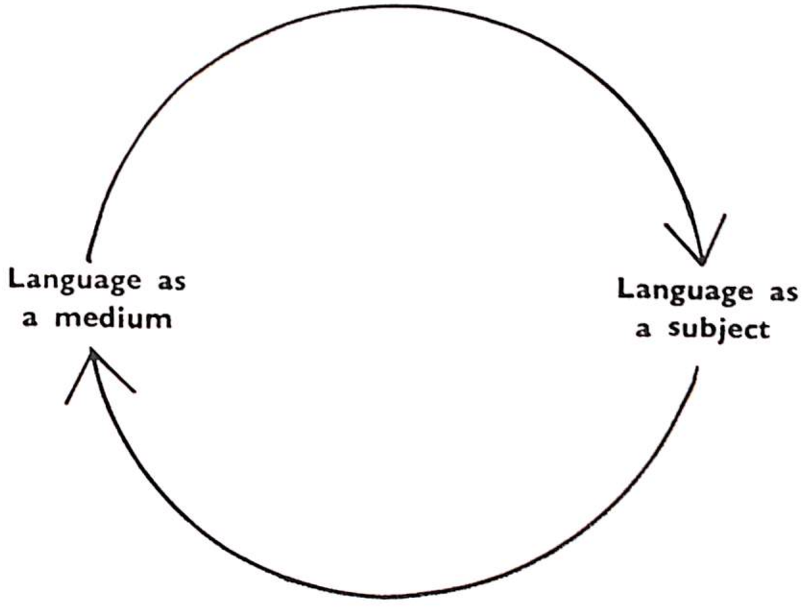
In order to preserve regional identities, the system of education of the F.R.G. is decentralized : there is no Central Ministry of Education. For purposes of co-ordination, the Conference of Ministers of Culture, a purely advisory body, will meet at irregular intervals.

The systems of the City State of West Berlin as presented (slightly simplified) on Chart I may be considered representative of the majority of State systems in the F.R.G., except that the division into three school branches (General School, Middle School, Gymnasium) at the age of 12 (cf. Chart I) takes place two years later than in most of the other systems.

Like any other democratic system of education, the German system tries to provide the best possible education to the largest number of citizens, without, however, neglecting the élite.[1] The concept of an élite is, of course, no longer based on class or economic considerations (State school education is generally free), but purely on the students' mental capacity and inclinations. Even then, the age of 10 (or even 12 in States like West Berlin) seems rather early for determining a student's mental capacity and consequently his further career. The study load, particularly in the language field (cf. Chart I), differs considerably in the three school branches. This early division, which has been criticized by a number of educationists as well as politicians, is, however,

partly balanced by the flexibility of the system: within the individual school branches, there is an emphasis on optional courses (for optional language courses, cf. Chart I), thus giving the student the possibility to make the best of his talents and inclinations. Moreover, the three branches are 'open' to each other: a student may (or may have to) change from one to the other at any point of his career; even after he has passed the school-leaving age (usually 18), he may obtain admission to a university[2] by attending adult evening classes.

Any discussion of language in education will have to distinguish between (1) language as a medium of teaching, and (2) language as a subject of teaching. These two aspects are in a circular give-and-take relationship:



In order to function as a teaching medium with increasing effectiveness, i.e., to accommodate the increasingly complicated thought patterns of the maturing student, the medium language should be given maximum importance in its role as a subject of teaching, regardless of whether, as in Germany, it is identical with the mother tongue or not (cf. Chart I).

This identity of the medium language and the mother tongue is taken for granted in Germany and most other European countries and eliminates the problem of choosing a medium language. This was not always so: at one time Latin was the medium language at German schools. But the equation medium language=mother tongue is the product of an evolutionary process, which should be furthered and not interfered with by any governmental agencies. Some isolated experiments in bimedial education are made, e.g., at the French Gymnasium (German/French) and the John F. Kennedy School (German/English) in West Berlin.

The German school is traditionally language-minded and has been criticized for over emphasizing the language part of the curriculum. Apart from the importance given to the teaching of the mother tongue, German, practically every young German will be brought in touch with a foreign language[3] at the age of 10. This is partly necessitated by the insufficiency of German as an international link language. The student will then continue and extend (or reduce) his foreign language study according to his capacity and inclination (cf. Chart I). At the Middle School, the languages taught will be modern ones (usually 1=English, 2=French), and they will be taught with a view to their immediate practical application in business correspondence, etc. The modern languages variety of the Gymnasium (Neusprachliches Gymnasium), which is the most common variety, will usually add Latin to English at the age of 12 and after another two or three years offer the student the possibility to take up the study of a third foreign language (e.g., French, Russian, Classical Greek)[4], whereas the Humanistic Gymnasium (Humanistisches Gymnasium) usually offers the sequence 1=Latin, 2=Classical Greek, 3=English or any other modern language.

The philological study of languages on the university level need not be discussed here.

To the outsider, who finds it comparatively easy to discuss the problems of Indian education without emotional and political engagement (which, although an advantage, somehow diminishes his right to take a stand in this discussion), it is the following problems and their possible solutions that attract his attention. The two main causes of the difficulties faced by an Indian system of education are multilingualism and a strained standard scale with an illiterate majority at the foot and an internationally renowned élite at the top.

One of the major problems, if not the major problem, which is non-existent in most European systems of education, is the choice of a medium language. The equation medium language=mother tongue, which signifies the ideal state of affairs, seems beyond realization in view of the 1652 languages and dialects returned as mother tongues in the 1961 Census; on the other hand, 14 Eighth Schedule languages alone are returned by 87% of the speakers;[5] it is obvious that by developing regional languages into increasingly effective teaching media India[6] could get fairly close to that state.

As long as at least one of the Indian languages has not been accepted as an international link by a sufficient number of speakers abroad, a non-Indian language will have to serve this purpose. Here the Indian and German positions are similar. As in the F.R.G., but for historical reasons of greater weight, this international link language will generally be English.

If India is determined to remain a political unit, she will have to choose a national link language. The emphasis is the singular: to use several national link languages simultaneously, as has been seriously suggested, would defeat

its own purpose. If India is determined to continue to be governed on democratic principles, the language to be chosen should be the one with the largest number of speakers in the country. According to the 1961 Census Hindi (including Bihari and Rajasthani) was then the mother tongue of 165,175,148 speakers (37.61% of the total); this number must have increased considerably since then. Telugu, the runner-up, had 37,668,132 speakers (8.5%) at that time. English was returned by 223,781 speakers (0.05%) as mother tongue and by 10.9 million speakers (2.5%) as subsidiary language.

But the equation, English=international link language=national link language, without belittling the advantages of this solution, appears unrealistic not only for statistical but also for purely linguistic considerations. It is an established fact that in the two centuries of British presence in India English has failed to strike roots here. From the psychological as well as the sociological point of view, the language has been described as a 'surface language'.[7] Linguistically speaking, it has remained a foreign language. When using English, the majority of Indian speakers merely project their Indian mother tongues into a foreign vocabulary. The result is a considerable number of varieties of the language: no serious attempt has so far been made to standardize Indian English. It is an irony of history that for the 'smoothest' solution of the problem of the national link language the British should have left India a century too soon.

This is not contradictory to the necessity of English being used as a substitute during a transitional period.

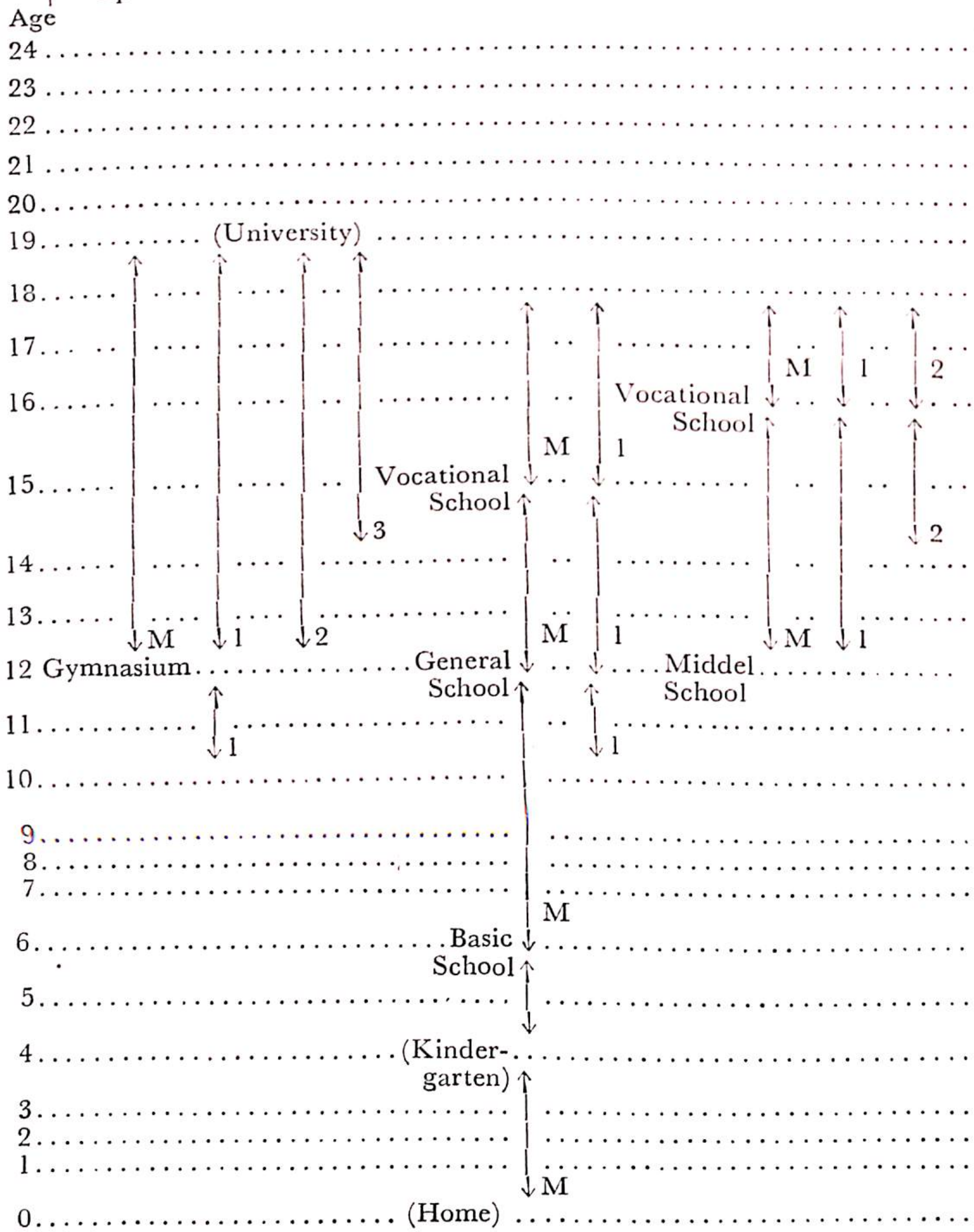
German schools have been called language-minded by tradition. Indian schools, apart from the country's remarkable linguistic tradition, will have to be language-minded by necessity. The general confusion of the methods of teaching the mother tongue and the methods of foreign language teaching will have to be done away with; in particular, methods of foreign language teaching suitable to the Indian situation will have to be developed and promulgated[8]; in extreme cases, the Indian student may have to (or want to) learn three 'foreign' languages (regional language, national link language, international link language) before he leaves the school.

Chart II is not meant to be more than an aid to the discussion. It is based on linguistic and psychological but not on political considerations; no attempt is made to go into organizational details. The international link language (I) will generally be English; on the supposition that Hindi, or Hindustani, is ultimately acceptable to the whole country as the national link language (N), Hindi-speaking students should learn a non-Indo-European language in the place of N.

LANGUAGE STUDY AT WEST BERLIN SCHOOLS

↑M = Mother tongue; ↑1 ↑2 ↑3 = Ist, 2nd, 3rd foreign language;

↑ = Optional

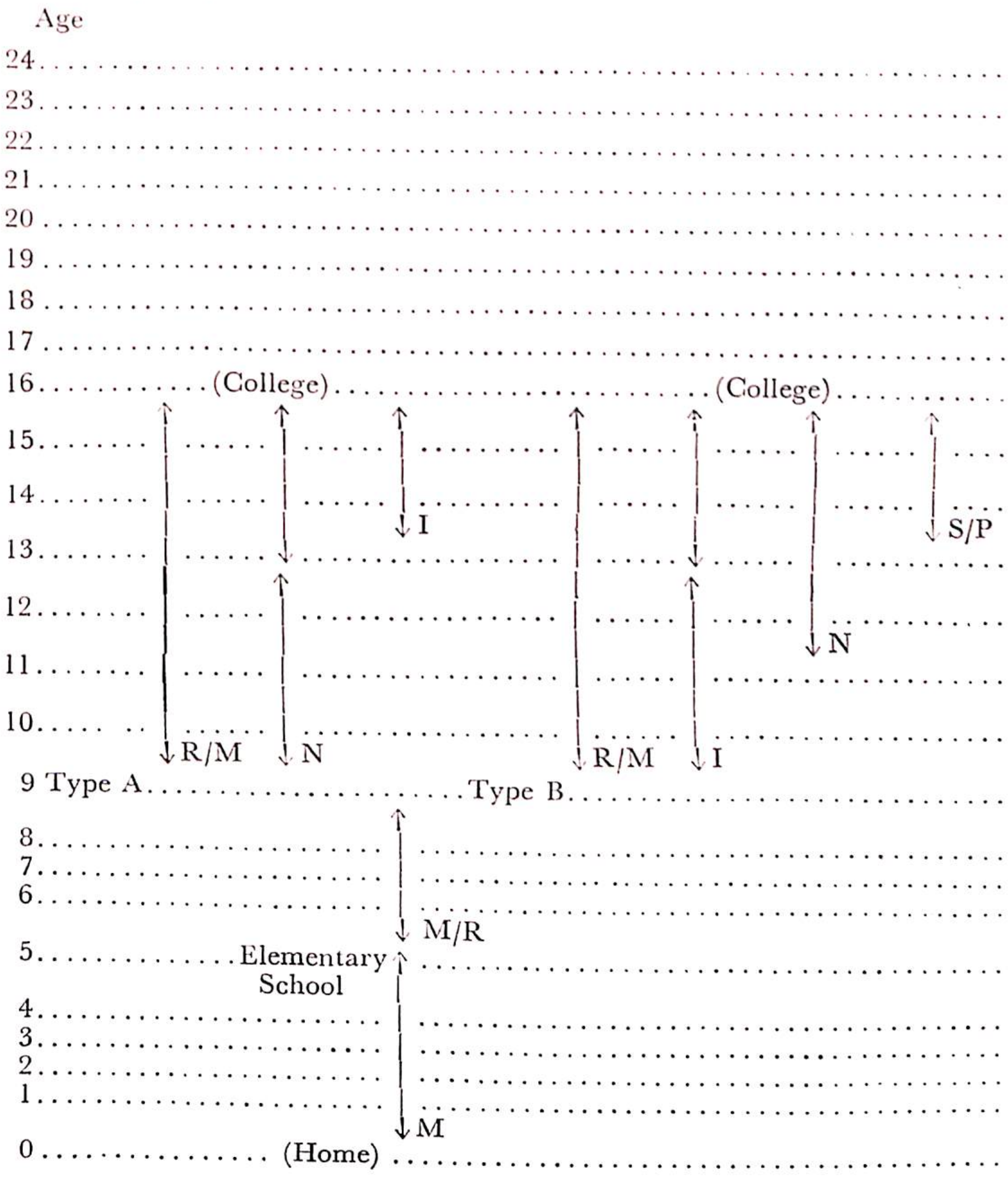


POSSIBLE TIMING OF LANGUAGE AT INDIAN SCHOOLS

M = Mother tongue ; R = Regional language ; N = National link language

I = International link language(s) ; S/P = Sanskrit/Persian

| = Optional



NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Vide the difficulties the British Education Ministry has recently been facing in trying to put its 'comprehensive' education plan into operation, which would abolish preferential treatment of gifted children (cf. *Statesman*, 18-9-67).
2. There are no colleges.
3. Usually English in West Germany, and Russian in East Germany.
4. Cases of Gymnasium graduates having some knowledge of four foreign languages are not rare.
5. Sindhi (1,371,932 speakers=0.31%) has become an Eighth Schedule language only with the Constitution (Twenty-first Amendment) Act of 10th April, 1967. Cf. (a) Census of India 1961, Vol. I, Part II-C (ii)—Language Tables; Ashish Bose, An Exploratory Study of Internal Migration in India Based on (a), Delhi 1965.
6. The question of at what point of the student's career, for organizational and/or other reasons, a foreign language might have to take over as teaching medium, especially during a transitional period, has not been touched here.
7. Cf. Lothar Lutze, "On the State and Status of Languages in the Hindi-speaking Area of Northern India", International Conference of Modern Foreign Language Teaching, Berlin 1964.
8. Institutions like the American Institute of Indian Studies, Poona, have been active in this field for some time. The New Delhi Evening Institute of Hindi, opened recently, is developing a Combined Method of Teaching Hindi to non-Hindi-Speaking Adults, which is based on the interplay of intuitive perception and intellectual reflection.

JAGDISH SHAMSHERE JUNG BAHADUR RANA

The Nepali Language and Society

LINGUISTIC pundits, with their elaborate study of dead languages or of written records, torn completely out of any context or situation have maintained that the Nepali language belonged to the Indo-Aryan family of languages, which was brought to the sub-continent by the Aryans, who in turn belonged to a larger group, namely the Indo-Germanic. I fear I cannot accept any linguistic vacuum existing among the earliest homo-sapiens that came out of the primordial slime into the lap of the Himalayas. Even in that distant past there must definitely have been, stout members of our race, equipped with some kind of a language, the first biological armour of the homo-sapiens.

When such was the situation, the encroachment by other races, namely the Khasias or the so-called Aryans or the goat grazers from the north-west, and the mongoloid shepherds from across the Himalayan passes, must definitely have created linguistic chaos in that land. These new entrants, came each, not only with a new verbal language but also with new experiences. The conflict that followed between the new entrants themselves, and between them and the original inhabitants, seems to have been resolved in the form of mixed settlements and mixed linguistic groups, because communication is a basic need of human society, it is a part of mankind's gregarious instinct. Until and unless the experiences, including the linguistic experiences of a group of people overlap with those of the other, it is hard to share experiences. Living together, there must have been a fusion of experiences of the different groups, till such time that order drove out chaos, created by the first encounter. As this society developed, the speech habit also must have undergone changes, enabling every member of that society to contribute his responses to the common stock, in such

a manner that they would be easily recognized and stimulate responses from others, which he in turn could understand.

This must have enabled all the component groups to identify themselves with and become part of a larger unit, making their contribution to its linguistic and other sources and drawing upon its resources in return. This then must have been the general pattern of social and linguistic development for a long time. First, because communication was limited, movements being forced mostly by pressure due to increase in population, and secondly because society then was closed and there was no traffic of ideas as we experience today, there must have been various pockets, settlements, all through our rough and rugged country, and numerous dialects must have been taking shape.

In the beginning there was only the mass language, the spoken language, the language of the people. The language of the élite came gradually much later. But from western standard, it was very early in history that the language of the élite developed in Bharata Varsha and Nepal, which was very much within the social perimeter of this sub-continent. Sanskrit, the purified language is a language in which all words are formed from the basic roots. The roots which are called the Dhatus (metal) might easily have been derived from the study of the prevalent languages and once the metal was found, and purified, it was not difficult to shape it into various self-expressive words. Even if we for the time being, accept that it was a God-given language, there is no doubt that Sanskrit, like English in this sub-continent today, was the language of the élite, language of the moral and in limited cases, of legal codes. It was also the language of literature. The development of this highly polished, refined and systematic language did not create any problem in the then society for the time being. Rather when society, according to some modern anthropologists, was divided due to economic reasons, into castes, the intellectuals wanted a more elaborate and systematic language to contain their high thoughts and thus the purified language of Sanskrit seems to have been designed to fulfil that social need. Once this perfect language arose, it must have, because of its superiority in form and structure, given numerous words to the local languages or influenced the future formation of the words, that today belong to, what is called the Indo-Aryan languages. This great language and its universal use by the élite of those days definitely had a tremendous social impact. This super language started bringing the heterogeneous dialects closer to one another. This process has not lost its momentum even to-day and I hope it will gather further momentum in future.

For centuries, this language became a very strong bond of unity between the diverse communities, speaking different languages within the sub-continent. But as the people in general did not understand this language, and as Sanskrit became the only language in which religion was preached and practised, the need of bilingual go-betweens or link men arose. Their power greatly

increased because of this linguistic situation and these professional bilinguals perfected the use of Sanskrit as a means of exploiting the masses. This continued for centuries. It is interesting to note how the same pattern repeats after ages when Nepali is used as a court language in areas where the people spoke a different dialect. This chaotic situation arising out of the gap between the language of culture and the language of the people was realized, when the people's government or *ganatantras* started functioning in different parts of the country. Siddhartha, a Nepalese prince, among many other notable preachers, started using Pali, a more frequently spoken language to preach his new religion.

But the gap between the élite and the masses could not be removed, Pali itself was not spoken or understood by all. There were various local dialects which the masses used. As time passed, the gulf between the language of the élite and the language of the masses went on widening. Religion which always has been the joint product of the duplicity of the first knaves and simplicity of the first fools was again preached in a language that facilitated perfect exploitation by a special class of bilingual go-betweens. It is interesting to note that even pseudo-religious practitioners, who did not know the correct use of Sanskrit preached or practised in language different from that spoken or understood by the people in general. The distorted and most incorrect form of Sanskrit used by the later tantriks and also, the local languages peppered with incorrect Sanskrit words used by the professional religious practitioners belonging to the dominantly Mongoloid group of community as the Kiratis and the Tharus clearly demonstrated the economic exploitation that could encourage the use of language other than the peoples language.

Till the late 18th century, political unification of Nepal had not been achieved and the so-called Nepali, Gurkhali or Khas language, had not started dominating the rest of the local languages. The pattern of regional languages before the rise of the Gurkhas, since 1768, makes a very interesting study. Politically as well as linguistically divided into various groups, the Kathmandu valley as always, was the centre of culture of learning. The predominant language spoken there, known as Newari, was a blending of Indo-Aryan, Mongoloid and Munda languages. Even in the small valley, with fifteen miles of diameter there were at least five different languages and the scripts in use were also as varied, some nearer to the modern form of Devnagri and others to the Tibetan script. Towards the western hills, it was Khaskura or Nepali that was more common, but there were clear patches of linguistic groups as Magars and Gurungs, speaking language richly blended with words of Munda and Tibeto-Burman origin. Towards the east the case was just the reverse. There were different groups of people speaking various shades of languages of Tibeto-Burman origin. The Tamag or Sherpas, the Rais and the Limboos, who formed the majority of the population of the eastern hills of Nepal, spoke

local dialects blended out of Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Aryan languages. But there were also patches of those, speaking the language of predominantly Indo-Aryan origin. In the lower hills there were distinct groups who spoke language, which contained words even of obscure origin. These people of the lower region, were not grazers ; they did little jhoom cultivation and mostly relied upon hunting and fishing. Being the most unhealthy part of land, population pressure also do not seem to have forced their movement. Perhaps due to this lack of movement and perhaps due to a lethargic climate and thick forest, these Tharus and Lepchas of the middle hills, or Vitri Madhes as it is called, spoke language with words of obscure origin. Those in the Terai belt, also had numerous local languages, in which the influence of Indo-Aryan languages was more pronounced.

It is but natural that the languages of the Indo-Gangetic plains went on to influence the growth of their language in the Terai. Dialectal boundaries are very often obstacles to free intercourse and there is no doubt that in those past centuries such obstacles were plenty. Even in our census report more than thirty-three languages have been recorded as the mother language of different groups of people. More significant for our present discussion is that part of the report which says: 'In any single spoken language, spoken at a distance of ten miles, we find some phonetic difference, this difference becomes more apparent between a distance of twenty-five miles or more. So during the centuries before the unification of Nepal under the Gurkhas there were numerous local dialects or linguistic differences. As some of these languages were predominantly Indo-Aryan and some predominantly Tibeto-Burman, the dialectal boundaries must have been very marked.

But language in its primitive function and original form has an essentially pragmatic character. Apart from the major linguistic groups there must have arisen temporary but very functional linguistic links. When I hear the very backward group of Nepal labourers, coming in search of seasonal work to Himachal Pradesh, communicate with their Himachali counterparts, each diluting his local dialect into the main form of the other's tongue, with an uninhibited desire to communicate, the futility and folly of linguistic boundaries draws unto me: This pragmatic character of language which welded the ancient forefathers of ours, I think, is much stronger even today than the attitudes of turbulent linguistic regionalism, we encounter today.

When such was the linguistic pattern, during the ancient and medieval period of Nepal's history, Nepali, which is today the chief language of literature, administration, and general intercourse in the kingdom of Nepal, was not a dominant language. It was one of the Indo-Aryan group of languages, spoken by groups of people in the western hills. Through all these ages the vocabulary of the Nepali language seems to have gained from many sources. At its core is the vocabulary it received, through the slow process of linguistic evolution

from the Indo-Aryan directly or as inter-dialectal borrowing. With the passage of time and opening up of several land routes between India and Tibet or China through Nepal words of Hindustani language also started being incorporated into the main stream of Nepali. The existence in the country of many Tibeto-Burman-languages, one of which, Newari, produced a considerable literature in the valley of Nepal, also added words, referring to names of specific objects, to the Nepali language. But either because Sanskrit was a more systematic and organic language than the Tibeto-Burman or because Nepali (a language deriving more vocabulary from Sanskrit), became a dominant language of the country, the Tibeto-Burman language began to use large numbers of Nepali or Sanskrit words. The converse was not true to the same extent in case of Nepali.

When this was the state of linguistic pattern and development in Nepal a great event of national importance occurred in 1758. The Gurkhas, who spoke what we call Nepali language today, conquered the valley and started expanding, till their expansion, which had reached the river Tista in the east, the Sutlej in the west, the Ganges near Muzzaferpore, Gorakhpore in U. P. and Manimajra in Punjab in the south, was checked by the forces of East India Company.

Now the people, so far divided into different linguistic groups, ruled by various local chieftains and having no bond of unity, were amalgamated to one nation, ruled by one king, and they lived together and fought together. This monolithic system of government necessitated a monolithic linguistic system in the form of a single official language. The conqueror's language was naturally enforced.

The long wars, first of all of unification and then of defence against the onslaught of the East India Company's army, led to unprecedented movement of people. The Gurkha army that fought, consisted of people speaking different dialects. The officers in command being mostly Nepali speaking Gurkha, and the official correspondence or military despatches being done in Nepali, no one without the knowledge of the language could climb up the official ladder. Even among the groups speaking other languages, bilinguals appeared. Economic motive as well as linguistic necessity led the rest to learn and the Gurkhas to teach the Nepali language. Thus the language which was, till 1768, a local dialect spread through the length and breath of the country. But it was not learnt by the entire community. Even after two centuries of governmental patronage, Nepali could only be the language of the majority, an official language used by the élite and the language of general administration, but it was not used by every citizen. According to the latest Census report only sixty-two percent of the population can speak this language, though in the hills, it is generally spoken and understood, its use and knowledge goes on diminishing as we move southward. This clearly indicates that even in a

society where the imposition of the conqueror's language is not resented, it does not follow that the official language comes into general use. The process of adaptation is not automatic.

This spread of Nepali as a language of common intercourse, of administration and of literature, definitely facilitated communion and communication between people of different parts of the country, simplified the transaction of legal, administrative, and other business, and also encouraged the élite of the country to write in one language and thus serving a common literature. But judging objectively we can clearly come to the conclusion that the disproportionately large representation of the members of Nepali-speaking community in the administration, law courts as well as the literary field, in contrast to the minority linguistic group, might have been the result of the predominance of Nepali over other languages spoken in the country.

Being the conqueror's language, at the early stages, neither popular consent nor ruthlessness was necessary to implement it as official or natural languages among the non-Nepali speaking people. For quite some time Nepali-speaking officers were sent as officers even to the non-Nepali speaking provinces. The chaos that it created demanded restoration of order, many among the local people found it lucrative to be bilingual and the Nepali-speaking officers also found it convenient to try and understand and speak in a language that would be understood by the local people. After years of such practices, in most of the non-Nepali speaking provinces a sort of contact language or pidgin language has grown. The growth of such a language has not only helped the Nepali-speaking officials to express and understand language spoken by the local inhabitants, but also the local language has changed. Specially in the Terai, moving from the east to the west, we find the local people speaking even among themselves Maithili, Bhojpuri and Avadhi richly mixed with Hindustani as well as Nepali words. This acquisition of the rudiments and basic vocabulary of another language by both the parties is partly due to the basic human desire to create order out of chaos and add meaning to things, partly because of the inherent pragmatic nature of language itself, which demands expression, and partly because of the basic need of man for acts of communion with others, and mainly because of economic dealings through the ages. Though it is not an official language nor the language enlisted in the statistical reports, these sort of link languages are an expression of community of interest among different groups of people. Many of the current misunderstandings about the role of language in society, arise from overlooking these unofficial contact languages and from supposing that only the possession of a common official language will necessarily give rise to an identity of interest in the community. Inspite of having more linguistic affinity with the people across the national border, the Tamangs in the north and the inhabitants of the Terai in the south of Nepal, have through all the ages maintained identity of interest with the rest of the

Nepali people than with the foreigners speaking similar languages.

For two centuries, Nepal was secluded and isolated from the rest of the world under a monolithic system of administration. After the Second World War, the winds of change that blew over Asia not only swept away the autocratic rule from Nepal but also brought the country into the international arena. These social changes led to some linguistic adjustments. As soon as democracy was declared, the linguistic minorities who had for generations been exploited on linguistic grounds by middle-men, as lawyers, civil servants, and contactmen, started demanding more recognition for their own languages. Those pressing for these demands were again the middle-men belonging to the linguistic minorities and not the common masses. The common masses instead of making a demand for the recognition of local dialects, championed the cause of Hindi. Whereas, according to the census report, there are only eighty thousand people speaking Hindi, the so-called representatives of Terai held that thirty lakhs of people speak the language. This grouping together of all the dialects spoken in the Terai area under the banner of Hindi, was possible because most of the intelligentsia or white-collar gentry of the area, as a result of their close association with the gentry across the border, had more knowledge of Hindi than Nepali or their Nepali-speaking counterparts had less knowlege of Hindi than they had.

As Hindi was championed by the Terai leaders, so was the cause of Newari championed by the people of the Valley. In both languages news was broadcast side by side with the Nepali language, both were recognized as one of the optional languages in schools, their use in parliament, though not encouraged, was tolerated. In the administrative and cultural sphere, however, Nepali continued to be used as ever before. As Hindi was also the national language of the nearest neighbour, as Nepali was not a foreign language and as pure Hindi was hardly understood by the masses in the Terai, with the passage of time enthusiasm for Hindi wore away. It is natural for any single community to try to take full advantage of new economic possibilities and try to protect their interests against intrusion by outsiders. The growth of population has brought a terrific economic stress within every square mile of the country. The same area, where a few people used to live by shift cultivation only a few hundred years ago, has to maintain hundreds of people now. Under such stress, it is natural that local or regional economic interests should be jealously protected by the people of the locality, even against people in other parts of their own country. This feeling overrides pious thoughts as nationalism, humanism or secularism. But agitation, on the other hand, cannot change the basic relationship that existed between language and society since the first man and first culture was born. So even the cause of chaos, seemingly arising out of linguistic problems, might in fact be found lurking behind other social and economic maladjustments. Therefore, the various linguistic problems that

arose during the post-war period were mainly the side effects of the tremendous social, political and economic changes that came into our land.

As long as our country was within the grip of autocratic rulers, as long as it was suffocated by the threatening presence of imperialists, we had no traffic of ideas with the outer world. Except for limited use in the foreign office and for training college teachers, the need of the knowledge of foreign language was not felt. During the post-war period contact with the outside world grew, there was hectic traffic in ideas with the outside world, and the country became an active member of the international community. So to be able to convey the nation's aspirations, anxieties and thoughts to the new community of nations as well as to understand their total behaviour, knowledge of international language became urgent. This need was for the first time manifested in the agitation led by the students of Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya demanding the inclusion of modern social sciences in their curriculum. Though age-long inhibitions, arising out of the so-called respect for the Sanskrit language, prevented the students of the Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya from making a demand for the teaching of English language, the learning of modern social science became tantamount to learning a foreign language. As elsewhere in Asia, the production of adequate text books and reference books on modern subjects in the vernacular language fell far short of the need of schools and colleges, the direct knowledge of a foreign language became absolutely essential. Moreover, education, far from being a means of developing integrated personality of an individual, became only the way to go ahead in the economic race. More opportunities were open to those who acquired knowledge of a foreign language than to those who commanded knowledge only through the classics and vernaculars. Due to all these reasons the popularity of English language, which was also one of the recognized international languages spoken and taught so extensively in our nearest neighbouring country, increased in our land. When international situation dictated us to follow this pattern of linguistic development, the rise of strong nationalistic feelings during the post-war periods, in our small country, placed between two mighty Asiatic powers, led us to stick more closely to the continued use of our national language, even at the cost of proper knowledge and expansion of the use of international link language.

In the past when education was the privilege of a few belonging to high classes or castes, it had a specific purpose of training professors and civil servants. Only those who were able and could pay for academic education, stayed on at school and went on to the university. The other needs of the society were met in different ways. The warrior class came from traditional stock of so-called fighting races, and they at the most needed a rudimentary knowledge of reading and writing in vernacular for promotions; the craftsmen coming from humble homes, needed only to be good with their hands and neither needed to be able to read nor write, the priesthood needed knowledge of Sanskrit books dealing

with sacrificial practices and nothing more.

But after the post-war period, with more contact with the outside world and the growth of democratic ideas among the people, the demand for literary education started coming from those classes which saw themselves at an economic disadvantage without it. Though it is arguable whether universal literacy is in itself a good aim, it became a basic premise of the way in which our post-war society started being reorganized. Now the question arose about the language to be used in imparting mass education. For generations a gulf had existed between the literate élite and the masses of the people because of the differences of language between them. Partly because of the psychic reaction against this age-long discrimination and the resulting archaic images created thereby, partly because of the nationalistic approach to the problem, that regarded the use of Nepali language as a medium of instruction from the lowest to the highest stage of education as a matter of profound importance for national integration, the emphasis upon the use of vernacular as medium of instruction increased. At such a juncture the publication of UNESCO reports of 1953 on the use of vernacular in education strengthened the argument of those propagating for the use of vernacular as medium of instruction at all stages.

To quote one relevant portion of this report, 'It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs in his mind that works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium'. Application of this axiom to medium of instruction at all stages might be theoretically sound. But when we realize the tremendous change in the situation of our country after the Second World War we cannot underestimate the need of a foreign contact language.

Not only are we depending upon massive foreign aid of all kinds for the development of our country, but we are also being guided by the experience of the more advanced nations of the west in the technical development of our land. To survive, we have to acquire modern knowledge, which is tremendously dynamic. It has been noted that a developing nation cannot hope to keep abreast of, let alone add to, modern knowledge by relying on translations alone. As long as we are technologically and scientifically behind the rest of the world, exploitation by other nations cannot be ruled out. In order to ensure this, our intellectual élite must have sufficient command of at least one international language. This basic linguistic requirement of an underdeveloped country, which has entered the international arena, should not be damped by one-sided enthusiasm for the use of vernacular at all stages of learning.

Human society, at least our society, has reached a new stage of development. The society to which we were confined for centuries has begun to ex-

pand. We belong to a far wider society where people with different linguistic experiences co-exist. As I have already said previously, as we grow up in or live in a speech community, the acquisition of the speech-habits of that community allow us to become a full member of the society, contributing our response to the common stock in such a manner that we are easily recognized and stimulate responses from others which we in turn can understand. When our primitive forefathers were engulfed by the tides of shepherd intruders from the north as well as the west, they had to make social and linguistic adjustment in order to co-exist. Now that we belong to a world wide community, we have to make suitable linguistic adjustments and in doing so we have to hold a balance between patriotic and objective views to cope with the changing situation. In a world where overcrowding makes mutual respect more difficult and that much more necessary, identification with all forms of society, beginning with the most primitive or aboriginal, is the only principle which can permit men to live and elaborate the society together.

MARGARET ROFF

Communalism and Language
The Malayan Experience[1]

RECENTLY Malaya celebrated the tenth anniversary of its achieving independence from Britain. Amongst the many recitals of progress and mutual congratulation that the occasion naturally inspired, Tengku Abdul Rahman (Prime Minister throughout the decade and leader of the movement for independence) gave it as his opinion that 'Malaysia's greatest achievement is that all the races have agreed on one national language. Our sovereignty and freedom have now a real meaning because at last we take pride in the fact that we have a national language of our own'.[2]

At the time of independence Malaya's linguistic problems resembled India's in at least two ways. First, the fact that during the colonial period the official language had been English left in both countries a vast heritage of educational institutions and habits geared to that language, plus a tendency among many to regard it as an irreplaceable and necessary tool for modernisation and unity. Secondly, in both India and Malaya, the political parties which had led the struggle for independence believed that the acceptance and propagation of an indigenous national language was an essential part of the process of achieving real freedom from the colonial past. Difficulties in both countries arose because the language of a minority was selected to become the 'national' language, and the language issue therefore became inseparable from questions of communal relations and concomitant fears of domination and disadvantage.[3]

The constitution with which Malaya became independent on 31 August, 1957, laid it down that 'the national language shall be the Malay language....', but conceded that English was to be accorded concurrent official status for a period of ten years 'and thereafter until Parliament otherwise

provides....'[4] That Malay was to be the national language was seen as a marked political victory for the United Malays National Organisation. This most powerful of Malayan political parties had, together with the Malayan Chinese Association and Malayan Indian Congress, formed a lasting electoral alliance which was Malaya's first effective political mechanism for reconciling communal aspirations and national interests. This Alliance had been able to draft a joint memorandum to the Reid Constitutional Commission, all the major provisions of which were accepted and incorporated into the final constitution. As a *quid pro quo* for acceptance by the United Malays National Organisation of the principle of *jus soli* with regard to citizenship, Chinese and Indian political leaders assented to the need for Malay to be the national language, for Malays to be accorded 'special privileges' with a view to raising their depressed economic status, and for Islam to be acknowledged the state religion.[5]

For those concerned with the possibility of Malaya's becoming a viable independent nation-state, it seemed self-evident that the reinforcement of the distances between the communities by the persistence of linguistic differences was undesirable. In the colonial situation, where the only government-supported vernacular schools were Malay, the Chinese and Indian communities had been left by and large to provide their own schools for their children. This educational disunity then had little political significance, except, perhaps, insofar as it had helped maintain the British in power. But, with the approach of independence there was increased debate as to the relationship between the maintenance of cultural and linguistic ties with India and China, and the possibility of total political loyalty to the new nation.[6]

The Malays, already feeling themselves to be economically disadvantaged within their own country, were understandably chary of sharing political power with the immigrant communities, and felt justified in asking for evidences of good faith: in particular, the acceptance of the need for a national language, and the loosening of cultural and other ties with the respective "homelands". Preparing for the first general elections in 1955 the Alliance had, of course, to keep in mind the sensitivities of each community as they hoped to win votes from them all. Although the leaders of the Malayan Chinese Association and the Malayan Indian Congress had, in principle, accepted the need for Malay to be the national language and for all children in schools to be taught it vigorously, they warned too of the dangers of a frontal attack on Chinese and Indian vernacular schools. So, although the Alliance pledged in its election manifesto to 'establish a type of national school that will be acceptable to the people of Malaya....(and will facilitate) the fulfilment of the Alliance's aim to adopt Malay as the national language of the country', it went on to reassure the non-Malays by promising to allow vernacular schools their 'natural expansion'.[7] At the same time the Alliance leadership made it clear that while the long-term aim was the replacement of English in official use by Malay, in the

short term the manifold uses of that language were fully recognised, and government-support of English-medium schools would continue.

This then is the web of political and practical imperative that the Malayan Alliance Government has been treading these past twelve years. Malay is accepted as the national language by leaders of all communities (even non-Alliance opposition politicians cavil only at the non-acceptance of Chinese and Tamil as *official* languages), but at the same time the consequences of alienating the immigrant communities have been felt to be too dangerous to allow an openly repressive policy towards Chinese- and Indian-medium schools. Alongside all this has run the unalterable fact that English is still seen by most parents to have an economic and social value greater than Malay, so that whilst the extension of Malay education has been very great, the rate of increase in the English-medium school stream has been even higher.[8]

The single most important document in the evolution of independent Malaya's education and language policies is the Razak report published in August, 1956.[9] It stated that a major aim of the Alliance Government (now achieved, one might mention) was to provide 'a place in a school for every child born in this country', and then went on to lay the guidelines for Malaya's subsequent educational development. Its most contentious recommendations (forming the basis of a national education bill enacted early the following year) were that all schools throughout Malaya were to have common syllabuses, and that both Malay and English were to be made compulsory subjects in all government-supported primary and secondary schools, with instruction in other languages to be made available only in those primary schools where a specific demand existed.

The Malayan Indian community seemed not overly perturbed by this report and its implications for the preservation of their distinctive culture and language. They appeared to accept the government's assurances of good faith in the matter, and were perhaps more interested in its promise of better general educational opportunities for their children. However, sections of the Chinese community were deeply suspicious of the report and consequent enactment. So intense were their feelings in the matter, that there were real fears of widespread communal bloodshed. Khir Johari, who became Minister for Education at that time, described how his office looked more like that of a general....'maps and charts with pins showing the location of school strikes and riots throughout the country hung everywhere'. Older members of the Chinese community fostered student unrest to demonstrate their own determination not to lose their 'Chineseness', and the students themselves were doubtless expressing unease lest their education be deemed unsuitable when it came to looking for jobs. The powerful Chinese Guilds and Associations which had been hitherto concerned principally with assuring citizenship to the maximum possible number of Chinese residents in Malaya, now turned their

energies to press for the recognition of Chinese (kuo yu) as an official language.

During the years 1957-59, language and education were the chief political preoccupations of the Chinese community, and within the Malayan Chinese Association itself there were several crises and a change of leadership before general acceptance of government policy was achieved.[10] Since that time the Malayan Chinese Association has been most correct in all its public pronouncements concerning the acceptance of Malay as the national language, while at the same time often reminding the Chinese community that the Alliance Government has in fact done more for Chinese education than the British ever did while they were governing. Although there are still pockets of discontent among the Chinese community over language and education, they are (as has been frequently remarked) a practical people. Although most still wish to inculcate in their children some familiarity with the intricacies of Chinese calligraphy, the middle class at least seems to have accepted the need for their children to master both English and Malay if their future economic status is to be assured. Practically all Chinese secondary schools have voluntarily converted to the 'national system' whereby they teach both English and Malay as well as other subjects, and in return are at least partially supported from government funds. In addition to this there is some moving across of Chinese youths from Chinese-medium to English-medium schools, so there is a growing evidence of bi- and tri-linguality in the community.

But let it not be supposed that only the Chinese community has been frustrated and disquieted by the language question. Each "crisis" or evidence of renewed agitation with the Chinese community has tended to produce a counter-reaction from the Malays. Seeing their language as an essential part of their cultural identity,[11] and arguing that if the Chinese wish seriously to become 'Malaysian' the least they can do is to show willingness in learning and using the language, the Malays have tended to interpret reluctance on the part of sections of the Chinese community to accept the government's language policy as evidence of their continuing loyalty to a 'homeland' other than Malaya. Also, the language question has been linked for Malays with their concern at the economically underprivileged character of their community as a whole. Where English language schooling has been available (and that is mainly in the towns) Malay parents have recognised with others the apparent advantages of assuring that their children are bi-lingual. However, the generality of Malays are rural people, and for them the only schooling usually available to their children is Malay-medium. Why, they ask the government, is the Malay language not accorded 'economic value'? It is the national language and (since 1 September 1967) the sole official language, and yet everywhere the product of the English-medium school is advantaged when it comes to finding a job. The National Language Action Front, a group of Malay intellectuals, particularly concerned with questions of this sort, has alleged

that in fact the Malays have been betrayed by their leaders, and that far from making Malay the sole official language as promised, the National Language Act has ensured the perpetuation of English for official use.[12] The clause to which they most object is that which states explicitly that 'The Yang di-Pertuan Agong (king) may permit the continued use of the English language for such official purposes as may be deemed fit'. As a consequence of this, they argue, youths educated solely in Malay will continue to find it difficult to get jobs in either business or government services and the Malays will necessarily remain a predominantly rural and economically backward people, forever economically and socially disadvantaged vis a vis the largely urban-dwelling non-Malays for whom English education is readily available.

Although the stated policy of government is *not* bi-lingualism, and although the Alliance Government has never wavered from its declaration that Malay is the national and sole official language, nevertheless the longterm importance of English has also been stressed. Tengku Abdul Rahman has said that it is essential for Malaysia's continued full participation in international discourse that English remain 'a second language', and statements from various cabinet ministers have stressed from time to time the importance of English to the country's continued progress and prosperity. The Minister of Education has pointed out that in the past English schools had been an important force for unity in the nation, as the only institutions to bring together appreciable numbers of the children of all races. Further emphasising his appreciation of the importance of English, and in a bid to enhance the value of the Malaysian Certificate of Education (awarded by Malay-medium schools) to prospective employers, he proposed the introduction of advanced English courses to supplement the English already taught in those schools. Justifying this he said, 'What I want to put across to the public is that we cannot deny the importance of the foreign language in the fields of commerce and industry.... We hate the British as colonialists but we cannot hate their language because English benefits us in various fields for our advancement'.[13] Although massive efforts have been made to standardise Malay and extend its vocabulary to fit it for use as the sole official language and as purveyor of knowledge in a growing number of fields,[14] nevertheless there have been very real difficulties in the provision of adequate numbers of textbooks, and a continued reliance on English ones, particularly in science and related disciplines. That the University of Malaya continues largely to teach in English[15] and evidences little inclination to change, means that English must continue to be seen as a passport to social and economic advance.

That the Malayan Government has managed to avert communal violence over language is an achievement of note. That the concept of a national language has been largely accepted means that Malay must become an increasingly important means of inter-communal discourse, and must contribute to the growth of a unified nation. However, there seems little reason to suppose

that the place of English in the national life will appreciably diminish in the foreseeable future.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. This paper concerns only those states forming the old Federation of Malaya. Now that Sabah and Sarawak are added to the Federation to form Malaysia the linguistic situation becomes more complex, but under the terms of the Malaysia Agreement, Article 161 of the new constitution specifically provides for a ten year period (from 31 August, 1963) during which the use of English in the Borneo territories will be in no way circumscribed.
2. In a message to the State Governments to mark the tenth anniversary of *Merdeka*; published in all newspapers on 31 August, 1967.
3. For a linguist's view see R. B. Le Page, *The National Language Question: Linguistic Problems of newly Independent States*, London, 1964. It is of particular interest in this context as he takes for his two "case histories" India and Malaya. A more political perspective is to be found in K.J. Ratnam, *Communalism and the Political Process in Malaya*, Chapter IV, Kuala Lumpur, 1965. This does not, however, deal with events after 1960.
4. *The Constitution of the Federation of Malaya*, Article 152, Clauses 1 and 2.
5. See *Report on the Federation of Malaya Constitutional Commission*, London, HMSO, 1956.
6. For a discussion of this see T.H. Silcock, *Towards a Malayan Nation*, Singapore, 1961.
7. *Alliance Manifesto for the Federal Elections*, June, 1955.
8.

		Schools		*Students (to rearest 1000)*		*Teachers (to nearest 100)*	
		English	*Malay*	*English*	*Malay*	*English*	*Malay*
1957	..	502	2,244	231,000	428,000	7,600	14,900
1962	..	927	2,346	406,000	489,000	14,000	20,100
1966	..	1,074	2,631	552,000	674,000	19,400	24,700
Incr. 1957-66	..	112%	13%	139%	57%	155%	66%
Incr. 1962-67	..	16%	12%	36%	38%	39%	23%

9. *Report of the Education Committee*, 1956, Chairman the Hon'ble Minister for Education, Dato' Abdul Razak bin Hussein, Orang Kaya Indera Shahbandar Kuala Lumpur, 1956.
10. For a more detailed discussion of this period see my article, "The Politics of Language in Malaya", *Asian Survey*, VI, 5 May, 1967, pp. 316-328.
11. For an historical discussion of this see William R. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, New Haven, London, and Kuala Lumpur, 1967, (especially Chapter 2).
12. *The National Language Act*, 1967, was enacted 3 March, 1967, and its provisions came into force from 1 September, 1967.
13. Reported in the *Sunday Times*, (Kuala Lumpur) 7 May, 1967.
14. For a full account of this see *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka: Malaysia's Language and Literature Agency*, Kuala Lumpur, 1967.
15. Only the Economics and Arts Faculties have courses taught in Malay, and even there most courses continue to be given in English. Almost all the library's resources are in the Engligh language.

PATRICIA UBEROI

Language Reform and Literary Reform in China, 1917

It has seldom been recognized—though evidence is abundant—that the Chinese Literary Revolution of 1917, the movement whereby the vernacular style substituted the classical style as the medium of literary expression, was an integral part of the total Chinese nationalist movement. It was, in fact, closely related to the nationalist language reform movement and was largely an attempt to provide a solution to the twin problems of the Chinese language in modern times, the problem of script and the problem of style. The relationship between the Literary Revolution and the movement for language reform has been made explicit by one of the initiators of the Literary Revolution, Hu Shih,[1] but it has not been explored subsequently by either Marxist or non-Marxist critics. Writers on language reform dismiss the Literary Revolution briefly,[2] while on the other hand most literary historians ignore altogether the impact of the language reform movement. It is the purpose of this paper to outline the challenge to Chinese nationalism provided by the nature of the Chinese script and the Chinese classical style, and to demonstrate the way in which the Literary Revolution was able to suggest a timely solution to this challenge.

EXTEND EDUCATION

With the defeat of the 'modernized' Chinese navy by the Japanese in the war of 1894-95, the policy of limited material modernization under the formula of 'Chinese learning for essential principles, Western learning for the practical applications' (*Chung-hsüeh wei t'i, Hsi-hsüeh wei yung*) was shown to be no more than the facade of modernization, and with increasing vigour radical intellectuals began to demand more fundamental changes in Chinese society. It was

demonstrably true that literacy was much higher in those countries which had proved militarily stronger than China, and gradually a number of China's more daring intellectuals began to suggest that the real key to the reform and modernization of China lay not in the manufacture of weapons of war but in 'the extension of education' (*p'u-chi chiao-yü*) or, as the slogan of the day put it, 'education to save the nation' (*chiao-yü chiu kuo*).

But there was a major obstacle to any attempt to increase literacy and educate the Chinese people. This obstacle was the nature of the Chinese written language in respect of both script and style.

The Chinese script is an ideographic script; that is, the meaning of a word is conveyed by the visual form of the word (the form of the 'character'), rather than by the spelling out of the sound of the word, as is the case with a phonetic script. As a result of such a system whereby sound is independent of meaning, sound changes over the ages and dialectal variations are irrelevant to appreciation of the meaning of a text. The Chinese script has consequently been able to give to China an historical unity and continuity, and an historical and cultural consciousness such as is possessed by no other people. It has also proved an important factor, historically and contemporaneously, in unifying the total orbit of Chinese cultural influence, despite wide variations in local dialects and long periods of political disunity. But the Chinese ideographic script has the serious disadvantage that it is very difficult to learn, and for this reason it is hardly suitable as an instrument of mass education. Each concept that has to be expressed must be written in terms of one or more separate graphs comprising any number of strokes from one to about thirty. The number of graphs which must be mastered for ordinary purposes is variously estimated as from one thousand to about five thousand, and large dictionaries contain up to forty thousand characters.

As though it were not enough that the Chinese script should be so complicated, the Chinese literary or prose style of the late nineteenth century was also so difficult as to render it a serious impediment to any attempt at mass education. Such was the weight of the classical tradition (an outcome of the 'timelessness' of the Chinese script) that Chinese scholars hesitated to use in their writings any characters which did not have classical precedent, and the literary style, in respect of both vocabulary and syntax, was far removed from the colloquial language. Many Chinese characters have numerous meanings, sometimes even antithetical, and the Chinese classical language, ideal for poetic expression, is too imprecise to convey with ease scientific concepts. As a result, many people doubted whether the Chinese language would ever be flexible enough to express the new concepts and techniques of 'Western learning', and specifically whether it would be a suitable medium for scientific education.[3]

Thus the two problems of the Chinese language, the problem of script and the problem of style, provided a serious challenge in the late nineteenth

and early twentieth centuries to those Chinese nationalists who hoped to reform China through universal education. Eventually, the two problems, originally distinct, became fused together, more for linguistic than for political considerations, and the problem of script reform was soon shown to be dependent on a reform of the written style. The Chinese classical written style is not a suitable basis for phoneticization of the Chinese language. Its fluid syntax and its numerous monosyllabic homophones—a result of progressive phonemic simplification over the centuries—render it unintelligible to the ear, and it can be understood only through the medium of the ideographs. The spoken language, of course, has no particular problem with homophony; its syntax is such that ambiguity is seldom likely to occur, while the majority of the monosyllables of the classical language are used in the spoken language only in polysyllabic combination with bound or semi-bound units which jointly make the meaning clear.[4] In time, then, it became obvious to all those advocating script reform that, by linguistic necessity, this task entailed a reform of the written style, that is, the use of the spoken language as the basis of the written style. At the same time, a small number of intellectuals came to believe that the vernacular style was the answer to the need for a simple and precise written style suitable for mass education and for the dissemination of modern ideas and scientific knowledge.

The earliest phonetic scripts for Chinese were introduced by Christian missionary groups who, from the early years of the nineteenth century, devised a large number of systems for romanization of the various Chinese dialects, and began educating their congregations and publishing religious literature in these scripts. It is no accident that all the early Chinese advocates of script reform were from the southern and coastal provinces where missionary impact was the greatest. Most were known to have had contact with missionaries. The influence of the missionaries, however, was more in terms of suggesting an idea than in giving an example, for the early Chinese reformers in the main did not use the Latin alphabet for their phonetic systems, as did the missionaries, but preferred other signs based on the Manchu or Japanese alphabets or derived from Chinese characters.[5]

It was not until after the Sino-Japanese War that the intellectual climate became sympathetic to the activities of those intellectuals who had been engaged in the task of inventing phonetic scripts for Chinese. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and T'an Ssu-t'ung were only two of the renowned scholars who began at this time to investigate the feasibility of alphabetization of Chinese, and to publicize the work of the script reformers. The hopes of the language reformers reached a high peak during the Reform Movement of 1898, when the efforts of the phoneticizers were brought to the attention of the Emperor,[6] but the Reform

Movement was shortly brought to an abrupt end with the Empress Dowager's *coup d'etat* and the propagators of script reform lost their patronage.

Despite the political reaction of the next few years, the various reformers continued their work on script reform. Most prominent among them was the romantic figure of Wang Chao, a former Secretary of the Board of Rites who had been forced to flee to Japan after the failure of the Reform Movement. He returned to China in 1900, disguised as a Buddhist monk, and continued his clandestine propaganda for a phonetic script. His system, the so-called Mandarin Phonetic Alphabet (*Kuan-hua Tzu-mu*), based on Northern Mandarin, received powerful patronage from the key political figure in China at the time, the militarist Yüan Shih-k'ai, who, ironically, through lending his support at a crucial moment to the Empress' *coup d'etat* had brought about a temporary stalemate in the script reform movement. Subsequently Yüan had come to appreciate the potential of a phonetic script for wiping out illiteracy in his army, and he became an active supporter of Wang Chao's system. With the death of the Empress Dowager in 1908, however, Yüan lost much of his political power and the work of Wang Chao consequently fell into political disrepute.

After the foundation of the Chinese Republic in 1912, the hopes of the script reformers reached a crescendo. Yüan Shih-k'ai was once again politically ascendant, and Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei, a leading liberal intellectual, was Minister of Education. But just as the script reform movement seemed assured of early success, serious dissension developed in the ranks of the reformers. The movement, formerly unitary in purpose, split apart under the tension of this discord. Eventually, a compromise solution was adopted in the form of a changeover to the vernacular style (*pai-hua*) as the medium of written communication, and this compromise formula remains to date the major accomplishment of the movement for language reform.

The reason for this dissension, so disastrous for the morale of the language reform movement, was the development of a new and contradictory nationalist approach to language.

UNIFY THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE

The original impetus to the movement for script reform was provided by the need for education. Education, 'education to save the nation', was seen as the only means of making China strong enough to resist the predatory attentions of the imperialist powers and as the only solution to China's political impotence. The most efficient means of education is naturally through the student's own language or dialect, and the early script reformers, aware of this, devised their phonetic systems for specific dialects. But gradually, with the disintegration of central power in the late years of the Manchu dynasty and with the disunity and warlordism following the establishment of the Republic, a

new nationalist idea, no doubt a child of the Chinese imperial tradition, was born. This idea was the idea of Chinese unity and centralism—central authority as against regional autonomy—which has been in perpetual conflict with the regional and centrifugal tendencies always endemic in Chinese political life. The idea of linguistic unity was involved, naturally, in the search for Chinese political unity.

As already noted, the Chinese script, being independent of sound, provided a means of communication between people whose native dialects were very different, and also ensured the cultural unity of all who came within its sway. In contrast, a phonetic script entailed that the various dialects of China would become mutually unintelligible, for the Chinese dialects, divided into six major dialect groups and innumerable sub-dialects,[7] are at their extremes so diverse as to be classed by some as altogether different languages.[8] The adoption of a phonetic script would surely destroy the linguistic unity of China, based on a common written language, and would subvert along with it the concomitant cultural and hence political centripetal urges.

Such then was the dilemma of Chimese nationalists concerned with the problem of reforming the Chinese language: were they to sacrifice linguistic unity for the sake of effective education, or were they to sacrifice the ideal of universal education to the idea of linguistic and cultural unity? By the closing years of the Manchu dynasty, opinion was generally in favour of ensuring linguistic unity, no matter what the cost. And the cost was great. The objective of abandoning the cumbersome Chinese script in order to facilitate the growth of literacy was compromised, modified and by implication abandoned. The nationalist ideal of 'extend education' was replaced by the ideal of 'unify the national language' (*t'ung-i kuo-yü*), which ideal remains today the dominant political programme with regard to language.

The growing dissension in the ranks of the language reformers was finally made manifest in a conference the name of which—Conference to Unify the Pronunciation of the Characters—indicated that the unitarian as against the federalist view of the Chinese nation was implicitly accepted by the Government. The Conference, which began in February 1913 under the auspices of the Education Ministry, agreed to promulgate a phonetic script for the national language (*kuo-yü*). The resolutions of the Conference made it clear that the Chinese ideographic script was to be retained; the phonetic alphabet was only to assist the learning of the characters for those whose native tongue was Mandarin, and to establish the correct 'national pronunciation' of the graphs for those whose native dialect was not Mandarin.[9] Such a compromise was indeed implied in the new name for the phonetic script, *chu-yin tzu-mu*, which, literally translated, means 'alphabet to establish the pronunciation of the characters'.[10]

The basis of the new 'national language' established at the Conference was Mandarin, a combination of the former administrative language (*kuan-hua*), prestigious *lingua franca* of the imperial officialdom, and of the most widely spoken dialect in China, known as Northern Mandarin.[11] The establishing of a 'national language', and in particular the establishing of a version of Northern Mandarin as the national language, aroused strong resentment among many people, especially those from South China where dialects deviated greatly from Mandarin. The southerners felt, on the one hand, that the whole purpose of devising a phonetic script for pedagogic purposes would be lost if a non-local pronunciation were to be taught, and, on the other hand, that should such a policy be officially implemented persons from the south would suffer discrimination when seeking government preferment.

The problem of deciding on a 'standard national language' (*piao-chün kuo-yü*) was also a vexatious one. The 'standard' arrived at by the Conference to Unify Pronunciation was decided by the curious procedure of putting the question of the pronunciation of each of 6,500 characters of a standard dictionary to a majority vote.[12] The standard pronunciation, then, was not representative of any specific dialect but was, as the Chinese put it, a 'blue-green Mandarin' (*lan-ch'ing kuan-hua*), neither here nor there.

In addition to the controversies centred around the question of the relationship between the phonetic script and the ideographic script and the question of regional dialectal differences, was the purely technical argument over the adequacy or otherwise of the Mandarin Phonetic Alphabet as a phonetic script for Chinese. Such was the despair of some over the disagreeable alternatives of phonetic script or ideographic script that there were even serious proposals to abandon the Chinese language altogether in favour of Esperanto.[13] The Conference to Unify Pronunciation had concluded its business in May of 1913, but it was not until late 1918 that the Education Ministry officially promulgated the new phonetic script. This delay was due not only to the political instability of the intervening years but also to the fact that the language reform movement no longer had the unity of purpose and the momentum that had been characteristic of its early development.

THE LITERARY REVOLUTION OF 1917

In January 1917 Hu Shih, a young Chinese student in the United States, wrote an article for a leading Chinese radical journal of the day under the title of 'Tentative Suggestions for the Reform of Literature' ('Wen-hsüeh Kai-liang Ch'u-i'). In this he elaborated upon certain suggestions for literary reform which he had made in a letter to the editor some months earlier. His programme for literary reform was summed up under eight heads:

1. What you say should have meaning.
2. Don't imitate the ancients.

3. Pay attention to grammar.
4. Don't engage in self-pity.
5. Avoid *clichés* and superfluities.
6. Do not use allusions.
7. Do not use parallelisms.
8. Do not be afraid to use the vernacular style.[14]

Hu Shih believed that emancipation in the spirit or content of literature could only follow an emancipation in form.[15] He quoted to support this view many historical examples of movements for stylistic reform both in China and the West, though, strangely, he failed to mention the example of the American Imagist poets to whose programme for reform of poetic diction Hu Shih's proposals bear striking resemblance.[16] Superficially, Hu Shih's programme was just a programme for reform of literary style and content like many others in the past, but the unstated implications were much wider. The unstated implications of his movement involved the social consequences of a change from a classicist and exclusive style to a style based on the spoken language. These consequences were immediately appreciated by the editor of the journal, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, subsequently one of the founding members of the Chinese Communist Party. In his article 'Discussion of the Literary Revolution' ('Wen-hsüeh Ke-ming Lun'), he lent his support to Hu's programme and suggested the following three slogans for 'the banner of the army of the literary revolution':

1. Overthrow the ornate and sycophantic literature of the aristocrats and create the simple and expressive literature of the people.
2. Overthrow the stale and wordy literature of classicism and establish the sincere literature of realism.
3. Overthrow the obscure and unintelligible literature of recluses and establish a clear and popular literature of society.[17]

There is no doubt that Hu Shih equally appreciated the social implications of adopting a popular style for literature,[18] but, underestimating the radical climate of intellectual opinion, he assumed the guise of a literary reformer of the traditional type and girded himself with the arguments of historical evolutionism. Likewise in his early articles on literary reform, he failed to appraise his public of the fact that he conceived of the movement for literary reform as having an intimate bearing on the movement for reform of the Chinese script. Hu Shih envisaged his movement for vernacular literature as a solution to the problem of the Chinese script in two interdependent ways: (*a*) The vernacular language, by linguistic necessity, would have to be the stylistic basis for a phonetic script. (This point has been discussed above.) Under these circumstances a change in the vernacular written style could be a first step towards eventual phoneticization.[19] (*b*) A literature movement, an appeal

to intellectual snobbishness, was the only way to persuade a conservative intelligentsia of the need for thorough change. Hu Shih believed that the movement for script reform had reached a virtual stalemate after 1913 because its propagators were basically conservative, though superficially radical. He described their psychology, 'the psychology of "them" and "us" ', as follows:

1. They knew that the Chinese characters were too complicated, but they did not dare advocate their abandonment.
2. They knew that the vernacular could be the instrument for widening education, but they themselves despised the vernacular and thought it suitable only for the common people, not for the upper classes.
3. They recognized that an alphabetic script is the most powerful instrument of education, but they would not admit that this script should supplant the Chinese characters.[20]

Under these circumstances—the circumstances of the intellectual exclusiveness of the educated classes—Hu felt that the only way to achieve vernacularization of the written language in the cause of education was to persuade the intellectuals that the vernacular style *was the proper medium for intellectual communication and the only medium for a vigorous national literature.* It was through literature, and only through literature, he declared, that the snobbish reserve of the intelligentsia with regard to the vernacular style could be broken down.

To these ends he began to attack the stylistic inadequacies of the classical style which, he claimed, failed to serve the four functions of literature: to convey emotion, to record human experience, to serve as an instrument for education and to unite society.[21] Then he began to prove that the vernacular had already produced worthwhile literature. He cited convincingly the examples of the vernacular novels and dramas, but he could not be quite so convincing when it came to poetry, for poetry was certainly the most sophisticated expression of the classical literary tradition. Indeed, such was the opposition aroused among his friends by his attempts at vernacularizing poetry that he soon came to realize that the battle for *pai-hua* could only be won if it could be demonstrated that *pai-hua* had been used and could be used successfully in the composition of poetry. So Hu Shih began to experiment in writing vernacularized poetry, convinced that 'if it were possible to use *pai-hua* in poetry, this could not only be an experiment as to whether *pai-hua* poetry was feasible or not, but it would also prove that *pai-hua* could be the only medium for all categories of Chinese literature'.[22]

By this strategem—by proving that *pai-hua* could and should supplant the esteemed classical language in all its literary and aesthetic functions—Hu Shih hoped to convince the intelligentsia of the virtues of a vernacular literary style. Couched in these terms, Hu Shih's argument received ready acceptance among the younger members of the intelligentsia, and with the identification of the

new literature movement with the patriotic May Fourth Movement some two years later, the *pai-hua* movement was swept to sudden and unanticipated success. Opposition was almost negligible. The first step towards phoneticization, the change-over to a vernacular style, had been accomplished.

A LITERARY NATIONAL LANGUAGE AND A NATIONAL LANGUAGE LITERATURE

The propagators of the Literary Revolution were to play a further part in the movement for language reform, hoping to facilitate that wider idea of Chinese nationalism, 'the unification of the national language'. In this they identified with one of the two main factions of the script reform movement, the faction for unity as against the faction for diversity.

One of the chief arguments against the policy of a 'national language' was, as I have mentioned above, that there existed no standard for a national language. As the argument raged to and fro, Hu Shih took action that obviated the need for debate. As he wrote subsequently:

> We took no notice of those *kuo-yü* advocates who were fixing pronunciations and compiling dictionaries. We simply put all our strength into advocating *pai-hua* literature, literature in the national language. The *kuo-yü* advocates to this day cannot decide whether *kuo-yü* should take the Peking pronunciation or the pronunciation fixed upon by the Conference to Unify Pronunciation as the standard. . . . But those of us who worked for literature in the national language never bothered to join this debate.[23]

This new stage in the relationship between the literary movement and the language reform movement was marked by the publication of Hu Shih's essay 'Towards a Constructive Literary Revolution' ('Chien-she ti Wen-hsüeh Ke-ming Lun') in April 1918. The argument of his article can be summed up by the slogan 'national language literature and a literary national language' ('*kuo-yü ti wen-hsüeh, wen-hsüeh ti kuo-yü*').

> When we talk of a literary revolution we are simply saying that China should have a literature in the national language. Only when we have a literature in the national language can we have a literary national language. Only when we have a literary national language can our national language be called a real national language. If the national language has no literature, it has neither life nor worth. It cannot survive, and it cannot progress.[24]

Subtly, over the course of the year since the publication of Hu Shih's 'Tentative Suggestions for the Reform of Literature', vernacular (*pai-hua*) literature had become national language (*kuo-yü*) literature, and with this change

the relationship between the Literary Revolution and the language and script reform movement became explicit.

CONCLUSION

The Literary Revolution was a brilliant and timely compromise solution to the contradiction in the movement for language reform between the rival conceptions of the purpose of the movement, 'extend education' and 'unify the national language'. It partially at least solved the problem of education, since the vernacular style, based on the spoken language, is naturally much easier to learn than the classical style. Moreover, the change to the vernacular held out the promise to more radical minds that this was a necessary first step towards, not the antithesis of, phoneticization of the Chinese script.

This solution also answered the dialect or regional problem. Since the Chinese characters were retained, the new writing was accessible to all regardless of native dialect. In this way, national unity through a unitary written language could be retained until such time as all could master the national pronunciation. Meanwhile the problem of deciding on a standard *kuo-yü*, a politically difficult task, was temporarily postponed by the suggestion that only literature, not government decree, could fix a standard.

Yet the Literary Revolution was too successful a compromise between the alternatives of mass education and national unity, at least from the point of view of the more radical reformers. Convincingly acceptable to the conservative among the intelligentsia, it failed to go far enough for those interested in abandoning the Chinese script altogether for the sake of education. Simply by virtue of its being a successful compromise, it ruined forever the chances of a more radical solution to the problem of the Chinese script. Despite intermittent agitation for a phonetic script over the years since the Literary Revolution and despite the development of a new system of romanization (*la-ting-hua*) the movement for phoneticization, having once lost its momentum, has made little progress. On the negative side, the desire for centralism militates against phoneticization of any one dialect until the millennial era when dialectal differences will be abolished. As late as 1958 Chou En-lai assured the Chinese public that the scheme for a Chinese Phonetic Alphabet 'is to annotate the characters phonetically and to popularize the common speech.[25] It is not to replace the characters.'[26] In other words, there has been little further progress towards phoneticization since the Literary Revolution of 1917 provided the hope of simplified education without dialectal anarchy.

It has been my purpose in this paper to draw attention to the intimate relationship between the Literary Revolution and the language reform movement in China, and thereby to suggest that the Literary Revolution was an

important reflection of the Chinese nationalist movement. The Literary Revolution was able to posit a solution to the twin problems of script and style in modern China, and at the same time to mediate between the two divergent concepts of Chinese nationalism with regard to language, the concept of 'education to save the nation', and the concept of national unity over regional separateness through 'unification of the national language'.

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2. See for instance:
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4. John de Francis, *Nationalism and Language Reform in China*, Ch. 8, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950.
5. For descriptions of the work of missionaries on the phoneticization of Chinese, see John de Francis, *op. cit.*, Ch. 2, and Ni Hai-shu, *op. cit.*, Ch. 2.
6. John de Francis, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 195-196. See also the classification of dialects by R.A.D. Forrest, *The Chinese Language*, London: Faber, 1948, Chs. 10 & 11.
8. John de Francis, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-195.
9. For a listing of the resolutions adopted at the Conference, see Ni Hai-shu, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.
10. Former names for the phonetic scripts included *ch'ieh-yin hsin tzu* (new spelling) and *ho-sheng chien-tzu* (simple phonetic script).
11. Subsequently the fallacy of having an artificial language as a standard was appreciated, and in 1926 the speech of Peking was chosen as the standard of the national language.
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24. Hu Shih,"Chien-she ti Wen-hsüeh Ke-ming Lun", in Hu Shih, *Hu Shih Wen-ts'un*, Taipei: Yüan-tung, 1953, vol. 1, p. 57.
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26. Chou En-lai *et. al.*, *Reform of the Chinese Written Language*, Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965, p. 17.

Technical Aspects of Language Planning

MANMOHAN CHOWDHURY

A Common Script for India

THE idea of a common script for India has been mooted for long by many, including great personages like Gandhi-ji and Jawaharlal Nehru. The latter issued an invitation on the occasion of the marriage of his sister in Hindustani written in Roman script. Gandhi-ji discountenanced this as he was in favour of the Nagri script being adopted for this purpose.

The adoption of a single script for the country will be a major step towards the rationalisation of our information and communication system. In the first place the mechanical advantage will be immense. Office and communication instruments like typewriters, teleprinters, lino-type and mono-type machines and types for printing presses could be uniform for the whole of the country. The same machines could be used for communication in different languages. The inventories of type-cases with printing presses would be simplified and it would be possible to have a greater variety of type faces. The savings in investment and costs would be enormous.

In the second place, and more importantly, the learning of languages would be vastly simplified. When a Bengali seeks to learn Punjabi or vice versa, learning the script constitutes more than fifty percent of the task. At least sixty percent of the words of all North Indian languages are wholly identical, and another twenty percent are derived from common roots and are very similar in form and sound. The stock of words held in common with the north will run to at least half the above in the case of Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. With the hurdle of script differences removed, it will be very easy for a person belonging to one linguistic region to pick up any other language of the country.

Now as has been already noted there have been two claimants for this

honour: Roman and Nagri. Some have backed the Roman script and others Nagri. The claims in favour of the former are that it is already the script of four continents and about a third of the people of the world, and there is already in existence a well-developed array of office and communication machines adapted to it. Its adoption as the common script of India will bring her languages into a larger common fold and put at their disposal all the sophisticated instruments now in the service of the Roman script.

The claims for Nagri are that all Indian languages except Urdu have a common system of alphabet with a few minor variations here and there and a major modification only in the case of Tamil. Here is a complete list of the minor variations that will give us an idea of their fundamental identity.

1. Bengali, Hindi and Assamese lack a retroflex 'La' that is found in all the other languages.
2. Bengali, Oriya and Assamese have a letter to represent a second 'Ja' sound corrupted from 'Ya'.
3. Bengali and Oriya lack the 'Wa' sound.
4. The four South Indian languages have vowels to represent elongated 'Ay' and 'Ow' sounds that are absent in the north.
5. These same four have an additional trilled 'Ra' not used in the north.

The major modifications in the case of Tamil are that it has done away with the three letters representing the sonant and aspirate sounds of each of the five-letter sets of consonants. Thus it has only Ka to represent Ka, Kha, Ga and Gha and so on, with the exception that a letter has lately been adopted for the 'Ja' sound. This has greatly reduced the number of letters in the Tamil alphabet though at the same time has complicated the task of pronunciation. Tamil has also an additional guttural 'Zha' not found anywhere else.

As already pointed out, all the scripts except Urdu are variations of the same original, and the basic similarities are easily recognisable. This makes the change-over to a common script vastly simple as it will involve no systemic change. The users will recognise the same letters and signs in only a different guise. The Nagri form of the Indian alphabet is used for both Marathi and Hindi and the Gujarati script is very close to it. That is why it has a special appeal as the one most suitable for adoption as the common script.

The greatest argument in favour of the Indian alphabet is that it is phonetically systematised and is able to express a much larger range of precise sounds than the Roman. Of course the latter has been adopted to the Indian languages by the use of diacritical marks and combination of letters. Some of these systems are quite satisfactory but the snag is that the addition of all the marks and marked letters increases the number of symbols to such an extent that it becomes difficult to fit them all into the existing machines.

The above is a minor difficulty. The real objection to the adoption of the

Roman script is based on the inherent superiority of the indigenous alphabet. The Russians with an alphabet not much different from the Roman continue to stick to it. The Chinese with the most cumbrous alphabet in the world, and the Japanese with one next to it have attempted to simplify their scripts rather than give them up. So it will be too much to expect the Indian people to give up an alphabet that is certainly so far the most scientific in the world.

This alphabet has ten variations and out of these the Nagri form is used by the largest number of people. So naturally all advocates of one script who are not for the Roman have been in favour of the Nagri. But let me point out that the rejection of the Roman does not automatically lead to the adoption of the Nagri. All variations of the Indian alphabet are virtually interchangeable except Tamil which is too abbreviated to be usable for any other language. So we are free to adopt any of the other full variations. The Bengali or the Gujarati forms for instance are certainly more elegant and one of them may be considered for adoption. The Gujarati script differs from the Nagri chiefly in lacking the horizontal line at the top of each letter. Apart from this only about a dozen Gujarati letters differ in their basic shapes from their Nagri counterparts. The late Kishorelal Mashruwala, a colleague of Gandhi-ji, had experimented with the idea of modifying these letters to bring them in line with the Nagri. He ran a column in the weekly Gujarati *Harijan-bandhu* in this reformed script to popularise it. The adoption of the Bengali form as the common script will have the advantage that cultural contact between the two Bengals, which holds great potentialities for improvement of relations between Pakistan and India, will remain unimpaired. A cogent argument in favour of some other form than the Nagri will be that since the palm of being the national link language goes to Hindi, the adoption of Bengali or Gujarati as the national script may help to alleviate to some extent the fear of Hindi domination.

Gandhi-ji had in his own way tried to popularise the idea of a common script. As a practical step he had the Gujarati edition of his autobiography published in a version using the Nagri script. This variation was priced about twelve percent cheaper than the regular edition in the Gujarati script. It found a good market. Acharya Vinoba Bhave has carried the idea further ahead by having versions in regional languages of his highly popular *Gītā Pravachan* published in the Nagri script.

Some modifications of the Indian scripts will be necessary to adapt them for use in office and communication machines. These will be of almost the same nature for all the scripts. The modifications can be divided into two broad categories: those necessary to reduce the number of letters to manageable proportions and those required for getting rid of vertical structuring of compound letters.

For the convenience of hand-writing every Indian script except Tamil has developed a host of compound letters. These serve to reduce the number of

strokes and the labour of writing by hand, but for printng or typewriting it becomes necessary to have a separate type for each compound letter so that the number of types in the cases of printing presses runs to hundreds.

Next, the *mātrās* or characteristic signs of the vowels are attached to all aspects of the consonants. The signs for the short and long 'E's arch over the top in almost all North Indian scripts, the short 'E' sign coming in front and the long one in the rear. The *mātrās* for the 'OO's are attached to the bottom. The signs for 'O' and 'AU' take up three sides in some scripts and cover top and back in others.

In a printing press it is convenient to have types that come solidly one behind the other. Thus each type has a solid base of metal behind it and is strong enough to withstand the enormous stresses of a printing machine without cracking up. But the over or under-hanging signs have perforce to protrude from beyond their solid base to fit over or under the letter on the preceding or succeeding type. This makes them weak and liable to frequent breakage. This inconvenience has prompted type makers to cast types of letters with *mātrās* affixed. Thus we have Kaa, Ki, Kee, Ku, Koo, etc. as distinct types and the same also for a host of compound letters.

This shoots up the total number of types in the composing cases enormously. Thus we have some 365 types for Oriya and some 455 for Telugu. It is obviously impossible to fit these vast arrays into typewriters, teleprinters or linotypes and there is also no need to do so. It is quite feasible and easy to do away with the bulk of these proliferations.

An additional benefit of no mean importance will be that this simplification of the script will make the learning of it vastly easy.

The Bengali and Nagri scripts have actually been modified to fit them for lino and mono-type machines. One modification consists in changing the shapes and positions of the *mātrās* in such a way that they do not intrude above or below the preceding or following letter. The *mātrās* of I, EE, AI and AU have been contained in this way while the position of the *mātrās* of U, OO and Ai has been moved to the bottom right of the principal letters. The compound letters have been modified in such a way that half-letters can be used in combination to form them. The halves are positioned successively in line and have no overhanging parts. Of course, many of the compound letters in Nagri were originally composed of such clearly separable halves and this facilitated the adjustment to a great extent.

The reform of Bengali script was pioneered in 1934, by the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* which enabled lino-type composing to be introduced for Bengali. Acharya Vinoba Bhave initiated a movement for reform of the Nagri script about twelve years later. Since then the latter has been adapted to the typewriter as well as composing machines.

The system, named Loka-Nagri, proposed by Vinoba-ji involves drastic

rationalisation of the script. Apart from changing the shape and position of the *mātrās* to eliminate over-hanging, he proposes that all of them should follow the letter to which they may be affixed.

At present the short 'I' in Nagri, Bengali (and Assamese), Gujarati and Gurmukhi precede the letter. Vinoba-ji has shifted this to the rear. He has appropriated the *mātrā* of the long 'ee' for the short 'i' and created a new sign for the former by adding a loop at the bottom of the vertical stroke of the old *mātrā*.

ी	ी
(short i)	(long ee)

Thus no *mātrā* is affixed in any position other than the rear of the consonant bringing strict uniformity into the system.

Another reform originally initiated in Marathi by Shri Savarkar and advocated by a group of Gandhi-ji's colleagues like K. Mashruwala and Kaka Kalelkar and given a place in Vinoba's scheme relates to the vowels. Instead of having a distinct letter for each vowel they are all formed by attaching the appropriate *mātrā* to 'A' thus: आ ओ अी अु अू अे अै ओ औ ऋ.
This step does away with nine separate signs though it becomes necessary to type two strokes to form a vowel.

The third step involves the compound consonants. Here the system does away with all distinct letters and half-letters and relies solely on the *halant* sign for their composition. The *halant* of course is placed at the rear-bottom of the first letter in consonance with the general rule. All compound letters that involve a nasal sound are formed by using the *anuswara*.

These modifications drastically reduce the total number of signs to 47 or 48 including *anuswara*, *chandrabindu* and *halant*, and excluding ङ and ञ the nasal sounds of the क and च sets that are never used independently. This makes the script easily manageable on a typewriter and Vinoba-ji had prototypes of a typewriter made based on Loka-Nagri and also a fount of types for use in printing presses.

A committee appointed by the Government of India had recommended in 1955 a reformed key-board that included the changes suggested by Vinoba-ji in respect of the *mātrās* of 'i' and 'ee'. It had included eleven half-letters for the construction of compound-letters and seven others letter were available only in the half form. To get the full form of any one of the letter one would have to type a vertical stroke behind it. The recommendations of the committee were accepted by the Government of India at that time but nothing seems to have come out of it.

There are two or three different types of Hindi typewriters with different key-board arrangements. All of them use similar systems with half-letters, etc. None of them uses the rationalised system of *mātrās*. The letter over-hangs at

top and bottom. Type-writing is facilitated by the use of dead and offset keys.

A movement to reform the Oriya script was started in the fifties by the *Gramsevak*, organ of the Servodaya movement in the state. Modifications were adopted on the lines suggested by Vinoba-ji. The 'Ay','Ai', and 'O' signs that wholly come or partly in front were redesigned to come wholly in the rear. The 'i' sign was shifted to the back from the top. A less drastic form was extensively used in the periodical and was quite popular. This allowed the old 'ay' and 'O' signs to stay and also about a dozen compound letters like tta, dda etc. The total number of types in the composing cases was reduced to 110.

The Government of Orissa also appointed a Script Reform Committee which recommended changes similar to the above except that a different form was suggested for the *mātrā* of the long 'ee' sign. The state government has so far taken no decision on the recommendations.

The modifications to the Nagri and Bengali scripts that have gained general acceptance by now are good enough but more are necessary for really efficient use on all kinds of machines. The Bengali lino-type, for instance, makes use of a hand matrix-case in addition to the key-board. Matrices that could not be accommodated on the latter are kept in the case and dropped in by hand. This has to be so because special types for a considerable number of compound letters have been retained. The Nagri lino-system also retains a number of compound letters.

The use of special devices on typewriters to print *mātrās* above or below letters are certainly ingenious but help to keep alive the familiarity with traditional look of the printed page and bolster resistance to change. The attempt to accommodate compound letters on the lino-machine make things difficult for the type-writer and the Teletype machines would never be able to accommodate as many letters as the former two. So the most rational course would be to adopt the drastic step recommended by Vinoba-ji in respect of the *mātrās* and compound letters uniformly for all types of machines. The step regarding the *mātrās* has already been accepted on lino-machines except for the repositioning of the 'i' *mātrā*. This also ought to be accepted to make the whole system fully uniform.

Further, it will be necessary to devise two new letters and their respective *mātrās* to represent the long 'aye' and 'owe' sounds of the south. It may be mentioned *en passant* that Bengali also has two 'ay' sounds and that Tagore tried to start a convention of distinguishing the long sound by using a particular form of the 'ay' *mātrā*. Though Nagri as used for Hindi lacks a retroflex 'la' it has a letter to represent this sound in Marathi. That takes care of all the tongues that use that sound. It may also be necessary to devise new symbols in Nagri for the trilled 'ra' of the South Indian tongues and the guttural 'zha' of Tamil.

Though we have discussed modifications mainly in respect of the Nagri

script, these will have to be made in whichever form the Indian alphabet is adopted for common use. In the unfortunate event of the people not agreeing to give up their respective scripts, all of them will have to undergo modification on the lines discussed above to fit them for modern use. Certainly the most difficult reform will be that of the Telugu and Kanarese scripts that have a convention of attaching some of the *mātrās* to the top of letters in such an intimate manner that it is difficult to conceive of a method of accommodating them on separate types to be placed lineally. Tamil and Malayalam will be much more amenable to change.

But it will be unfortunate if we fail to agree on a common script. A common script for India will also open the door to a wider possibility. Nepal uses the Nagri script. Ceylon has a script based on the Indian alphabet. So also have some of the South East Asian countries. The adoption of a common script for India and the development of modern communication facilities based on it may induce these countries to adopt the system. This is a possibility that should not be lost sight of when making up our minds on the proposal.

ASHOK R. KELKAR

Telegraph Code for Marathi

I suppose a telegraph key could be regarded as an office machine at a pinch and the designing of a dot-and-dash code for Marathi could be a proper subject for the session on the Development of Reference Works, Office Machines and Teaching Materials.

In order to follow the argument the three annexures should be kept in sight:

1. The Existing Code for Marathi and Hindi.
2. Key to the International Morse Code.
3. The Code proposed for Marathi.

It is a well-known piece of practical experience that the facility offered by the Indian Post and Telegraph for sending telegrams in Indian languages is not as popular as one could wish and that people still prefer to send telegrams in English. (If they do not know English they first get their message translated into English.) The only major exception is probably reporting for Indian language newspapers. I mention this fact only to bring out that there is still scope for improvement before things get into a fixed groove and that such a technical improvement may also contribute to overcoming the sales resistance against sending telegrams in Indian languages.

Some of the shortcomings of the existing code as they appear to one student of linguistics are the following :

(1) Granting that any coding of the Devnagri alphabet (or any other alphabet on the same plan) is going to call for more symbols than the coding of the Roman Alphabet in the International Morse Code, the existing code

is often unnecessarily large. I see no particular advantage for the frills क्र, त्र, त्र्, श्र, श्र् ; one could as well use sequences क्+र, etc. Is it really necessary to have separate coding for the 'independent' and 'attached' forms for the vowels? क्+इ can easily do duty for क्+ि , etc. The telegraphist's brain may find it less burdensome to carry out the conversion from क्+ि to क्+इ (and back) than to store an extra set of rules:

no marker for	ि	prefix E for	ी
prefix T for	इ	prefix I for	ई

Similar arguments apply to the T-prefix forms of consonants: I am not sure that the distinction between कई and की (क्+ई) will be correctly followed (K-ID versus TK-ID) in practice.

(2) Some harmonization with the International Code seems to have been attempted : K for क, C for च, U for 'attached' ऊ, etc. This principle could have been pushed a little further by coding क्ष as X rather than Q and not coding ज्ञ as X; by coding द as D rather than Z and leaving Z for coding ज़; by attempting to avoid using F for attached ए; and so on.

(3) The motive behind using two-letter codes in which the first letter is so to say a marking prefix is obviously to increase the memorizability of the coding. But consistency has not always been maintained: aspirates bear the prefix E but ढ़ TI is an exception; the "attached' form of आ is not EA as one would expect from the rest of the table but A and thus linking it up misleadingly to अ .

(4) The code falls short of meeting all the requirements of Marathi: Marathi has a distinction between र्य and ‿य् (both र्+य्, but pronounced ry-y and -ry respectively, the hyphen standing for the point of syllabic division; cf. also ‿र्य for r-ry) and between र्ह and ‿ह (both र्+ह, but pronounced rh-h and -rh respectively).

The proposed code removes some of these defects, exploits some of the good points of the existing code by pushing them further, and at the same time attempts to depart from it as little as possible. Some room is also left for smooth adaptation to the Hindi writing system and to those Indian alphabets which are on the same plan as the Devnagri alphabet. The chief innovations are: (1) The use of doubling as a marker for long vowels: आ TT, ई II, ए EE etc. (2) The use of *virāma* (code IQ) is to be limited to situations where ordinary orthography actually has it (as in ओम्). The so-called 'intrinsic' vowel अ is symbolized positively by T as in ordinary Romanization of the Devnagri alphabet. The symbol T was picked up because it is short enough (just one dash): अ is a high-frequency vowel in most Indian languages. (कई and की will be KT-II and K-II respectively).

The numerals are of course shared by all the three codes (see the three Annexures).

ANNEXURE 1

The Existing Code for Marathi and Hindi

Some symbols (ळ, ळ्) are useful only for Marathi; some only for Hindi (ड़, ढ़ ; the words में, मैं, है, हूँ) ; the rest for both the languages.

The capital Roman letters stand for the corresponding International Morse Code (for key, *see* Annexure 2).

	अ TA		
ा A			आ IA
ि D	इ TD	ी ED	ई ID
ु U	उ TU	ू EU	ऊ IU
ृ Ö			
े F	ए TF	ै EF	ऐ IF
ो O	ओ TO	ौ EO	औ IO
		ं EN	ँ IN
		ः EA	
	. TÖ	ॅ EÖ	
क K	क् TK	ख EK	ख् IK
ग G	ग् TG	घ EG	घ् IG
		ङ EV	ङ् IV
च C	च् TC	छ EC	छ् IC
ज J	ज् TJ	झ EJ	झ् IJ
		ञ EL	ञ् IL
ट Ä	ट् TÄ	ठ EÄ	ठ् IÄ
ड Ü	ड् TÜ	ढ EÜ	ढ् IÜ
		ण EM	ण् IM
ड़ I	ढ़ TI		
त W	त् TW	थ EW	थ् IW
द Z	द् TZ	ध EZ	ध् IZ
न N	न् TN		
प P	प् TP	फ EP	फ् IP
ब B	ब् TB	भ EB	भ् IB
म M	म् TM		
य Y	य् TY		
र R	ृ TR	्र ER	
ल L	ल् TL		
व V	व् TV		
		श ES	श् IS
		ष EH	ष् IH
स S	स् TS		
ह H	ह् TH		
		ळ EY	ळ् IY

क्ष Q	क्ष् TQ	त्र EQ	त्र् IQ
ज्ञ X	ज्ञ् TX	श्र EX	श्र् IX
			क्र IR
मे MM	है TMM	मैं EMM	हूं IMM
१ 1	२ 2	३ 3	४ 4
५ 5	६ 6	७ 7	८ 8
	९ 9	० 0	

ANNEXURE 2

Key to the International Morse Code

A	.-	P	.--.
B	-...	Q	--.-
C	-.-.	R	.-.
D	-..	S	...
E	.	T	-
F	..-.	U	..-
G	--.	V	...-
H	....	W	.--
I	..	X	-..-
J	.---	Y	-.--
K	-.-	Z	--..
L	.-..	Ä	.-.-
M	--	Ö	---.
N	-.	Ü	..--
O	---	1	.----
2	..---	7	--...
3	...--	8	---..
4	....-	9	----.
5	.....	0	-----
6	-....		

ANNEXURE 3

The Code Proposed for Marathi

The capital Roman letters stand for the corresponding International Morse Code (for key, *see* Annexure 2).

अ	T	आ	TT	इ	I	ई	II	उ	U	ऊ	UU
ए	EE	ऐ	AI	ओ	OO	औ	AU				
ं	IM	ँ	FM	ॅ	IF	्	IQ				
क्	K	ख्	EK	ग्	G	घ्	EG	ङ्	NG		
च्	C	छ्	EC	ज्	J	झ्	EJ	ञ्	NQ		
ट्	Ä	ठ्	EÄ	ड्	Ü	ढ्	EÜ	ण्	IN		
त्	W	थ्	EW	द्	D	ध्	ED	न्	N		
प्	P	फ्	EP	ब्	B	भ्	EB	म्	M		
य्	Y	र्	R	ल्	L	व्	V				
श्	ES	ष्	IS	स्	S						
ह्	H	ळ्	IL								
क्ष्	X	ज्ञ्	Q	‿य	IR						
न्ह्	EN	म्ह्	EM	‿ह	ER						
१	1	२	2	३	3	४	4	५	5		
६	6	७	7	८	8	९	9	०	0		

Some of the possible extensions for other Indian languages are following: short ए E, short ओ O, ज़् Z, ड़् O, ढ़् EO, . F. Note that ँ in Marathi is merely a co-occurrence of ॅ and ं (as in ब्रँडी 'brandy').

PART THREE

DISCUSSIONS

Chairmen

Professor S. M. Katre
Professor T. P. Meenakshisundaram
Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji
Mr. Gangadhar Gadgil
Dr. Mulk Raj Anand
Dr. Lachman M. Khubchandani
Dr. Ashok R. Kelkar
Dr. P. B. Pandit
Mr. R. Madhavan Nair
Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose

Rapporteurs

Dr. D. P. Pattanayak
Miss Veena Monga
Mr. Animesh K. Pal
Dr. S. C. Malik
Dr. M. K. Choudhuri
Dr. Samir Kumar Ghosh
Dr. B. K. Roy Burman
Dr. Usha Deka Mahapatra
Dr. S. Lokhandwala
Mr. R. K. Sethi

SECTION A

Linguistic Demography of India

ASHISH BOSE : Some Aspects of the Linguistic Demography of India

Discussion

PROF. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI : Common language of the HUP (Hindi-Urdu-Punjabi group) may be all right for the north, but what about the south and the frontier? What is the solution?

DR. LOTHAR LUTZE : Change from Hindustani to Urdu may be a mere change in terminology.

DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY : Maithili has been included in the list of languages recognised by the Sahitya Akademi. Move to recognise Rajasthani is already afoot. Another language to take such a step is Bhojpuri. Secondly, as regards the kind of Hindi that is sought to be made current by the AIR, to what extent is it a naturally evolved language and to what extent is it an artificial creation?

DR. LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI: I think the displacement of Hindustani by Urdu in the HUP (Hindi-Urdu-Punjabi) region may be considered as the displacement of a level rather than that of a language. Wide discrepancy in the returns of Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani in the 1951 and 1961 Census reports is due mainly to the pressures of social identification rather than to the displacement in the communicative systems of the speakers in those regions. Linguistic displacement often takes place in the speech habits of children of the immigrants, who are brought up in entirely different environments from those of their elders.

MR. GANGADHAR GADGIL : Large scale financial success has helped Hindi films to displace Marathi films. Hindi may be more popular than we may concede on the basis of the census data. In Maharashtra, there is a tendency among Muslim children to change from Urdu schools to Marathi schools for prospects of better job opportunities. There is a lot of unfair criticism

about the pedantic Hindi created by writers and by the AIR. I find this Hindi easy to understand as my language is Sanskrit based.

DEWAN BERINDRANATH : No one other than the Hindiwalla is responsible for the change of Hindustani to Urdu. In 1957 Urdu speaking population did not know the stakes involved. Hindustani worked to the advantage of Hindi, and to the disadvantage of Urdu. That is why conscious efforts were made in 1961 to enlist Urdu instead of Hindustani as the mother tongue. If the HUP is required to bolster up the case of Hindi, then we do not want it.

DR. B. K. ROY BURMAN : Mr. Bose has mentioned a kind of displacement, fictitious displacement as in Assam. There is another kind of displacement as in the case of tribal languages. More clarification is needed on rural urban dispersal ratio in the contiguous states.

PROF. NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE : Mine is a question in geography—Hindi of course has been portrayed as the villain of the peace. Where does the Hindi speaker live?

DR. H. S. GILL : I am for Hindi, for one language for India. The language problem is primarily political. Language is a product of politically conscious cultural group. Absence of a strong centralised authority in enforcing decision is mainly responsible for the present state of affairs. Link language or official language has no meaning. There has to be one language for the expression of national aspiration.

DR. MULK RAJ ANAND : This paper gives evidence of the precise nature of groupings. It is inevitable that Hindiwallas cannot prevail over the whole of India, by force. Hindi need not be imposed on the non-Hindi speakers.

DR. D. P. PATTANAYAK : Why are the four Hindi states compared to the four southern language-speaking states rather than to all non-Hindi states? As regards literacy, may I point out that text books may be written in such a variety of Hindi as may be used in a large area covered by several Hindi dialects. This could help in building up a standard.

MR. GULABDAS BROKER : AIR Hindi would be better understood by the rest of India than Hindustani. In a text book written in Hindustani by one of the followers of Gandhi-ji there was a sentence, "Sitā rām kī begam thī". But Hindi rānī or mahārānī would be better understood.

DR. JAYAKANTA MISHRA : If Hindi is the villian of the peace, Maithili is its hero. Unfortunate statements have been made in this paper. A fake language as Bihari is perpetuated in the census. Bihari and Maithili do not belong to the Hindi family. Census reports say that the desire to identify with a bigger language group is responsible for a certain way of recording of mother languages. But, instead, our misconceptions about classification are responsible for such presentation. Census enumerators are not qualified. Let all data be made available to a team of scholars to determine languages and dialects.

DR. MAQBUL AHMAD : Apart from scientific mistakes in groupings and classifications, there is a lot of politics. In western U. P. enumerators are responsible for the reduced number of Urdu speakers. Before Independence, as Urdu was not involved in politics, the Urdu-speaking people in Maharashtra recorded Hindustani as their mother tongue. After Independence, Urdu became involved in politics and hence the change in attitude.

PROF. NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE : In the south, Hindi film is popular. Displacement of Hindustani by Urdu is genuine and not a mere change of label. Table 5 on p. 42 shows that the increase in Urdu is not commensurate with the rise in population.

MR. GANGADHAR GADGIL : A situation may arise when people will learn Marathi but record their mother tongue as Urdu. Aristocratic Muslim families are sending their children to Hindi schools while recording their mother tongue as Urdu.

PROF. NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE : In Haryana people record Hindi as their mother tongue.

DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY : In Himachal people record Hindi as the mother tongue.

MR. ASHISH BOSE : The Hindi speaking population is spread out in 240 districts. They speak dialects. The policy implications of demographic analysis are important. But the census report has limitations. Statisticians and linguists have to co-operate. The southern language speaking states have been contrasted with the Hindi-speaking states. But anyone can play with statistics given in Table 10. I plead ignorance to Dr. Mishra's charge of listing Bihari. In 1931 clear instructions were given to census enumerators to include Hindi-Urdu under Hindustani. In 1951 and in 1961 no such instruction was given. So the 1951-61 data is not spurious, but genuine.

P. B. DESAI: Language Returns of the 1961 Census relating to Gujarati and Languages Spoken in Gujarat

Discussion

PROF. T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM : I do not think any Gujarati speaker to-day can identify Saurashtri as Gujarati. Saurashtri is not a written language, but a spoken tongue. Salem, Tanjore and Madurai Saurashtri constitute its three dialects. All Saurashtri speakers study Tamil from the primary stage. There is no demand for teaching through their mother tongue.

MR. GULABDAS BROKER : Iswarlal Dave has written a thesis on Saurashtri. I do not understand why Kachchhi is tied with Sindhi. It should be bracketed with Gujarati and not with Sindhi.

DR. LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI : On the basis of recent study conducted at the Deccan College, I can say that from the view point of mutual intelligibility, spoken Kachchhi is much closer to colloquial Sindhi than to Gujarati. But, because of political and social separation of Sind and Kutch regions many centuries ago, a Kachchhi speaker does not identify himself with the Sindhi-speaking community. This illustrates a good example of various historical processes at work, affecting the growth of a language. Bilingualism and social identification with Gujarati language has drawn the Kachchhi speaker nearer to Gujarati-speakers, and today, though Kachchhi and Sindhi languages still show close resemblances, Kachchhi and Gujarati speakers show much closer socio-cultural affinity.

DR. H. S. GILL : No two linguists would agree about the affiliation of dialects with languages. There can be a good dialect survey of India, but not a language survey.

DR. ASHOK R. KELKAR : A social scientist's concept of a situation as Prof. Daya Krishna has reminded us in his lecture series, may affect the situation. The situation itself, the layman's impression, and the linguist's position, should be kept apart. The linguist should accept all three as data. The two bases of classification are historical-genetic relation, and socio-cultural affinity. Both are useful for different purposes. Kachchhi is historically attached to Sindhi, but socio-culturally it is now attached to Gujarati.

MR. GANGADHAR GADGIL : We can go through the exercise of reducing

Gujarati as we did in the case of Hindi, and make a distinction between pedantic Gujarati and spoken Gujarati.

DR. PUNYA SLOKA RAY : Historical genesis is not a unilinear thing. Results of comparison of some aspects may be contradictory to certain other aspects. Hindi and Urdu technical scholarly vocabulary are miles apart. In common spoken vocabulary, they are much closer, and in grammar still closer. In the historical reality itself there are many contradictions.

DR. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI : Standard Hindi spoken by whom and where?

MR. ANIMESH K. PAL : Where is Bihari spoken and by whom?

DR. S. K. VERMA : Mr. Bose's statement on bilingualism excludes dialectal bilingualism. For me, bilingualism includes dialectal bilingualism. If one accepts Bhojpuri, Maithili, etc. as languages, the Hindi-speakers are the most bilingual. (Mr. Bose agrees.)

MR. P. B. DESAI : I plead for a linguistic survey before the census of 1971. Such an investigation will help refining one classification system and give us a complete picture of language distribution for the country as a whole. I also plead that the government encourage various dialect groups like Kachchhi, Dangi and Bhili to enhance their functional role, so that they may meaningfully participate in the process of modernization of the country.

MR. ASHISH BOSE : Data given in my tables are consistent. All dialectal bilingualism has been excluded from all the languages. My conclusions are based on the census data.

DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY : This is in the data of the Ministry of Education that the Hindi-speaking area did not want any other Indian languages taught.

MOHAN SINGH DIWANA : Indian Socio-linguistic Background.

Discussion

MISS VEENA MONGA said that not only did the Brahmans take local words in the Sanskrit language and Sanskrit texts but also the local linguistic rebels

took Sanskrit words and used them in their writings to give respectability to the local regional language.

ASHOK R. KELKAR: Language, Linguistics : The Applications

Discussion

DR. LOTHAR LUTZE : So far we have been using terms like Hindi, Hindustani and Urdu without knowing what they mean. Would Dr. Kelkar give working definitions of the three?

DR. S. K. VERMA : Is language network a descriptive term or a historical term?

MR. GANGADHAR GADGIL : Can a linguist help a writer in understanding what I am doing as a writer? As and when these sciences progress they become less useful to a writer. If language is a science, why is there much difference of opinion among linguists? Some say Konkani is a dialect of Marathi, others deny it. I feel it is not the opinion of the linguist, but the feeling of the people that matters in the last analysis.

DR. H. S. GILL : In America there is less agreement between linguists and other social scientists than in France.

DEWAN BERINDRANATH : Is language network a geographical concept?

MISS VEENA MONGA : How can the concept of network and concept of symbolic system be reconciled ? Should not one try to analyse the social reality, rather than redefine it?

DR. ASHOK R. KELKAR : One can have one language network within which there are sub-language networks. It is not a geographical concept, but a correlation between geography and some socio-linguistic facts. There is no contradiction between the descriptive and historical studies of a language network. One can study a network from both points of view. Concept of network and concept of symbolic system are two sets of abstractions at different levels. Until a distinction between the intrinsic study and extrinsic study was made, linguists could not make statements about literary language. There are certain

problems in literary criticism, which, however, the linguist cannot solve; he can only provide helpful guidance.

LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI : Equipping Major Indian Languages for New Roles

Discussion

MR. GANGADHAR GADGIL : We use common words for technical purposes, but this fact itself causes confusion when people are writing. For example, words like "savings", "value", etc. have caused confusion in economic writings because their technical meaning is very different from the ordinary usage.

DR. ASHOK R. KELKAR : I believe that, for the compiling of technical dictionaries, we should learn something from the Indonesian experience. Before any word is included in the technical dictionaries, at least two usages of the word have to be cited. The second point that I wish to bring out is that competition of languages can be contrasted with the evils of monopoly in economics.

The interest of Hindi lies in the co-presence of English which would then act as an incentive. Therefore, retention of English would be profitable for Hindi in itself.

DR. LUTZE : I would like to make a point with reference to Dr. Kelkar's earlier point. I found a book that I keep recommending to learners of Hindi, called *Vyavharik Hindi-Angrezi Shabda-Kosh* published by the Hindi Directorate. The publication was initiated by Mr. Nehru. In this book commonsense is the general rule and there is no fanatical emphasis on Sanskrit. Sometimes there are words where the lexicon of English exceeds that of Sanskrit. Here we should keep in mind the nature of the language in which the terminology is being coined. For instance, German and English are very different in their nature. The beauty as well as the limitation of German lies in its reduced flexibility. On the other hand, the nature of the English language is diametrically opposite. The major role that English has come to play in the international scene is due to its flexibility and ability to adopt new words. I find contradictory statements made about the Sanskrit lexicon. Hindi *tatsama* words are said to be able to act as an important element in a link language. The Sanskrit form of Hindi has this speciality that it sometimes coins new

words and sometimes takes them from the existing dialects. But it is important to note that new words are coined with the consciousness of the phonological structure of the language. Then the new words will not sound very difficult or foreign to the language.

DR. JAYAKANTA MISHRA : I think we must remember that there are layers of literature; books intended for a popular audience are bound to differ in nature from books intended for a specialized audience. In the latter case, when it is not possible to adopt words from the dialects for technical purposes, it would be essential to coin technical terms. These technical terms could be borrowed from Sanskrit or from some international language as is being done in Turkey.

PROF. T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM : On the question of coinage of technical terms two points of view have to be kept in mind. These are, (1) of the man-in-the-street, and (2) of the specialized technical audience. It is not always essential for the man-in-the-street to understand the books written for a technical audience. For instance, in Tamilnad the philosophical works were written in the Manipaawal style. The man-in-the-street does not understand the style, but it paves the way for new words which ultimately percolate down to the common man and become popular. If we want text books in regional languages, we should allow the authors to use familiar technical terms, international terms. They should also be allowed to coin terms for explanatory purposes. Ultimately what will be retained will be decided by the law of the survival of the fittest. We do not want a pan-Indian terminology other than the international one. Tamil is an inflexible language, but students are thinking in the Manipaawal style, a style which is a mixture of Tamil and English. They use technical terms belonging to international languages, but the verbs are from Tamil. It is not difficult for the students to understand English but the modern generation finds it difficult to use English verbs, idioms and prepositions. Popularisation may make these terms part of the regional languages, and the new writings on science and culture will slowly absorb what is best in the Manipaawal style.

DR. LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI : I am not suggesting that there should be only one style of writing for popular audience as well as for the specialized intelligentsia. But efforts should be made to keep the minimum cleavage between two varieties. I see no harm in borrowing terms from other languages for new concepts, if they could fit in the phonological structure of the language. On the other hand, writers may also be encouraged to express new concepts in their native idiom and these terms may get standardised after they have withstood the test of *prayoga*. The present tendency of coining lofty

terms, while sitting in ivory towers, need to be discouraged, which is, on the one hand, an unusual phenomenon for Indian languages as they are easily susceptible to borrowings, and which on the other hand, is bound to create a wide gulf between the speech of the masses and that of the intelligentsia in the same linguistic region.

To Mr. Gadgil's objection, I would clarify that the scope of meaning is determined by the context, and that the general connotation of a term, appearing predominant in isolation, does not cause any clash with various specialized connotations of the same term in different contexts. For example, different connotations of the English word 'power' in electricity, politics, mathematics, and other disciplines do not cause any confusion in the mind of the same reader.

S. C. MALIK : Culture Areas, Culture-History and Regionalism

&

L. P. VIDYARTHI: Cultural Linguistic Regions in India : Bihar a case study

Discussion

MR. MADHAVAN NAIR : The S. R. C., while reorganizing states, took into consideration the culture-based regionalism in the beginning but then they rejected the idea of having independent culture-based regions which cannot survive as isolated units.

DR. B. K. ROY BURMAN pointed out that according to Dr. Malik culture-areas developed into political units, but he could not show the persistence of culture-based regionalism through different periods of history. In the pre-historic India there were two main types of culture and a bridge region, but how in later periods did they develop into several cultural areas? The culture-area approach cannot be accepted empirically. In Kerala, there are Tamil castes who maintain their speech habits, marriage relations and customs which are similar to those in Tamilnad. Dr. L.P. Vidyarthi had taken 15 cultural-linguistic regions as identical with the present states which really do not form independent culture areas. Dr. S. C. Malik in his paper advocated that the socio-cultural boundaries also coincide with political boundaries, but how

then is present day Bengal, which is one socio-cultural area divided into two political units?

DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY pointed out that Indian history all throughout is the history of tension between different types of forces, both centripetal and centrifugal. Contemporary societies always tried to resolve these tensions. He cautioned that one should not pay much attention to regions or culture-based areas. Though linguistic states gave rise to different types of tensions, there are the zonal councils which tried to solve the problems keeping in view the larger interest of the country. He also pointed out that socio-cultural regions are not identical with linguistic regions but it gave way to different tensions. Zonal councils are really evolved after the reorganisation of the states to resolve the various tensions among several linguistic States.

DR. J. P. SINGH UBEROI pointed out that Dr. Vidyarthi had taken vocabulary as a basis for classification of language which is not proper. He also pointed out that culture cannot be taken in isolation to define an area. In his paper Dr. Vidyarthi said that Race, Ecology, Kinship, Language, Religion and political administrative organization always overlap to define one area. But he has not been able to demonstrate this in his paper. Dr. Uberoi also mentioned that the advocates of diversity must remember that this cannot be a cause of unification.

DR. MAQBUL AHMAD expressed that most probably the connotations of culture and ecology were confused. He said that Dr. Malik had used 'culture' in a very vague and broad sense. He emphasised that steps must be taken to rejuvinate culture of various regions. He traced some of the present linguistic states back to the period of Akbar.

DR. S. K. NANDI pointed out that culture is not defined properly in any of the papers. He said that too much generalization tends to pay less attention to individual cultural types. He stressed that the common base of Indian culture must be focussed more elaborately so that we can fight the force of regionalism in different regions.

DR. L. P. VIDYARTHI : It has emerged from the discussion that the two papers are complimentary. My paper demonstrated an attempt to classify India's culture in different cultural-linguistic regions, and then each region into sub-region and cultural types. It is true that materials have not been available for a clear-cut classification of cultural regions, but it is hoped that with the works of devoted scholars in different areas, the gap in knowledge will be filled in.

DR. S. C. MALIK in reply to Mr. Nair's comments, said that his contentions were not valid in terms of what anthropologists knew about the structure of Indian tradition, and its society and civilization. The point, he continued, was to understand the problem as it existed today, and not as it would be or ought to be tomorrow. In reply to Dr. Roy Burman's comments he said that the remarks about the two cultures during prehistoric times, were based on outmoded concepts and knowledge of prehistory. Similarly, Dr. Malik said, it was clearly stated in his paper that he had posed the problem by certain heuristic devices, and therefore, it should not be construed to mean that any deterministic hypothesis in either any geographical or historical sense was being made by him.

In reply to certain other comments, Dr. Malik said that in seeking general patterns and principles he had suggested a model for understanding certain processes. But there was no suggestion that there could be neither any other larger or smaller units of study, i.e., smaller or larger culture-areas other than those suggested by him. The paper had aimed at understanding and explaining the problem of language and regionalism in India on a very broad and long-range perspective. Similarly, his use of the terms and words like culture and culture-areas, etc. were used in a contextual sense with specific meanings and were, therefore, not vague.

S. K. NANDI : Linguistic Predicament—An Appraisal

Discussion

MR. GULABDAS BROKER : Poetry is hardly distinguishable from prose.

DR. MULK RAJ ANAND : Prose conveys an idea in the simple form of meaning, while poetry often suggests more than a meaning. MR. ANIMESH K. PAL emphasised that *rasa* is an essential ingredient in poetry whatever the language.

DR. H. S. GILL drew attention to the role of a translator, who, in his opinion, stands midway between a writer and a linguist. In conflicting situation the translator's performance is better, if he is more a writer than a linguist.

MR. GANGADHAR GADGIL mentioned the social problem created by crude form of speech practised by the common man in Bombay. DR. MULK RAJ ANAND pointed out the life and potentiality of such speech form.

DR. LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI : I do not think hybridisation can be avoided in a developing language; almost all Indian languages are susceptible to lifting words and even phrases from other languages but this *manipaawal* style should be developed through *prayoga* and not by easy-chair coinage of terms in isolation. I entirely disagree with Mr. Gadgil's charge against Bombay colloquial Hindustani being crude and unpleasant in form. Hindustani in Bombay has grown in a natural fashion, without any patronage, for informal surface communication among members of different speech groups and unpleasant associations of certain users of that language are mainly responsible for much of the misunderstanding for that language. Just as snobbish behaviour attributed to English speakers in India would not be considered to be the fault of the English language. Secondly, I do not believe that there is any intrinsic limitation of a language. If a language is inadequate for expression of a particular role, it is because no one has yet tried to express the same in that language.

DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY spoke of the tendency to understand a person deliberately from the form of his speech.

MR. MADHAVAN NAIR expressed his agreement with Dr. Niharranjan Ray.

DR. ASHOK R. KELKAR agreed that association of meaning with words undergoes changes, but at the same time he drew attention to the poverty of the language responsible for such speech forms. DR. SAHU spoke about the failure of the Nazis to purify the German language. He also pointed out the usefulness of coining technical terms having precise meaning. DEWAN BERINDRANATH said from his experience that even if the language used in radio broadcasts was not always gramatically correct, it was understood and appreciated by the listeners. PROF. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI suggested that the association of meaning with words could be changed. DR. MAQBUL AHMAD too expressed his disagreement with Mr. Gadgil's view. MR. BROKER and DR. ANAND said that they were in favour of using even crude speech form in literature to add colour and life to it.

DR. S. K. NANDI, in winding up the discussion, pointed out the need for delving deep into the characterology of language before one could think of borrowing words from other languages or of framing a hybrid language like Hindustani. He stressed the metonymical character of language, and pointed out that this position would make difficult translation of classics and scientific treatises from one language into another, having different characters. So, as a logical corollary, the technical terminology in languages is to be coined and 'Paribhāṣā' framed by the linguists and not by politicians and translators. This

also stresses the need of having good language teachers, versed not so much in the grammar of the language but in the characterology of the language concerned. Dr. Nandi further pointed out that the impact of this syntactic concept of language was being felt by modern poets such as Cummings, and the modern absurd plays both here in India and abroad. This trend is not new. It has its roots in ancient Indian semantics, and Bhartrihari and Anandavardhan were quoted as instances in point.

MR. PREM NATH BAZAZ: It seems to me that we do not fully realize the danger that India will face if English is ousted from the educational institutions and regional languages are made the medium of instruction upto the highest level. Every patriot should be deeply interested in the national integrity of India. In the absence of a link language and with the introduction of regional languages as medium, we shall be paving the way for balkanisation of the country. Why are we fighting shy of owning English as our national language, at any rate until Hindi fully develops to replace it? As a matter of fact, it is through use of English that the unity of India is preserved at present and will be for an indefinite period in the future. I would strongly insist that the regional languages should be the medium of instruction up to the higher secondary level but English should be compulsory from the 5th standard as well as the medium of instruction at the higher level in the universities. That alone is the way to preserve the integrity of India and maintain the high standard of education in this country.

P. B. PANDIT : Logistics of Language Development

Discussion

DR. LOTHAR LUTZE referred to a remark made by Dr. Manmohan Chowdhury on a former occasion. He said that active bilingualism should start at a lower level, so in order to teach English well, an intensive course must be started at the lower level. Teaching of English must be just, of course, at the hands of well-selected experts. He pleaded for active bilingualism.

MR. GANGADHAR GADGIL drew attention to the business of Terminology Commission, with special reference to Maharashtra situation where the terms devised by the Commission are not understood by the common people. He found as a writer that some words with fixed meaning helped to solve the problem. Alternative terminologies came quite handy and appropriate when

he translated a Marathi book on economics into English. He advocated for functional bilingualism and standardisation of terms if it were necessary.

DR. S. SAHU : We cannot avoid using technical words in technology. Scientific/technical words have some fixed connotations and they were acquired by usage. Coinage is necessary for avoiding confusion; the concepts must be kept absolutely clear. We must adopt English words and test them in usage.

DR. P. B. PANDIT: I find that the problem of technical terminology is a bit exaggerated. Of course, terms have to be coined. Take the case of Einstein's Physics. He invented some terms easily. Unfortunately, the wait and see policy of the Terminology Commission is lamentable. We should make serious efforts. Look at the history of technical terms. Faraday had to coin terms because they were not available at that time. I support active bilingualism and draw your attention to the cases of Finland and Turkey where teaching in two languages coexist. Mr. Gadgil's idea of change of techniques of instruction in colleges and change of educational structure have to be done, of course. Scientific discussion in a language not competent for it will worsen the situation.

DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY : May I point out in this connection that Tagore in his Vishwa Parichary did not use a single word of foreign origin.

DR. B. K. ROY BURMAN : I say, let us start the use of technical terms from other languages and simultaneously write books for general use also.

PUNYA SLOKA RAY : The Economics For and Against English in India

Discussion

MR. MADHAVAN NAIR : The figures obtained are not under competitive conditions, but under controlled conditions. If there was no freeze on the circulation level based on the 1951 level, English newspaper circulation would have been higher. Encouragement of small newspapers also is responsible for the lower percentage of English newspapers. English papers cannot operate below a certain level of economy. One reason for less Urdu papers is the calligraphy and the absence of linotype etc. In Punjab, Urdu papers command the highest respect. The highest circulation in India is of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika,* which supports the *Hindustan Standard.* This is in a sense an exception.

Malayali *Manorama* and *Matrubhumi* command a circulation of one and half lakhs, which is impossible for any English newspaper to obtain. This country has the largest number of newspaper borrowers. The circulation of all the four newspapers in U. P., taken together, do not compare to that of one newspaper in Punjab. U.P. has not taken to newspapers kindly. The trend of the decreasing hold of metropolitan papers may also be noticed.

DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY : During the first 3 plans U. P. got the largest share, but spent only 42%.

DR. K. P. KARUNAKARAN : The percentage of increase will vary if the base is wide or narrow. Increase of 2 over 10 and over 4, when stated in percentage would give differing and even misleading information. In some states English newspapers do not make any impact on local politics. Articles in regional newspapers are taken more seriously. The readers of leaders and articles in English newspapers are cynics.

DR. J. P. SINGH UBEROI : The tables are not comparable. The paper is too short. Expressions have been compressed and as a result they create ambiguity.

PROF. N. V. BANERJEE : Has the radio and television produced any adverse effect on the circulation of newspapers?

MR. MADHAVAN NAIR : People accept newspapers as a matter of record. Foreign news is an attraction for readers. Also, one cannot wrap things in a radio, newspapers come in handy.

SECTION B

Problems of the Languages of the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution

PREM NATH BAZAZ : The Problem of Languages in India

Discussion

DR. PUNYA SLOKA RAY : In our discussion we tend to think ourselves as self-contained. Implementation of any language policy is going to be impossible unless we secure the help of volunteers and semi-volunteers. After all, common people of India are not going to die for the English language; therefore an Indian language is essential to provide them with a symbol of loyalty. There may be a discrepancy between the symbol and its material content. For instance, 55 per cent of the vocabulary of Sanskrit is not Aryan. Thus the symbol is Aryan but not the material. We should give a symbolic dominance to Hindi at the top level while for material purposes we could go on using different languages as well as English.

PROF. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI : A symbol has to be something for which people will be ready to die. The people of Tamilnad are ready to die for Tamil; Bengalis are ready to die for the Bengali language, but at the all-India level we do not have such a symbol. English can never take the place of this symbol, but love for a common symbol will slowly grow.

MR. JAGDISH SHAMSHERE JUNG BAHADUR RANA : Most Indian languages originated from the Indo-Aryan group of languages except those of the Dravidian group. We must remember the richness of the Sanskrit language and words from Sanskrit should be encouraged to percolate down. Words should be derived from classical languages as well as from popular dialects. In the technical field words from Sanskrit have to be adopted. India which has been also linguistically colonised for years has to be decolonised even in the cultural field. Therefore, the linguisticians and the allied scientists should endeavour to emancipate Indian languages from the colonial hang-over.

DEWAN BERINDRANATH : Regarding the source of different words, I feel that vocabulary should be viewed from the point of view of intelligibility. It is

said that Sanskritised Hindi would be acceptable to the South. This is highly debatable. While denouncing Hindi, the southerners make no distinction between its Sanskritised or non-Sanskritised variety. In fact, opposition to Hindi in the south is an off-spring of the earlier opposition to Sanskrit. Hindi in its Sanskritised form might be acceptable to some in the non-Hindi-speaking areas, but then whatever is understood of Hindi in the north, would be lost. Hence, it would be neither here nor there. It is a matter of commonsense that if Hindi films, which in essence represent the best variety of the Hindustani language, are acceptable almost to the whole of the country, why the same variety of Hindi couldn't be intelligible to everyone. Whenever any film maker or publisher or advertiser wants to use Hindi for commercial purposes, he uses it in its simplest form, because he wants to have a maximum intelligibility. Sanskritised Hindi is being propagated only by those who want to keep knowledge confined to the smallest number of people. As regards Professor Sondhi's suggestions,* Dewan Berindranath said in an ironical way, that he fully agreed with the idea of Sanskrit being made the lingua franca of the country. However, it would be in the fitness of things, to first try it out in the Hindi-speaking areas. Being the most illiterate and the most backward areas in the country, it should not be difficult for Sanskrit to take roots there, as compared to other areas of the country where literacy is already high, and other languages are already well rooted. Moreover, it is in this area that the cry for bad Sanskritised Hindi has been the loudest. Why could not they have pure Sanskrit ? So, in this area, Sanskrit should be made the lingua franca and Hindi should be treated as an ordinary regional language at par with Urdu, Punjabi, Maithili, etc.

DR. MULK RAJ ANAND : In Prof. M. L. Sondhi's remarks there was a lot of talk of dying and killing. Dying and killing by themselves do not frighten me, but I remember that when I was young, two young professors began a movement which ended in Hitler. Hence I would like to issue a gentle warning that bloodshed for language should be avoided. This discussion has brought much awakening for me and I feel that what Mr. Bazaz is suggesting will probably come about anyhow. It is inevitable that English should stay as a medium of instruction and administration in the next 20 or 30 years. Only mad men can think of ousting English.

Meanwhile a common language will grow by usage, discussions, controversies etc. in the manner Prof. Katre is suggesting. In the Humanities, and the Sciences, etc. several million books are being published in English and we will never be able to ignore them. Isolation will make us village idiots. There is such a paucity of specialized works in regional languages. For instance, Punjabi does not have a single book on Fine Art. Therefore, practical schemes should be suggested for translation in vernacular and national languages.

*Prof. M. L. Sondhi delivered an extempore speech, but his speech was not recorded.

MR. GULABDAS BROKER : In 1925 Tagore visited Ahmedabad. He was to give a speech which was well attended, but since the majority of the audience did not understand English, it was suggested that an on-the-spot translation should be done. Most of the people thought that such a translation would be impossible, but there was one man in the audience who translated the speech on the spot and this man was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. We have to learn from this that if we keep waiting for things to happen, they will never happen.

MR. R. MADHAVAN NAIR : I wish to make a brief comment on Prof. M. L. Sondhi's suggestion. He has stated that if Tamilnad does not accept Sanskrit it should be cut off from India, but his suggestion to adopt Sanskrit would also cut off the Muslim population from the Hindu population. It will result in increasing communal conflicts, and the recent Ranchi riots are one example. About the south, I would like to submit that in the beginning the south took a lead in popularizing Hindi. It was the lack of adaptability by the Hindi-wallas which turned the south against Hindi. Among the policy makers, there is an intolerance and they do not want to be confronted by difficult situations. I think it is this which is primarily responsible for the anti-Hindi reaction in the south.

PROF. T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM: I find that Tamilians are being blamed by all politicians, I would like to say something on their behalf. In 1955, Hindi was suddenly introduced and this created an alarm among the people. The people and especially the students were not ready for the changed set-up and they thought that in the future set-up dominated by Hindi, they would find no place. Because of the intolerance of the Hindi-speaking people the number of people who speak Hindi has actually gone down in the south.

MR. PREM NATH BAZAZ : We are facing a similar problem in Kashmir. Hindi is being imposed upon us. Names of post offices, for instance, are written in Hindi when this language is not even understood there.

DR. LOTHAR LUTZE : I think it is time that the question of an official language was looked at from the point of view of a foreigner. What language should a foreigner learn for communication with an Indian? At first sight it seems that this language should be English. But the standard of English from the point of view of intelligibility is going down here. Mere number of books published is not a full indication of the standard of English. These books have to be read and understood and the question of how these books are written should be answered. I may give an example. A text book on English has a lexicon item mentioned—Malestorm. This book is published by the Centre and the item is

explained—the word is composed of 'male' and 'storm'. The members who have gathered here at the seminar belong to an élite and are exceptional. As far as the English spoken by the majority of Indians is concerned, there is a very distinct possibility that this English will be of reduced intelligibility to foreigners. The reasons are :

1. Growing phonic un-intelligibility,
2. Grammatical un-intelligibility, and
3. Lack of understanding.

English occupies a position of a surface language in the Indian scene. The role that it has come to play is because of the change in the international situation which has become more social and intimate. It is obvious that we cannot dispense with English especially for communication with the élite, but we may be more interested, to get in touch with the non-élite, or the élite expressing itself in regional languages. There is a marked difference between the latter and the English speaking élite.

DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY : The question of communication in a different language is not peculiar to English alone in India. Hindi translations of Tagore present the same difficulties. To give one example, the word "Jhatika" is translated as 'Broom stick'. Therefore, to say that lack of intelligibility happens only in the case of English is not true.

MISS VEENA MONGA : I would like to make two brief comments on Prof. Sondhi's statement. His suggestion that introducing Sanskrit as the official language will add a new dimension to the opposition to Hindi by the Dravida movement seems to show some ignorance of the history of the D.M.K. This movement did not begin as an anti-Hindi movement but as an anti-Sanskrit and anti-Brahmin movement. Therefore, it was Hindi which added a new variable to the conflict and to suggest that Sanskrit may resolve the controversy is like reading history backwards. The point of view of Prof. Sondhi, it appears, is a typical North Indian upper caste point of view. We have found that the lower castes all over the north are rejecting Sanskritized Hindi and are mobilising in terms of western idioms. Therefore, the introduction of Sanskrit will not only divide the north from the south, Hindus from the Muslims, but also the higher castes from all the lower castes.

DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY : The problem is not that of accepting Hindi, but of which Hindi. On the one hand we have made attempts to bring spoken and written speech closer. On the other hand, because of the government policy to take Hindi away from colloquial speech, we find that the U.S.S.R. is opening a string of Hindi medium schools, and the Hindi spoken there is of a nature that is not intelligible to ordinary Indians at all.

DR. PATTANAYAK : I beg to differ from Dr. Ray. In the U.S.S.R. among the older generation of Indic scholars there were people who were using bookish Hindi. In Hindi there is a band of young writers who are attempting to bring Hindi closer to the colloquial speech.

DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY : I am in full sympathy with these Hindi writers and I understand them, but I object to the kind of official Hindi that is being doled out by the Directorate of Hindi and the government.

WILLIAM BRIGHT : Diversity and Unity in Languages of India

&

P. B. PANDIT : Parameteres of Speech Variation in an Indian Community

Discussion

DR. KELKAR suggested that linguistic choice would be a better term than linguistic diversity, which can be perceived at three levels, namely intra-systemic choice, inter-systemic choice and linguistic net work.

DR. PUNYA SLOKA RAY felt that Dr. Pandit's suggestion that linguistic difference may not hamper communication is a significant one. He particularly mentioned the positive function of differences in a language. This has important bearing on the controversy between High Hindi and Bazar Hindustani.

PROF. KATRE agreed with Dr. Pandit that the concept of caste-wise differences in dialects does not adequately explain the language situation.

DR. ROY BURMAN made a mention of the language habits of the tribal labourers in the tea plantations of North Bengal and Assam and also of the subgroups of the Nagas. He pointed out that among the tea plantation labourers, language differences exist at four levels :

(i) They speak respective mother tongues in their homes.
(ii) Among the labourers of different tribes Sadri or Sadani is the medium of communication.
(iii) While speaking with the administrative personnel, they use Hindi.
(iv) While speaking with the traders in the local market, they speak Assamese or Bengali, as the case may be.

In this matter, it is not only the language variation which is important. What is of greater importance is the fact that the speakers themselves rank the different languages differently in a prestige scale. In connection with language planning, it has to be considered whether the attitude of the speakers towards the different languages in prestige ranking should be the important factor or whether the probable role of the different languages in the socio-cultural development would be the important factor. He also questioned the assumption of Prof. Bright about the linguistic unity of India in spite of diversity. He pointed out that the unity is the outcome of a process. A flow in the reverse direction is also possible.

DR. LUTZE made a mention of the unifying aspect of Indian situation. He drew attention to the disparity of Sanskrit and the *tatsama* lexicon of Hindi. He felt that there is reason for optimism about the unified growth of Indian languages.

MR. RANA was of the view that class difference in languages is only a diversion.

MR. GADGIL felt that unity of the Indian languages was a reality. Though a Marathi speaker, he has not to rethink his thought if he has to write in Hindi. He also found that because of many common words of Sanskritic roots in Malayali, he does not find much difficulty to follow the writings of Sankara Kurup. If Hindi develops with the support of Sanskrit, other Indian languages also would be enriched. He also discussed the significance of speech variation with reference to the urban drift of the population. He further made a mention of the tendency of linguisticians to carry out their abstractions in too impersonal a manner.

DR. VIDYARTHI agreed with Dr. Pandit and Prof. Bright about the unity of Indian languages, which in its turn conforms to the socio-cultural unity of India.

DEWAN BERINDRANATH pointed out that in Urdu also there are different dialects. He felt that the linguistic diversity should be considered in the context of the levels of subject matter which are being dealt with. For instance, Iqbal who had Punjabi as his mother tongue, wrote ordinarily in Urdu. Higher discourses were written by him in Persian, and important philosophical discussions in English.

DR. SAHU mentioned with reference to data from Orissa that linguistic variation sometimes restricts communication.

MISS MONGA pointed out that underlying Prof. Bright's paper was the assumption of the holistic nature of social systems. While it may hold good for small communities, it cannot be valid while discussing the linguistic situation of India as a whole. She also pointed out that the variables adopted by Dr. Pandit in his study may not be related to the pattern of stratification of the community concerned.

DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY pointed out that the genius of India was that of accommodation and compromise. The posture of incompatibility of Hindi and English is not related to the thought processes of India.

DR. MAQBUL AHMAD raised the question whether the growth of language was connected with the growth of society.

Replying to the various points, DR. PANDIT mentioned that Nagars were selected in his study not because of their position in the caste-scale, but because of the regional differences in their social recognition. He felt that Dr. Kelkar's suggestion of classification may be modified to reflect two scales of social status and of language situation. He agreed with Miss Monga that language need not be studied in a holistic model. As regards the question of relation between social growth and growth of language, he felt that, by and large, such a relation exists, but there might be timelags and such relations may not be always perceptible.

PROF. BRIGHT felt that the society and the language need not be studied in holistic terms. In a general way, changes in social structure reflect changes in language. But in an example from Russia, he indicated that such changes may not always be directly related to one another.

S. M. KATRE: The Official Language and the National Languages of India

Discussion

DR. B. K. ROY BURMAN: It appears to me that India has various national languages though it is not clear as to the sense in which Professor Katre has used the word 'national language'. Are national languages equivalent to regional languages ? The second question that I wish to raise is about the principle by which certain languages are included in the Eighth Schedule

and others excluded. There are some languages which are spoken by three million and four million people, but they are not included in the Eighth Schedule. The third point that I wish to bring out is about the development of a language. It has been pointed out that Sanskrit has evolved by developing from indigenous sources. But I submit that different process may also shape a language. For instance, the Nagas have become politically conscious and that has had an impact on their language. Previously they had various dialects but now they have attempted to evolve a planned Naga language by borrowing words from all the dialects. A similar process could be used to evolve an Indian official language.

MR. GANGADHAR GADGIL: Prof. Katre has emphasized the coining of new words from the words which are already in usage. But I think there are risks in using words which are in popular usage for technical purposes. Sometimes they may lead to confusion. A different question arises when derivatives have to be obtained. Here one could coin words from Sanskrit. It should be a two-way process-borrowing from ordinary usage as well as from Sanskrit. Moreover, it is not enough to have one word only for colloquial usage. Several can be used. For instance, both seat and asan are used in Marathi to denote the same sense.

PROF. S. M. KATRE: (Reply) I have used the word 'National' for regional languages because they have had a new role to play after the reorganization of states. They are national languages in two senses:

(1) They are languages of administration in the state, and
(2) they function as real vernaculars in their states.

As about the coining of technical terms, the problem arises precisely because our languages have not been utilized. Even if wholesale borrowing of technical terms from foreign languages is done, the scientific expression should be in the regional languages. When we want derivatives, we should use regional terms because if we use Sanskrit terms then the difficulty will be that those who do not know Sanskrit will not follow these scientific terms. In that case, *prayog* is missing since the words are not popular and are not used in literature. Except for a few books in Hindi, we have not produced any scientific works in regional languages. A language gets enriched in scientific vocabulary only if it is constantly used for conveying knowledge of the sciences. Now, English words have been given specific meanings by *prayog*. Whether the sound is common or uncommon, what is required is the freedom to make every effort to use that language in every situation. Here I may take up Dr. Pandit's suggestion that it is only in a bilingual situation that a language develops. No language can grow in isolation. Therefore, it is essential that English

must be kept so that the regional languages may be enriched by contact with English.

DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY: Here I would like to narrate my own experience of the committees that are responsible for coining technical words. I was a member of two or three such committees and I had to resign. I believe that none of the members of these committees were writers in their own regional languages. They chose terminology, but since they never write in their own languages—they are innocent of *prayog*. Since they have never written in their own languages, when they chose words, they did not know that there were naunces of the same word.

PROF. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI: I also felt that it was of no use to sit down and start making dictionaries. People who are coining technical words do not know *prayog*. For instance, it was suggested that a simple word like 'compulsion' should be translated as *Vashikaran*.

PROF. S. M. KATRE: I thank the participants and all contributors to the discussion. One of the problems raised was about the classification of languages. It was suggested that a language survey might be undertaken. The matter has been receiving attention of the government since 1954, but nothing has been done yet. With the present position of availability of trained scholars, a full scale language survey is out of the question. But if the various areas of investigation are spelled out, scholars from various universities may be drawn for such investigation. There should be greater precision in the use of terms, and more self restraint exercised in presentation of papers and in discussion.

LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI: Functional Importance of Hindi and English in India

Discussion

DR. ASHOK R. KELKAR: Our census reports do not provide for trilingualism. The situation might be changed if we had the figures.

DR. B. K. ROY BURMAN: These figures merely show social attitudes.

DR. LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI: It is conceded that census returns may be quite inadequate from the point of precise factual position regarding the

people's language declarations. But these statements, no doubt, present a very valuable picture of the attitudes of speakers and their trends of social identification at a particular juncture.

LOTHAR LUTZE : English and Hindi

Discussion

MR. RANA pointed out that philosophical basis is necessary for accepting a language or words of foreign origin in a language. Introduction of a lot of foreign words may not be appreciated by the future generation with strong sense of national feeling.

MR. MADHAVAN NAIR pointed out to Dr. Lutze that intonation and pronunciation can be changed according to the speaker's will. He also pointed out that standardization of spoken English is not possible in India where several linguistic groups of people live. Of course, he accepted the suggestion that written English can be standardized and we can also have a standardized Indian link language.

MR. GADGIL made a point that it was always the writers who made a language. Gradually as the writers will be using more and more foreign words, some of them will definitely be accepted in the regional languages.

DR. SAMIR KUMAR GHOSH pointed out the different varieties of English spoken in U. S. A. and different parts of England and Australia. He said that Dr. Lutze's fear of the growing unintelligibility of Indian English was unnecessary.

DEWAN BERINDRANATH supported Mr. Gadgil's comments that writers always make the language. He cautioned that the government should not try to standardise the language.

DR. PUNYA SLOKA RAY commented that to give respectability to the common Indian link language a certain amount of Sanskritization is needed as Sanskrit is recognised in the world, unlike any chaotic speech of mere market places.

MR. GULABDAS BROKER also pointed out the differential patterns of pro-

nunciation prevalent in the various parts of Great Britain and U.S.A. He said that English words could be incorporated whenever it was necessary and convenient.

DR. LUTZE in his reply said that standardization was necessary for educational purposes and also in teaching a language. He pleaded that acceptability was more important than respectability.

Commenting on Dr. Punya Sloka Ray's remark, MR. MANMOHAN CHOWDHURY pointed out that high literary standard and style in Hindi did not depend only on greater use of words of Sanskritic origin. Hindi or Hindustani of the highest literary standard has been evolved by freely drawing on Persian and Arabic sources and there was no reason why high standards could not be attained while having recourse to all other sources in addition to Sanskrit.

ANIMESH K. PAL: Bengali Speech Community and its Neighbours

Discussion

DR. B. K. ROY BURMAN: I do not agree that tribal languages are losing their identity. There have been no books published in the Santal language without encouragement and subsidization by the government. Further, in the Santal area bilinguism is confined to males only.

PROF. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI: Mr. Pal has brought out some interesting points about the relationship between the fringe communities and the Bengali speaking community. The general pattern of the relationship between the pro-Aryan speaking Hindus and Santals on the one hand and the Bengali speaking community on the other, follows the pattern in history—the pre-Aryan people have been gradually adopting the Aryan language. The position of the dialects described by him in Midnapur is extremely interesting. Some people of the same speech community call themselves Bengali-speaking and others call themselves Oriya-speaking. What separates them are their kinship and affinal relations with the two speech communities. Thus if a person has affinal relations among the Bengalis, he will call his dialect Bengali, while if he has relations among Oriyas, he will call his dialect Oriya. The dialect actually is neither Bengali nor Oriya. In the matter of speech borrowing a policy of *laissez faire* should be followed.

MR. ANIMESH K. PAL : I cannot accept Dr. Roy Burman's view on the Santals. The northern variation of the Santali language is mostly used in their literature. A special script has been devised for the Santali dialect in which books are being written. But the Santals of Midnapur cannot read this, while a Santali journal published in the Bengali script is understood by them. Among the Santals bilingualism is not confined to their menfolk only. Their womenfolk also work as hired labourers outside their villages and these Santali women are also bilingual just as their menfolk. Hence they have to come out and speak the Bengali dialect in and around Midnapur.

PROF. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM : On the basis of the paper and the discussions, the following general observation can be made on today's session. One thing is clear that there are a number of languages, even outside the Eighth Schedule which require active support. Attention should be given specially to the tribal languages and Urdu. The Constitution provided for instruction to be given in the mother tongue at the primary level. The Seminar can state categorically that the provision is not being implemented. As Prof. Katre and others have pointed out, it is the creative writers who make the language. In the coining of words the test of usage must be kept in mind. Without the terms becoming current it is tyrannical to make the authors accept and use them.

KA NAA SUBRAMANYAM: Contemporary Situation in Tamil

Discussion

MR. GANGADHAR GADGIL: How far is it true that Sanskrit words are being banished from Tamil?

MR. KA NAA SUBRAMANYAM: I do not subscribe to the views of the Purist Movement.

MR. GANGADHAR GADGIL: To what extent are English words being absorbed in Tamil?

PROF. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM: In the case of Tamil some of these criticisms refer only to writings which are not of any force today. Purist Movement has lost its momentum now. The banishment of Sanskrit words from the Tamil language was a reaction to the abandoned use of words by writers that were

not in usage. In the beginning of the 20th century scholars prided themselves on their use of high sounding words. This was taken advantage of by the Purist Movement, but the glories of the Sangam Age belong to the past, and there is a sense of modernism even in the world of Tamil fiction. People do not even know which words originally came from Sanskrit and hence the question of banishing them does not arise.

SABIRA K. ZAIDI: Urdu in India: Problems and Prospects

&

S. MAQBUL AHMAD: The Position of Urdu in India Today

Discussion

DR. ASHOK R. KELKAR: Both Dr. Maqbul Ahmad's and Dr. Zaidi's papers have discussed the place of Urdu in the composite of India. I would like to have some information on the place of the composite culture of India in Urdu. I am told that there are not many translations of Indian works in Urdu. Thus, if other Indians are indifferent to Urdu, the Urdu writers are indifferent to other Indian works and isolation of each is mutual.

DEWAN BERINDRANATH: I would like to supply some information to Dr. Kelkar on these points. Contrary to what he has said, there are abundant translations of Indian works in Urdu. These include all the volumes of *Mahābhārata* and there are ten translations of *Gītā* that I know of. The *Ramayana* has been transliterated and the meanings are given in Urdu. The literature of the Arya Samaj was in Urdu and generally speaking the literature of most religions is found in Urdu. As for the absence of translations of modern works, I would submit that until the recent government policy to encourage translations in Hindi, the record of Urdu was fairly good compared to that of Hindi. Unfortunately, whether Urdu is viewed as a style of Hindi or a foreign language, in both cases the Urdu writers are isolated, and not given any recognition. To quote Rajaji "You people have not shown any generosity to the Urdu speaking people". Pandit Nehru strongly expressed himself in favour of Urdu co-existing with Hindi in the Hindi speaking areas.

MR. ASHISH BOSE: We are all agreed upon the fact that Urdu should not be allowed to die out. But the position of Urdu and its general down-grading

cannot be attributed to purely commercial feelings. There are other languages which have had to share the same fate. For instance, Sindhi does not have much of a chance as a result of the linguistic re-organisation of states. If we are to have a Urdu speaking State, it should logically go to Pakistan. I think the opposition to Urdu is far better explained in terms of the economics of scarcity. You have talked about the Ranchi riots. I was there when these riots took place, and I was told that the main reason behind the riots was the fact that a Muslim who occupied a responsible position had been giving all the jobs to Muslims. Now it is perfectly understandable that he should do so, but the point is that the real struggle is economic which is masked behind the linguistic controversies.

MR. GULABDAS BROKER: I feel that there may have been many translations of Indian works in Urdu but the Urdu authors do not know much about the currents in other literatures. This is very strongly felt in the All India Writers' Conferences and it is this lack of awareness which makes the Urdu writers feel isolated.

DR. MULK RAJ ANAND: As an ex-Urdu writer myself, and as a friend of Urdu writers, I contradict categorically every statement made about Urdu writers and their isolationism. These writers are aware of Hindi, Persian, Sanskrit, and Punjabi literatures. Books are accessible in far greater numbers in Urdu than in Punjabi. If official sanctions do not wish Urdu die out, then Urdu can become the real base of official Hindi-Hindustani.

PROF. S. M. KATRE: I have three comments to make. The first about Mahatma-ji and Hindustani. He was extremely interested in evolving Hindustani and this is being attempted by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh of Bombay. Kaka Kalelkar also showed an interest in this Sangh and the institution is interested in propagating this Hindustani. My second comment is about the apprehension of Urdu speakers about lack of government patronage which is a mis-apprehension. For instance, Konkani (an independent language) is not recognized by any state as yet. Fifteen lakhs of people speak this language and an excellent literature is being produced even without any government patronage. Finally, I would like to remark that Urdu is in the distinguished company of Sanskrit which is in a worse position than Urdu. The results in the development of any language are not achieved by official patronage but by the lovers of that language. And, as long as Urdu is loved so dearly by Indians, there is no fear of its dying out.

DR. LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI: It is rather painful to note that on the issues of various literary and political privileges, Hindi and Urdu have remained

in a tussle for more than a century and have come to be known as the rival symbols of Hindu-Muslim communalism in one and the same region. This has aroused linguistic jealousies, and, I am afraid, many language protagonists of both the languages, under the spell of persecution complex, have kept themselves engaged in an aggressive mission of safeguarding the interests of their mother-tongues. During the Mughal and British periods, Urdu protagonists with narrow loyalties treated Hindi with contempt and now Hindi enthusiasts, guided by similar narrow feelings, are behaving as vanquishers with a vengeance. This narrow and uncompromising attitude of Hindi zealots is doing more harm to Hindi than anything else.

No doubt during the course of history, Urdu and Hindi, from literary points of view, have developed independently in different directions, and two separate scripts have also added to this polarised contrast but from the point of view of communication both these languages should be taken as merely the two varieties of a single communication code. Take for instance, *main jātā hūn* 'I am going' is a sentence from Urdu as well as from Hindi at the same time. In fact, today the question of Hindi being considered as a pan-Indian language, is mainly linked up with the proliferation of Urdu in western and southern India. Hence I am of the opinion that Urdu has much to contribute in the development of our national language—Hindi, and this could be achieved only when both absolve themselves of historical jealousies and mutual contempt. Both sister languages, while retaining their literary identity, can have healthy growth by developing a blended variety for public communication in administration and education which was envisaged by Gandhi-ji through Hindustani.

DR. (MISS) ZAIDI: Since our position has found such overwhelming support, I will only make one brief comment. If Urdu has to survive it must be given a secondary status in regions where it is spoken by a sizable number of the population. Urdu and Hindi may be very close but yet they are different languages. Therefore, Hindi cannot serve as a medium of instruction for the Urdu speaking people. Hence a regional status must be given to Urdu.

SECTION C

Problems of the Unrecognized Local Contact Languages

Chairman PROF. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI declared the session open with the following remarks: The subject of discussion which we have before us today has not received enough attention from the authorities. The right of education in one's mother-tongue has not been granted in full, for example the Santals, who are contributing to the economic development of the country through their hard labour have not received their due. In Manipur, the Meitheis numbering 5,00,000 have three theatres and two cinema houses which use their own language. They love their own language and literature. Their poet Hijung composed an epic poem about Khamba-Thaibi drawing materials from the ballads, locally popular. His works could not be published mainly for want of money. *Mahābhārata* has already appeared in the Manipuri language in 13 parts and is to be completed in 21 parts. Unfortunately, this language has not received any recognition. As scientists we should look into these matters. The Christian missionaries have done a lot in this respect and Rev. Bodin's works on Santali language may be mentioned in this respect. Such unrecognized languages have got great contact values. So after our discussion here we may offer a few recommendations to the authorities to bring relief to the speakers of these languages.

H. S. BILIGIRI: Problems of Tribal Languages in India

&

B. K. ROY BURMAN: Languages of the Tribal Communities of India, and their use in Primary Education

Discussion

DR. SUDHIBHUSHAN BHATTACHARYA: Both the speakers have drawn our attention to an important problem, i.e., the problem of educating the Indian tribes. The term "tribe" is rather vague and should be changed, for there are

some tribes in India among whom the percentage of education is higher than in some castes. Indian tribes may be classified into three categories, namely, (1) *primitive* tribes, like the Onge of Little Andamans, who are monolingual and whose music is mostly tritonic; (2) *semi-tribes*, like the NEFA-tribes, Dhurwa-Parja and Hill Maria of Baster, Pengo of Koraput, Toda and Kota of South India, etc., among whom bilingualism is gradually increasing, and whose music is usually tetratonic and pentatonic; and (3) *semi-castes*, like the Santal, Munda, etc., who are perhaps cent-percent bilingual and whose music is more advanced. The other items of their culture will also show more or less the same inclination towards castes. The question of educating the first category of tribes does not arise at the moment. The suggestions made by the two speakers may be applied to the second category of Indian tribes. As regards the education of the third category of tribes, they may be treated as castes for this purposes, although I do not mean that the facilities they are enjoying as Scheduled Tribes should be withdrawn.

MR. MADHAVAN NAIR: Minority complex breeds a defensive posture some times. But it is not an Indian peculiarity alone. Oslo Conference of European minorities brought forth similar complaints. A most noteworthy fact is that the Nagaland government has accepted English as their official language. The recommendations forwarded by the UNESCO study team on teaching in mother-tongues are good for unilingual situations but in bilingual situations it may not be as good as that. In the multilingual and bilingual conditions of India it is to be considered a new.

DR. PUNYA SLOKA RAY: If we take our Constitution more seriously and try to abide by it, I believe, many problems arising out of the tribal questions may be solved easily. Autonomous bodies at the district levels may be helpful to a great extent, since in many of these the tribal populations would have greater shares.

DR. S. K. VERMA: The text-book department of the Government of Bihar brought out a number of text-books in Santali language which were quite useful.

DR. USHA DEKA MAHAPATRA: A centrally controlled administration for the tribals cannot be supported in view of the conditions in Assam. In NEFA local dialects transcribed in Devnagri created a lot of resentment.

MR. RANA: While we consider the tribal problems, the national problems should also be taken into consideration. A policy of cultural hibernation which will use language as a shield will be harmful to the tribal people causing equal harm to Indian nationalism.

PROF. CHATTERJI: Assimilation of the tribal peoples in the broader social structure of modern India had been resisted by many in different periods.

MR. GANGADHAR GADGIL: No minority is ever satisfied. We can create a feeling of tolerance only. Administration of the country is also a scientific problem. Economic forces at work in this country have a distinct tendency towards standardization.

DR. LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI: I agree with Dr. Biligiri that the states on the whole have shown very little interest in understanding the needs of tribals. I think the problem of linguistic minorities is the bye-product of linguistic states. Lack of attention to tribal languages is primarily the result of the linguistic states being committed to preferential treatment to the predominant regional language. Reports of the Commissioner of Linguistic Minorities show various instances of this discrimination and on top of it these Reports are not being taken very seriously by the states concerned. In the interest of providing equal opportunities of development to diverse cultures and languages in the country, it might be beneficial if the Centre exercises more control as far as development of tribal communities and interests of linguistic minorities are concerned, and tribal areas should be left in the custody of the states on this condition that they will act as trustees on behalf of the Centre for all round co-ordinated development of the tribal people in the country.

Secondly, the aspect of bilingualism among the tribals may be investigated further to verify whether these tribes are bilingual predominantly in surrounding regional languages or in neighbouring tribal languages for mutual communication. Indian bilingualism is primarily the result of territorial contiguity and growing urbanisation. In the 1961 Census returns, Tamil and Bengali speakers show roughly 8.0 bilingualism. But the percentage of bilingualism among the tribals seems to be very high, which I presume is due to mutual bilingualism among the tribals themselves rather than bilingualism with peripheral regional languages.

DR. ASHOK R. KELKAR cited some cases of prejudice against new orientations and methods on the part of administrative personnel standing in the way of the proper handling of the tribal languages problem.

DR. MULK RAJ ANAND: The only people who have some concern for the uplift of the tribal peoples seem to be the Christian missionaries. The aspirations of these suppressed tribal peoples cannot be overlooked.

PROF. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM: The creative beauty of the dialects including the tribal dialects must be preserved. There is no justice in demanding the

assimilation of these tribal peoples alone. The linguists of India should apply scientific methods while dealing with the tribal languages. It is a very important duty of our Indian linguists. The fabric of national unity will be richer in colour if the variety in language is preserved.

DR. LOTHAR LUTZE: With all our advancement sacrifices had to be made. I cannot observe any ill-will towards the tribal people in any of the observations forwarded here, but I find a dilemma between the ideal and the practical. The dialects of Germany had to be sacrificed in favour of Hoch Deutsch. The preliminary years in the education of the tribal children should be more carefully considered. The project of foreign-language-teaching is not included in the paper of Dr. Roy Burman. Where is the creative part in the system of education planned for the tribal peoples?

DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY: In reply to the questions raised by Mr. Nair, Mr. Gadgil and Dr. Lutze I submit that the situation in India today is somewhat different from what has been envisaged by these gentlemen. Independence in India being subjected to certain socio-economic arrangements, it released certain forces into action. The tribal peoples are now asserting themselves as they had no chance to do it earlier. The technological pressure on us is bringing many of the tribes into the main stream of life of the country. But this annot be forced upon anyone. We have to take care about it, otherwise chere will be troubles. There have been complaints that the tribals were deprived of the opportunity to get education in their mother-tongues.

DEWAN BERINDRANATH: In NEFA one of the reasons of our failure was that our people did not know the local languages. In Pakistan the authorities have discovered at last that the tribal situation has taken a dangerous proportion. The Government of Pakistan has now recognised the importance of not only of languages like Baluchi and Pashto, but also of their numerous dialects. How can we afford to overlook the importance of the tribal languages?

In his reply DR. ROY BURMAN said: There is a difference between the tribes and the scheduled tribes. The list of the Scheduled Tribes is now being revised. The tribals who are most primitive have no acute language problem. There are some special features of the minority complex in India. The European minorities are not backward educationally or technologically. In Orissa there are about 20 'Pradhans' from the tribals. But it is rather a question of the distribution of the power structure. Economic development and the growth of the media of mass communication are helpful to the tribals also. On the other hand, I know of a Hungarian minority community in Germany who suffered heavily. In some cases administrative intervention proved disastrous.

DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY: Assam Government was warned of the Naga problems as early as 1953 by the anthropologists but the administration was callous. This is a political problem.

MR. GANGADHAR GADGIL: Even if we have done everything to the Nagas they would have taken the same hostile attitude.

PROF. CHATTERJI: It has been a very useful discussion and the minutes of this discussion may be forwarded to the appropriate authorities.

JAYAKANTA MISHRA: The Case of Maithili

Discussion

PROF. S. M. KATRE read a sentence from his paper to show that he did not include Maithili within Hindi (eastern).

DR. H. S. GILL: The language problem in India is not a linguistic problem at all.

DR. S. K. VERMA: A Mithila state and a Mithila university may solve the problem raised by Dr. Mishra in his paper.

DR. LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI: I may read the relevant lines from my demography paper to show that I have not relegated Bihari to a secondary position to Hindi. At this stage, let me justify the use of classificatory term 'Bihari', representing a group of languages such as Maithili, Magahi, Bhojpuri. The term 'Hindi' itself represents a class of different languages such as Khaṛi Bolī, Braj, Bangru.

I do not agree with Dr. Mishra bracketing Bhojpuri with Hindi. From linguistic point of view, Bhojpuri and Maithili have many common characteristics. That is why they are grouped with Eastern Indo-Aryan languages, whereas Hindi proper, called by Grierson 'Western Hindi', belongs to the Central group of Indo-Aryan languages.

DR. PUNYA SLOKA RAY: Names of languages as listed in the census reports are noted by the enumerators from the replies they receive from the people themselves. I now want to ask two questions to Dr. Mishra. How is it that the Maharajah of Darbhanga does not agree to change his Sanskrit University

into a Maithili University? Does not the question in his paper involve the political structure of Bihar? However, autonomous district bodies for the Maithili speaking region may perhaps solve the problem.

MR. RANA: Maithili speaking area is limited to the plains only.

PROF. CHATTERJI: Everyone here is sympathetic to the cause of Maithili. It is the University of Calcutta which recognised it first of all. I too have made a little contribution in the study of Maithili. Many years ago, together with the Maithili scholar Babua Misra I edited the great Maithili masterpiece *Varnaratnakar* of Jyotiriswar Thakur. But it is a pity that the rank and file of the Maithili scholars are not sympathetic to Maithilisis. So, now, it is primarily a domestic problem of the Maithilis. Bihari is just a misnomer which should not be taken seriously. In general, the mother-tongue should be the medium of instruction in the schools. In this respect Bhojpuri may also claim a place like Maithili, Magahi is also being cultivated now as a separate speech on an academic level.

SECTION D

Languages as Medium of Instruction, Administration, etc.: Opportunities and Restrictions

CHAIRMAN'S OPENING REMARKS: He suggested that the use of regional languages as media of instruction could, perhaps, follow one of the basic laws of economics, that is, there should be open choices with regard to this problem, rather than making it deterministic. Similarly, he said, one could, perhaps, also apply the "welfare theory" of economics to this problem. Thus, he said, the use of regional languages as media of instruction might show a steep fall at first, but, later on, the results would probably rise to a 'peak'. He also stressed that certain "wrong choices" (such as, it should either be English or Hindi) ought not to be presented, because the main problem was really one of choosing between unilinguism, bilinguism or trilinguism. Language was more than a medium of communication, because it was in fact a "creative medium".

MULK RAJ ANAND: A Plea for English for Higher Education

Discussion

DR. PUNYA SLOKA RAY: There is no consensus about the place of English in our higher education. I am in favour of an immediate switch-over.

PROF. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM: English should be the link language of India for ever.

DR. KARUNAKARAN: English, as the medium of instruction in the fields of higher education, has become a definite barrier for our students. English education as such has little value in national development. It has been instrumental in creating a class of rootless hierarchy in the country.

In view of the fact that Dr. Anand has presented his paper in the shape of an open letter to the Education Minister the Chairman stopped the discussion.

K. P. KARUNAKARAN: Mother Tongue as the Medium of Instruction, Administration: Opportunities

&

T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM : From the point of view of Tamil Land

Discussion

DR. KELKAR supported the view that there existed an intimate connection between language and consciousness. Therefore, he said, in all aspects, the importance of regional languages uptil the high school level should be stressed.

DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY intervened at this stage to point out that this Seminar was discussing the problem in terms of a social situation. Therefore, he said, the question of teaching in the regional languages at the primary and secondary school and even college levels was not the problem. These languages had been the medium of instruction in some areas even before Independence; the difficulty arose in problems with regard to central administration, science, international communication, etc. He cited the example of the difficulty of finding examiners for Ph.D. thesis written in the regional languages.

He stressed the need to take the socio-cultural, socio-economic, and socio-political situation into consideration in discussing this problem. Thus, in his view, it was important to continue English as an associate language both at certain levels of administration, teaching etc., and also for enriching the regional languages. He advocated the trilingual formula and endorsed the Lal Bahadur Shastri or the Nehru Formula for administrative purposes.

DR. MAQBUL AHMAD, in general, agreed with Dr. Karunakaran with regard to the importance of regional languages especially in teaching Humanities at the college level. But he said that some universities were resisting a quick switch-over to the regional languages in the sciences, precisely because of political and other practical reasons. It was not a resistance because of political pressures. During the last twenty years, Dr. Ahmad continued, little work had been carried out in this direction. He also said that English was very important for purposes of communication with the outside world.

PROF. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI and DR. MULK RAJ ANAND endorsed Dr. Niharranjan Ray's views.

LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI: Media of Education for a Multilingual Nation

&

JAYAKANTA MISHRA: Language as Medium of Instruction

&

D. P. PATTANAYAK: Language as Medium of Instruction, Administration, etc.

&

A. B. SHAH : Indian Languages as Media of Higher Education

Discussion

DR. PATTANAYAK said that it was important to distinguish between concept formation and concept testing. If there is no originality in concepts, what are we going to test even if we have an international jury? It is necessary to form ideas and concepts in any theoretical formulations. Concept formation is facilitated, if the language of instruction is the same as was during the formative years of an individual (mother tongue). He stressed the fact that attitudes and values were much more important than glib talk on uniformity and standardization. He pleaded for more accent on developing professional ethics which would set a standard and ensure quality in higher education.

PROF. S. M. KATRE then suggested that the stress should be to use "Regional Language" rather than the mother-tongue, in view of what one learnt from linguistic demography about linguistic minorities. He suggested the use of English as a link language until an Indian language developed quite naturally. He also advocated the practice of following up the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission with reference to the administrative problems. He pointed out the fact of inadequate text-books, of high standards, specially at the primary school level. He said that although the Devnagri script was a pan-Indian script yet, for purposes of international communication, the Roman script would be preferable.

MR. GULABDAS BROKER thought that there was unnecessary anxiety about linguistic minorities; because, if Indian students could learn a foreign language for higher studies within four to six months in the European countries, this could also be possible here. Therefore, it was important to develop proper educational institutes in order to teach the regional languages.

DR. S. K. VERMA pointed out that the standard of English was very low today, not only among students but also amongst the English teachers.

MR. MADHAVAN NAIR pointed out that, recently, even the authorities in the United Kingdom educational system had made the English language optional at high school levels because relatively few students manage to pass in it. He stressed this fact that, even in 1835, the British rules had not attempted to impose the English language, but had decided to spread European culture through the vernaculars. But he also warned that regional prejudices might be introduced in the regional text-books: and, therefore, it was important to make an effort to develop common syllabus on an all-India basis. It was important also, he said, to be able to powerfully express one's self, whether in xnglish or Tamil or in any other regional language was not as important.

MR. RANA stressed the need to view the linguistic problem of agitations and assertions in terms of socio-political contexts. He also commented on Dr. A. B. Shah's observations with regard to the intellectual élite and the army, that these were the keys to India's unity, saying that it was against the concept of democratic socialism to express such views.

DR. LUTZE stressed the need to be careful of any governmental interference in the educational system, even if it was in terms of giving aid. He also said that the flexibility inherent in 'unity in diversity' in India was extremely important, rather than building a monolithic structure as had happened in Germany. This flexibility, he continued, gives a certain freedom of choice for both the masses and the élite. Therefore, this multilinguism and bilinguism must continue to be of importance for instruction in India.

DR. S. K. NANDI stressed the need of using precise, logical, and standard words of intellectual concepts and ideas, rather than using 'should' and 'must' etc.

Finally, DR. KELKAR suggested as a practical idea, that it might be helpful to switch-over gradually the medium of instruction from the first degree stage to the post-graduate stage, somewhat in the manner suggested by Dr. Biligiri for tribal languages in primary schools.

S. SAHU: Regional Languages as Media of Instruction and Administration

&

USHA DEKA MAHAPATRA: Medium of Instruction in the Universities of India

Discussion

MR. ANIMESH K. PAL began the discussion by pointing out Prof. Satyen Bose's contribution in the use of Bengali in science literature.

MR. MADHAVAN NAIR spoke about problems of retaining English in other countries which were formerly British colonies. He also expressed his view in favour of three-language formula.

DEWAN BERINDRANATH dealt on situation in Pakistan in this sphere and expressed his view also in favour of three-language formula. If certain states, for example, the Hill states, so desire, they can retain English as the state language.

DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY drew the attention to social revolution that is taking place among the masses as a result of adult suffrage and democracy achieved by the people. He emphasised the importance and the role of regional languages as the languages of the masses, who do not generally migrate from region to region.

DR. LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI: I suggest that the discussion here may be confined to the medium at the higher education and research stage, as there is more or less agreement on the regional language being the medium up to the under-graduate stage. Four propositions have been presented before us in this respect.

1. Maintaining the status quo, i.e., retention of English as the sole medium.
2. Complete switch-over to the regional language, replacing English.
3. Switch-over to the regional language along with English or any other developed language in the specific field, i.e., practising active bilingualism where developed languages like English will be co-partners in the development of Indian languages for new roles.
4. Bifurcation of education system into two classes:
   (*a*) retaining English medium for the talented, and
   (*b*) substituting the regional language for the average student.

I believe that gradual switch-over towards the practice of active bilingualism in education, spelled out in details in my paper, will pave the way for

healthy development of Indian languages for various new expressions. In this process the problems regarding the preparation of text-books, shortage of qualified regional language teachers, maintenance of standards etc., at the higher education stage, effect of the switch-over on national unity, mobility of the intelligentsia etc., also need to be carefully considered before prescribing any datelines regarding the switch-over if at all necessary.

DR. MAQBUL AHMAD pointed out from his experience in the Aligarh University the difficulties of science students in attending language classes because of heavy work load in technical subjects. He suggested, therefore, that language teaching should be taken up in the pre-university classes. He said that no haste should be made with the switch-over to regional languages as media of instruction.

DR. PATTANAYAK expressed his opinion in favour of time-limit for switch-over not as a goal, but as a strategy to accelerate the process. He did not believe that elimination of English would lead to fall in the standard of education.

MR. A. B. SHAH said that his proposal for élite institution was meant as a help to preserve national integrity.

DR. LUTZE said that English should be retained in schools for its effective use in higher educational institutions.

PROF. DAYA KRISHNA expressed his view in favour of having English as an optional subject at primary level so that those, who opt for higher education, are not deprived of the benefit of knowledge of English.

DR. M. K. CHAUDHURI said that it would be economical if English was taught not at the primary level but at the under-graduate or post-graduate level. This could be effectively done through language course employing modern methods of language teaching. He also pointed out that English as an optional subject at the primary level was not practical, as this would be discriminatory against those who might be found fit for higher education at a later stage in their career, though for some reasons they might not think it possible for them to pursue higher education in the early stages of their career.

S. K. VERMA: Problems of Teaching Hindi as a Second Language

Discussion

DR. PATTANAYAK: I disagree with Dr. Verma on his use of the word

foreign language. My own definition is that any language which does not get reinforcement from the immediate surroundings is a foreign language. This definition is pedagogical and not geographical. The second point that I wish to make is just a point for information. Except for the efforts in two or three places, like the Deccan College and the CIE, no attempts are being made to evolve principles of teaching languages scientifically. In the American Institute of Indian Studies in the Deccan College where we have been offering intensive courses in Hindi, we have established that, if proper methods are used, Devnagri could be taught in six to seven hours.

DR. LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI: I find it difficult to agree with either Dr. Verma or Dr. Pattanayak's definition of a foreign language. For the purposes of teaching of languages, I think, it will be convenient to distinguish between languages belonging to the same socio-linguistic background. Languages belonging to the same linguistic family have many similarities in phonological and grammatical systems and also common syntactic and semantic patterns, common vocabulary and styles, which reduce the learning load to a considerable extent, and they pose quite different problems as far as the conscious effort of removing interference of the mother tongue is concerned. The teaching of any Dravidian language to an Indo-Aryan student would require somewhat different preparation and effort for the teacher. On the other hand, teaching of English or any other European language to an Indian student poses quite many different problems because syntactic and semantic structures, cultural concepts, and vocabulary in these languages are quite different from those of any modern Indian language, whether Indo-Aryan or Dravidian, which have developed in one unified area under common cultural and political influences and are bearing good many similarities at phonological, grammatical and lexical levels. Of course, the reinforcement in a foreign language from the immediate surroundings does considerably facilitate the learning process.

PROF. T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM: I think the classification of languages should be in the terms of first language, second language, and not in terms of foreign and native languages.

DR. LOTHAR LUTZE: In the teaching of languages there are degrees of foreign-ness, and Dr. Pattanayak's position was from the point of 'language teaching'. If the same methods are applied for the teaching of the mother tongue and for that of a foreign language then confusion may result.

SECTION E

Language, Regionalism, Nationalism and Culture

GULABDAS BROKER: Language and Regionalism

&

H. S. GILL: Language and Nationalism

&

K. SESHADRI : Language and Regionalism

Discussion

DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY wanted the record to be put straight in respect of one fact mentioned in the paper of Mr. Broker. Mahatma Gandhi wanted Hindustani and not Hindi to be the *lingua franca.* He drew attention to the fact that even when India had a link language of the courts in Sanskrit or Persian, the country was not united. Unity is the outcome of multiple factors. New media of communication are emerging out today in India, in the industrial centres through the inter-mingling of ethnic groups. The framers of language policy in India should take cognizance of the same.

DR. PANDIT pointed out that the process of mutual support among the various Indian languages should be promoted through institutions like Antar-Bharati. He also pointed out that the language situation is rapidly changing due to changes in economic and social sciences. Rise in the level of literacy will also have important bearing on the language situation.

MR. RANA questioned the validity of the premise put forward by Mr. Broker, that the sanyasis moving about from one part of the country to the other did not face any language difficulty. According to him, acceptance of common national goal and ideals rather than common language would unify India.

DR. PUNYA SLOKA RAY questioned what Indians actually mean when they refer to themselves as "we", unless it were the "we" defined in the Constitution.

DEWAN BERINDRANATH stated that some political parties are trying to make political capital out of the language controversy. He felt that even if it was a question of national pride to have a national language of Indian origin, there should be a priority in pride. When the country has to beg for food, technical equipment, and technical know-how, it is more important that the country gives first attention to these questions rather than to the question of language.

MR. CHOWDHURY felt that while common language might not have unified India in the past, there is no reason to think that it would not have an important role to play in this matter in the future also.

DR. LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI: We must distinguish between two types of persons involved in these language conflicts. One are those who have genuine stake in the language development—educationists, writers, scholars etc., and others are those who are articulating various economic, religio-cultural, and political demands under the cloak of language chauvinism. This language chauvinism is doing more harm than good to the languages concerned. I must say that at times many of the people having genuine interest in language development are also, unwittingly, working in truck with those so-called language zealots.

Unfortunately, our political institutions and universities, which are getting more and more region-oriented, are also playing to the tune of these language chauvinists. The results of imposition or censure of language functions on unwilling people can be judged from this fact that the 1961 Census returns reveal considerable decline in the number of persons reporting Hindi as their first subsidiary language from the figures reported in the 1951 Census (given in my demography paper), in spite of various efforts to foist Hindi on the rest of the country. Hence, it is desirable that the issues of language development and those of socio-economic development of regions should be considered apart.

DR. LUTZE pointed out that much of the confusion had been caused by the use of the word "genius" in article 351 of the Constitution. DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY mentioned that this word was introduced as a result of the pressure tactics of Hindi-walas.

MR NAIR pointed out that in medieval and ancient periods, India was a geographical entity and not a national entity. Nationalism was not a problem of our ancestors. It is our problem, and it is for us to resolve it. Regionalism can be made to be complementary to nationalism.

MR. PREM NATH BAZAZ: While discussing this topic of regionalism and nationalism it would be interesting to cast a look at the Kashmir problem. Because of its geographical position people in Kashmir Valley had evolved in early times an eclectic philosophy called Trika or Shaivism. In the fourteenth century Islam came to Kashmir and the people accepting its positive values evolved Sufism which is in certain respects different from orthodox Islam. With this cultural back-ground the Kashmir Muslims preferred to accede to India and not to Pakistan in 1947 at the time of independence. The Valley Muslims feel they have much in common with India than with Pakistan. But, subsequently, developments in India such as the desire to impose Hindi on unwilling non-Hindi areas and the intolerance of certain sections and parties as witnessed by communal disturbances at Jabalpur, Rourkela, Ranchi etc., have made Kashmiris rethink about their future. The Kashmiri Hindus also have not adjusted themselves to the democratic changes taking place in the state. They dislike the rise of Muslims in administration and political power. They want Hindu India to side with them and suppress the freedom spirit of the Muslims. Kashmir nationalism is thus coming into clash with Indian nationalism and hence to problem of the state's integration with the rest of the country.

Replying to the various comments MR. BROKER stated that inspite of diversity, there is a consciousness of oneness among the Indians. It is this consciousness which is to be fostered. According to him the real problem is parochial pride and not competition for jobs.

MR. SESHADRI in his reply to the comments made a plea for national vigilance so that the land of Balagangadhar Tilak is not turned into a land of Balasaheb Thakre.

M. GOVINDAN : Language, Regionalism and Nationalism

&

VEENA MONGA : Regionalism, Language and Politics

&

R. MADHAVAN NAIR: Language and Regionalism

Discussion

MR. GADGIL: I think regionalism is not to be discarded. Regionalism

means regional forces. Our Supreme Court can play a major role in controlling the regional forces. Regional politics is a healthy process. A political candidate comes from the region and has to satisfy the region. I think that regionalism operates on various levels and unifies various forces in India as has been pointed out by Miss Monga. Political techniques of living together is a human factor in politics.

DR. PUNYA SLOKA RAY: The role of the Union Government should not be emphasised to exclude all other agencies. We should focus also on the private sector. A democratic government should have a bias for the poorer and the less fortunate.

DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY: The question of power structure is not so simple, rather very much complicated.

MR. SESHADRI: Dr. P. S. Ray follows the biblical doctrine of lower distribution. I may point out to Mr. Madhavan Nair that politics is the most powerful tool. Note that political boundaries are drawn and redrawn in course of time, and they are not always based on languages.

DEWAN BERINDRANATH: I am happy to note that words and meaningless phrases like national integration, and one-ness of Indian culture, are not used in the papers of Mr. Nair and Mr. Govindan. So much the better. I am convinced that a meaningful partnership between different cultural and linguistic communities is possible and far more desirable than the so-called national integration, which to many seems to be a clever ruse to impose a particular language or religion, or culture, upon others. Co-existence is possible only if we make adequate provision in our Constitution that the most backward areas in the country would not be able to dominate the more advanced units of the Federal Republic. Seen in this context, the problem is not merely of Hindi vs. non-Hindi, but of progress vs. backwardness.

I, as a Punjabi, feel very strongly over it. We, the Punjabis, have a vested interest in the unity and well being of this country for which our people have suffered more than anyone else, in the last 20 years. We cannot allow this country to be disintegrated because of the whims of certain politicians, who want to extend their domination over the realms of learning, arts, commerce, services, and the armed forces, just as they are doing in the domain of politics, by virtue of our institutions like parliamentary democracy and adult franchise. If anyone wants to narrow his mind and vision, he should be allowed to do so. To remain ignorant can be inscribed as a birth-right of every Indian citizen, provided a fool-proof guarantee could be given that this craze for remaining backward would not be forced upon those who want to advance and learn.

DR. PANDIT: The three papers show that we are sharply divided on home issues—the three speakers have different attitudes. I, of course, favour regionalism. Note that regional élites and dominant castes are tied up with language question. The role of language in the interplay of social forces has to be given thought.

DR. S. K. NANDI: Mr. Nair in the first half of his paper supports linguism, but in the second half talks of it as a malaise of human mind. This is half contradictory.

DR. ROY BURMAN: Mr Nair talks of federation to confederation, we talk of monolithic élite in the USSR, but what about India ?

DR. MAQBUL AHMAD: Regionalism is an historical process, though I would prefer the word national integration. Socio-economic differences are too varied in India. I believe that group dominance is a fact and linguism does play an important part. Behind linguism, the socio-economic forces play a great part. I support Miss Monga and think that the unity of India is not at stake. I think that the fault that lies in U. P. is not of the people of U. P., but of the leaders. Process of linguism is not unique in U. P.

DR. ASHOK R. KELKAR: I support Dr. Ahmad. It is the leaders who have often exploited linguistic divisions for their own ends. In connection with Miss Monga's paper, I have a methodological comment to offer. We often talk as if the socio-cultural reality can be divided into the political domain, etc., each of which is the subject-matter of a social science. It will be more appropriate if we recognise that any given segment of the socio-cultural reality has a political aspect, an economic aspect, etc., so that a given social science does not deal with a part of the socio-cultural reality but of the whole of it in some particular aspect.

MR. GANGADHAR GADGIL: Note that field concepts have been rejected by the economists.

DR. LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI: We find that at the present state, India is caught in a paradoxical situation. On one hand, we are moving fast towards the inter-state communication through various educational programmes, technological advancement, mobility of population and urbanisation, and on the other hand, the urge for separate regional identity is also being charged more and more. No doubt, the correspondence between language, culture, and region fosters an 'in-group' feeling among those who share a common language. But internal cohesion of an 'in-group' to an intensive degree leads to external

distinction from 'out-groups' which, if carried too far, even culminates in hostility towards the 'out-group'.

In a multilingual federal nation like India we are faced with the problem of intensive local loyalties which are coming in direct conflict with national loyalties. Solutions have to be found to the problems such as: (1) to which degree is the local loyalty healthy to our growth as a nation? (2) how to arrive at the point of minimum conflict between local loyalty and national loyalty?

Reorganisation of Indian states on linguistic basis was made with the pious hope that linguistic homegeneity would provide a common bond among citizens and a convenient measure for better administration. But due to various vested interests this approach has rather aggravated the language conflicts. In the present region-oriented politics, language is being used as a weapon of struggle for power. Various religio-cultural and caste struggles are being fought on linguistic battle-fields. The language controversy over the bifurcation of Punjab into Punjabi Suba and Haryana is just one instance of this phenomenon. To keep a balance between regionalism and nationalism, I think it is imperative to take effective measures for maintaining good-will and harmony among various language groups, and not to abuse the privileges of the national language and regional languages for other ulterior motives.

MR. MADHAVAN NAIR: I make no apology for the primacy of politics over others. Regional feeling is not at par with that of the centre. But one region can check the other in every respect. The ruling élite in the Centre is also active in the region. I blame U. P., for U. P. has the strategy of silence.

MISS VEENA MONGA : I accept Mr. Seshadri's points. Talking of backwardness, let me point out that we have some vested interests in backwardness. Regional élites are the political élites occupying power in the region. My reply to Dr. Maqbul Ahmad is that U. P.'s backwardness is factual. To Dr. Khubchandani, I must say that religion is also sought for political power. Take the example of the creation of Pakistan. To Dr. Kelkar I must point out that there are analytical schools in sociology and economics. We must not forget that.

SECTION F

Language, Regionalism, Nationalism and Culture in Other Countries

DEWAN BERINDRANATH: The Language Problem in Pakistan

&

M. V. LAKHI: Language and Regionalism in Pakistan

Discussion

MR. GULABDAS BROKER enquired about the position of Gujarati in Karachi. He mentioned that during his visit in 1963, the Gujarati speaking community in Karachi had spoken to him of the struggle it had to wage for some recognition to the language and was now accepted as a subject for primary schools.

DR. P. B. PANDIT said that he was impressed by both the papers and that we should know what our neighbours are doing. He felt, however, that the situation in Pakistan was different from that in India. He stressed that in Pakistan, Urdu, a minority language, was politically dominant as was the situation in Philippines and Indonesia. In W. Pakistan, he pointed out, there was a large script community which connected them also to West Asia; although Bengali was an exception. There was also, he added, no large scale process of sanskritization in that region and these two causes may lead to Urdu becoming the national language of Pakistan. Besides, he said, structurally all the languages were similar. He enquired whether there was any study on changing patterns in the language of E. Bengal. He also referred to the linguistic problems facing our army. The jawans, he said, have to learn both English and Hindi and other languages which lead to confusion. He hoped that some sense would be brought to the situation. Dr. Pandit also referred to the paucity o f linguisticians in Pakistan.

DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY said although it was good to find parallels between Indian and Pakistan situations, they were not same and not even similar. He agreed with Dr. Pandit on the part a common script could play and said that it was a great binding force going beyond its own frontiers. He also agreed with

Dr. Pandit that inspite of animosity, ill-will and bitterness, common script will play a strong role and Urdu may become the sole national language of Pakistan. In his opinion E. Bengal would not give up its script and there were no chances for any change. He dwelt upon the fine linguistic work that is done in E. Bengal and cited the example of Dr. Shahidullah who has gathered around him some six or more linguisticians of very high calibre. He also referred to his monumental Lexicon Anchalik Bhāsa. There is a two way process, he said, about the influence between the languages of East and West Bengal. Words and imageries, he added, are borrowed freely by writers of one from those of the other and the writers in the East and West belong to one community of creative writers, and no politics would be able to break up this family of writers.

DR. KELKAR enquired whether there was in a parallel fashion, communication between writers of Urdu, Punjabi and other languages in India and Pakistan.

DR. B. K. ROY BURMAN said that we were making too much of Sanskritization. In Pakistan, he said, the process of secularization was more rapid than in some parts of India; for instance, Bengali writers in East Pakistan are avoiding too much use of Arabic and Persian words. He also said that religion was not the only binding factor.

DR. P. B. PANDIT intervened to say that there was a unique situation between East and West Bengal, because Bengali was used as a link language between India and Pakistan, and he said that this was an important fact for our foreign policy. He also said that these languages offer a wide area of investigation.

MR. ANIMESH K. PAL referred to the use of Arabic script for Bengali by some Muslim scholars at some time but this never became popular. Persianism, he said, was a dominant element in Bengali literature, but it was no new practice. Even today there are 1,400 Persian words and 20 Persian suffixes and prefixes used in the language. But the tendency, he thought, was on the decline even in E. Pakistan. He said that there were two points worth appreciating, firstly, a collection of folk literature and founding of the Bengali Akademi, and, secondly, the teachers in Dacca are now carrying on investigations about various dialects. He emphasized that if we could have done as much as they have done, we would have served Bengali well.

DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY agreeing with Mr. Pal said that before independence Bengali Muslim writers, used Arabic and Persian words but now they are giving up this practice and are returning to the genius of the

Bengali language. The Bengali students of Dacca also, he added, are using chaste Bengali. There is no difference between the languages of East and West Bengals.

DR. S. K. NANDI objected to this stress on similarity which he thought was quite confusing. He said literature is not based merely on heritage, it depends rather on the sensibility of individual writer, for instance, Nazrul Islam is very different from his contemporary writers. He also said that borrowing from Arabic and Persian has disfigured Bengali literature and that Nazrul Islam's poetry falls short of poetic quality when he uses Arabo-Persian expressions. He concluded, the contemporary Bengali literatures in Pakistan and India have followed different lines of development.

DR. MAQBUL AHMAD then congratulated the two authors for their brilliant exposition of the linguistic situation in Pakistan, and enquired about the position of languages like Baluchi, Sindhi, Pushto, etc., in Pakistan and whether or not there was any regional movement connected with these languages.

The chairman moderator MR. MADHAVAN NAIR intervening in the discussion said that the basic problem of Pakistan was a political one. The various provinces have disappeared. This he said was an example of how ruthless a political regime can be, in forcing down a language. Political state boundaries, he said, had been obliterated in Pakistan. He said, 'let us not forget that state boundaries can be altered without touching even the Constitution'. He cited the example of Malaya and Indonesia where Arabic and Persian do not figure even though they are Muslim majority states.

MR. GANGADHAR GADGIL wanted to know what political conclusions could be drawn from the sentiments expressed here about the common features of Bengali language in both parts of Bengal. He also enquired that since there was an exodus of Hindus from E. Pakistan, how this situation could be fitted with the problem of linguistic unity. He also said that East Pakistanis resented the domination of Hindu Bengalis on literature and culture.

Replying to Mr. Gadgil, DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY said that whatever political conclusions could be drawn can not be discussed here and that there were certain forces working under the surface which were more important.

DR. LOTHAR LUTZE said that Germany was a cultural unit but there were certain centrifugal forces at work with regard to language. As an example, he mentioned the word "Democracy" which had different connotation in East and West Germany.

Replying to the comments made, DEWAN BERINDRANATH said that Mr. Broker was correct about the position of Gujarati. It has the same position as Sindhi in India and the language was very much in picture because of the economic importance of the language community.

Replying to Dr. Pandit he said that he did not want to overemphasize the similarities, and he himself had pointed out in regard to the language problem that Pakistan was in an advantageous position, partly because it could use religion openly and was also a dictatorship. He said, in reply to Dr. Kelkar, that a feeling of solidarity does exist between the writers of India and Pakistan. Punjabi works, he said, have a large sale in Lahore and some writers in Pakistan even want to adopt Gurmukhi script, he also said that the Punjabi of Pakistan is more authentic. Two different trends, he said, could be discerned in Punjabi—Urdu writers make a wide use of Persian and pagan romanticism which he explained as the extensive use of imagery based on Hindu mythology. He also pointed out that Sindhi writers of India are very popular in Pakistan. Referring to translations in Bangla and Urdu, he informed, 9 crores of rupees were already spent whereas our 18 crores allocated are meant for all the languages.

Referring to Mr. Gadgil's comment, he admitted that forces of communalism were present in Pakistan, but Hindus were playing a big role in Pakistan, both in matters of politics and language. He also said that the growth of languages common to India and Pakistan such as Bengali, Urdu, Punjabi, Sindhi, will curb chauvinism and bring about a greater sub-continental consciousness. In reply to Dr. Maqbul Ahmad he said that Sindhi and Pushto are recognized for certain purposes and Pushto has also great significance for the Pukhtunistan concept.

MR. M. V. LAKHI agreed with Dr. B. K. Roy Burman that a process of secularization is on its way in E. Pakistan. Referring to Mr. Gadgil's comment he said that the Hindu population in E. Pakistan has decreased from 23% in 1951 to 19% in 1961 and the number of Hindu post-graduate and graduate students have also gone down. He commented that this showed that the Hindu educated were not getting proper jobs in competition with Muslims which resulted in exodus to India. He also said that the consensus for Urdu in Pakistan was also breaking down, but the masses of Pakistan are concerned more with restoration of democracy than with the language question. In reply to Dr. Ahmad's query, he pointed out that the National Awami Party which stands for cultural autonomy is strong in N. W. Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan.

SAMIR GHOSH : Bilingualism: Some cross-Cultural Evidences and Considerations

&

JAGDISH SHAMSHERE JUNG BAHADUR RANA : The Nepali Language and Society

&

PATRICIA UBEROI : Language Reform and Literary Reform in China, 1917

Discussion

Commenting on Mrs. Uberoi's paper, DR. P. B. PANDIT asked whether or not there was any evidence that the percentage of literacy in China had increased as a result of the literary reform movement of 1917. DR. S. SAHU wanted to know how the problem of adopting a common language had been solved. DR. LOTHAR LUTZE commented that some striking parallels could be seen between the Chinese and the Indian situations. These were, according to him, changes in nomenclature (from "national" to "common" language in China, and from Hindustani to Hindi in India), and unity in diversity.

DR. YUSUF HUSAIN KHAN wanted to know how the Chinese solved the problem of technical and scientific terminology. MR. RANA wanted to know if it would not be advantageous to broadcast to China in various non-Mandarin dialects. MR. MADHAVAN NAIR, moderator Chairman, observed that in spite of Mr. Mao's statement that all power proceeds from the barrel of a gun, communists give priority to words over bombs, especially where bombs cannot reach. He further said that neither Esperanto nor Inter Lingua had gained in currency. In China, he said, the Peking Mandarin dialect was not understood 300 miles beyond the city. Bilingual intermediaries were according to him necessary in the modern world.

In her reply to Dr. P. B. Pandit's question, MRS. UBEROI said that reliable statistics on the growth of literacy were not available to demonstrate the actual effect of the Literary Revolution but that, due to the disturbed political state of the country between 1917 and 1949, no appreciable change in literacy except in certain pockets was noticeable until after the communists took over. Replying to Dr. Sahu, she said that Mandarin was taken as the standard national

language and that this was increasingly understood by the younger generation. Replying to Dr. Y. H. Khan she said that there were two methods of adopting foreign technical vocabulary into Chinese : firstly transliterating the sound of the words, which had the disadvantage of being unpleasant to the ears, and, secondly, translating the sense of the words, which had the disadvantage that the meaning could easily be corrupted in its sinicization. She also said that phoneticization is still an important movement in China, and that the Chinese authorities regard phoneticization as important not only in increasing literacy amongst the Chinese people themselves, but also in helping non-Chinese peoples of the Chinese state and foreigners to learn the Chinese language. She also said that the communists still wanted to popularize the idea of literature in a style very close to the spoken language, and that they are currently facing the problem of reconciling the demand for a standardized language with the need for popular literature in regional dialect styles.

DR. S. K. NANDI did not agree with Mr. Rana's thesis that the writer to attain some style had to sanskritize his language. He mentioned Bhanu Bhakt whose language was not so sanskritized and had attained such popularity.

DR. B. K. ROY BURMAN enquired about the linguistic groupings in Nepal and Darjeeling area.

MR. RANA replying to Dr. Nandi said that Bhanu Bhakt was a writer of the people, but could not inspire any other writers to imitate him, whereas Deva Kota, Balakrishna and Lok Nath could collect a number of imitators and followers of style around him. Replying to Dr. Roy Burman, Mr. Rana said, in the Tarai region where different dialects of Bihar namely Bhojpuri, Avadi and Maithili were spoken, the Hindi enthusiasts grouped them as Hindi speaking with a view to getting official recognition for it. He also said in regions of Bhutan, Sikkim, etc., the people are Nepalese but the rulers are Bhutias and hence the Bhutias are getting political preferences.

SECTION G

Technical Aspects of Language Planning

MANMOHAN CHOWDHURY : A Common Script for India

Discussion

DR. PANDIT mentioned that for the last 35 years linguists, writers, and also the Government of India have been suggesting a common script for the whole of India. The technicians are not yet of one mind. He pointed out whether in the present situation of the country one should raise the question of a common script.

DR. ASHOK R. KELKAR pointed out that the common script should be useful for transliteration from one language to another.

DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY pointed out that all the north Indian languages and also Malayalam can be rendered in a common script but not the other three Dravidian languages. He supported the case of Loka Nagri for the common script. He also pointed out that more words in English can be accommodated in one page than in the Bengali or Nagri script. He suggested that the machines be modified to accommodate more words in the Nagri script.

MR. GADGIL said that the problems of script should be entirely left to the technicians.

DR. PANDIT mentioned that the Christian missionaries were responsible for the present use of Nagri script in Marathi languages as they could not cut the matrices in Mouri script in the 19th century.

MR. BROKER suggested that two scripts should be used, one script for the whole of North Indian languages, and another for south Indian languages, and that Nagri should be left as it is.

MR. MANMOHAN CHOWDHURY agreed that at the present moment the idea of a common script might not appeal to the public. But it was a very

important question and something must have to be done about it. He pointed out that the idea of a common script should be made popular within the next 20 years at the most. So it was time that we started active work to that effect even now. He mentioned that different methods and techniques for the evolution of the common script were being discussed at intellectual level. Measures should be taken for simplifying the script of different languages. If a common refined script was not acceptable, then the different existing scripts should be reformed so that transliteration from one script to another may be easy.

DR. PANDIT pointed out that the script also is identified with a region, just as a language is identified with a particular region, and that advocacy of a common script may bring about political movements. He also pointed out that the difficulties in transliteration is due to the different types of sound systems and spelling systems in different languages. All the languages should be exposed to technicians who will be able to bring about at least some uniformity within the same spelling system of similar languages.

CONCLUDING SESSION

MR. GULABDAS BROKER

We as writers are always at a new conference of writers but here we had the good fortune of being with the linguists, anthropologists and scholars from many fields including very learned men like Mr. Nair and Mr. Dewan.

It was really a very great privilege, and it was a seminar from which we learned much. It was a meeting of minds, Sir. It has done quite a lot to us. Discussions on subjects in which we all were associated were very interesting. I am glad that we have come to a consensus. Beautiful arrangements were made by the Institute for all of us. We were well fed, well slept, and well kept. Our minds had also good food for itself. I felt the graciousness of the Director, Dr. Niharranjan Ray. Though there were occasions when he would not like to entertain, but he has always been smiling, he has never lost his balance of mind; and if the whole of India is as balanced as some of these people have been during these days, I think the future of India is bright indeed. Apart from the Director who is a cultured man, even the people who looked after us have been very nice to us. On behalf of my colleagues I propose a vote of thanks. Thank you so much for giving us the privilege, and I hope we shall meet once again.

DR. L. P. VIDYARTHI

Mr. Chairman and Friends, I like to associate myself wholly with the feelings expressed here by our esteemed colleague and member of the seminar, Mr. Broker. It is needless to say that when we came here we were rather in a different mood, but in course of time when we came in contact with the architect of this temple of learning, Dr. Niharranjan Ray and the other priests of this intellectual house, we really felt that it is an advanced centre. I assume, Sir, that we maintained the height of Simla in the course of our discussions though there were points of disagreement here and there, but that was the fun of a seminar. I know, as an organiser and convener of a number of seminars, that there is always a skill behind the seminar. I associate myself with Mr. Broker and offer my heart-felt thanks to Dr. Ray for making us comfortable here and I am sure that he will try his best to develop this Institute really as an all-India institute of advanced study and research work. Intellectuals will accept this place as a pilgrimage for food and thought. Thank you.

DR. S. SAHU

Mr. Chairman and Friends, it is needless for me to repeat what Mr. Broker and Dr. Vidyarthi have said. I will, however, express how greatly I feel for having associated myself with this seminar. I am not exaggerating when I say that the way the seminar has been conducted is an ideal to look forward to. Not only in the way in which it was conducted between such diversities but I mean also the meticulous care with which the papers have been supplied to us, the care, the pains that have been taken to see that every member got the material for the seminar and also the arrangements to which both Mr. Broker and Dr. Vidyarthi have referred. I, however, want to make one point about myself. Unlike most of the colleagues, I happen to be one associated with administration and not with academic work. When the invitation to take part in the seminar was received by me I felt eager to come because as an administrator we have been thinking over some of the problems relating to the regional languages as medium of instruction. I have immensely been benefitted by listening to the discussions, because it has opened up new avenues along which we have to think. Even we, administrators, have to be conscious of certain values of ideals. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Ray for having given me this opportunity, and on behalf of myself as well as my colleagues who have already expressed their gratitude I offer my heart-felt thanks to them and to the Institute for having given us this opportunity by providing us all comforts. I once again thank you all.

DEWAN BERINDRANATH

It is needless for me to repeat what Mr. Broker and others have said. It is our privilege to feel happy that it was under your (Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose) chairmanship today that we have an intensive and lively cross-fertilization of ideas. From what happened today you have enabled us to say that we could become a world Assembly and many of us to be constituents of that Assembly and you should be the speaker of that Constituent Assembly because the draft statement (Recommendations) was difficult to prepare and it was under your chairmanship that we could prepare that statement, and for this I extend my heartiest thanks to our friends and esteemed colleagues. It was a very delicate problem to prepare the statement, but your chairmanship has enabled us to prepare the same. As far as the Director is concerned, he does not need our appreciation. I had also a chance last time to come to this Institute in connection with a seminar, that seminar was on 'India and Contemporary Islam', I found him a wonderful person in mixing with the people during that seminar. The intellectual wine, which got us intoxicated in the beginning, many of us sipped, but afterwards it has proved to be an intellectual tonic. This is entirely due to Dr. Niharranjan Ray that

we could make something like this draft of today. And I have also a word of thanks, apart from Dr. Ray, for everyone else, and also for the Public Relations Officer.

MR. GANGADHAR GADGIL

Friends, I must express my happiness that I could be present here at this seminar. But it was a wonderful experience, wonderful in the company of highly trained scholars and the cross-fertilization of the ideas that are extremely useful to all of us. It is more than a mere national grafting of intellectuals and for intellectuals' company. The seminar has been highly educative to me. We do find that when it comes to practical application of a policy the social sciences are of great use in presenting problems and giving a sort of an analysis of these problems. As a writer, I felt initially somewhat upset about this gathering. It is a gathering of scholars; I am, properly speaking, not a scholar, I do not call myself a scholar. I am a Hindi writer, and I wondered how far I could be of use here. It was a problem that bothered me. But I have much profited from the way Mr. Govindan has brought out different dimensions of the problem, as also from all the discussions I have listened to. I am appreciative of the arrangements that were made here for us. In fact there is a sort of an example for our Indian Government. The basic problem of India is food. We were so well fed that that problem did not bother us at all. The other is administrative. We like to talk, discuss, we like to express our opinion; here we got an opportunity to do all this, and that must have satisfied all of us. Such a liberal outlook in respect of food and administration will solve many of our problems. I am grateful to Dr. Niharranjan Ray, and I am personally thankful to so many of my friends who are here and who have been nice to me. This seminar gave also an opportunity to me to meet some Bengalees. It was an interesting experience. These are nice persons, I met, and I am grateful for the opportunity. Thanks.

DR. LOTHAR LUTZE

I beg to apologize for my few expressions here and there, and I associate myself fully with what has been said before. As one of the foreign guests, I should like to say how much impressed I was by the very Indian generosity for my person; it was enjoyable and extremely profitable. Particularly, I should like to congratulate Dr. Niharranjan Ray for the seminar.

PROF. WILLIAM BRIGHT

Mr. Chairman, ladies and colleagues, you see that I have most of the

words taken out of my mind, but nevertheless I express my deepest appreciation to the Institute, to its Director, Dr. Ray, to the staff and all of you who have been here for everything that has been done. As a foreign visitor in India, I feel specially touched at the Institute's hospitality; and as a linguist perhaps I can speak for myself, I like to express my great satisfaction that in this meeting the linguists could discuss common interest with others. I think that perhaps in India too the ivory towers have confrontations with other social sciences, from which something tangible should emerge. I hope that there would be more such meetings in India and in our country. Thank you.

MR. K. VENKATARAMAN

Mr. Chairman, participants and friends, on behalf of the Institute I wish to extend to all of you a hearty welcome. This seminar is the eighth one to be conducted by this Institute, and each seminar is a sort of milestone in the history of this Institute. This seminar has been slightly different from other seminars which we have conducted so far, because the main topic of the seminar was the political issue of the day. The invitation of the Director had made it very clear that this is a live political issue on which it is very necessary for writers, creative artists, and academicians to express their opinion because otherwise the politicians could be functioning in a vacuum. That was the purpose for which this seminar was organised, and thanks for the cooperation of all of you. I am sure that this seminar has succeeded immensely. Our thanks are specially due to Prof. Bose who at one stage, early in the morning, felt whether he had worked at all as a Chairman. He was able to give a very successful conclusion. I would again like to thank all of you for having taken the trouble to come over to this Institute to participate in this seminar, and to contribute and arrive at a consensus which can be presented to the people of India at large.

DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY

Mr. Chairman, Sir, Friends and Colleagues, it is now for me to wind up the most ardous session. Thank you all. I am deeply thankful to you all for having taken the trouble of coming over here, staying with us, and participating at this seminar. Personally I have benefitted a great deal. The whole seminar was not only intellectually creative but also socially effective. And, personally speaking, intellectual activities I take to be a very important part of social activities. Particularly so, in the context of our contemporary situation. There have been moments in the discussions when I intervened, and what I had to say I did say as methodically as I could. I did not mean

the slightest disrespect to any body, but only acted in the interest of social connection.

We issued altogether 98 invitations. Of these 98 invitees, 32 were linguists, of whom 19 only could attend; 12 were historians of whom only 6 could come and attend; 8 were philosophers of whom only one could come and participate; 19 were social scientists of whom 6 only could come and participate; 23 were politicians, Members of Parliament, Legislators, Ministers who had been actively associated with this specific problem for the last few years; but only one could come.

When we organised this seminar, you find from what I have just stated, I wanted all views to be represented and thrashed out here. It was not our slightest intention not to have any point of view expressed here. Our invitations would show that not a single major linguistic region was left out, and that no less than five distinguished persons were invited from each linguistic region. Therefore, you see when these seminars are planned, there is, I hope you would concede, a mind behind it. I am saying all these, because there may have been some contrary impression on this point. I am deeply grateful to those who could respond to our invitation and participate so actively at this seminar. I would end by referring to a very pleasant expression. There were some discussion here about the Bengali language on both sides of the border and certain comments were also made. I have just received by the latest mail a letter from a Lecturer of the University of Dacca. It is a personal letter and perhaps I shall read out a few lines. 'Please accept my reverential *namaskar*. You know perhaps that these days all letters do not reach the addressee. I hope this letter will reach you'. In the one wing of Pakistan they are writing the Arabic script, and in the other the Bengali script.

Thank you again. I am deeply thankful to you Mr. Chairman for having chaired this session. Thank you.

A Statement Issued by the Seminar

The following represent some of the points on which there seemed to be a fairly general agreement among the participants:

I. General Approach

Language is much more than a mere instrument of communication. Apart from being a vehicle of literature, it affects the whole way a person responds to life. The understanding of any of the language problems of India and the formulation of effective solutions thereto, is possible only through the joint thinking of linguistic scientists, other social scientists, creative writers, educationists and those who shape public policy.

In understanding these problems it frequently appears that a particular problem presents itself in the guise of a linguistic one, but it seems that the real trouble lies in the economic or political sphere or the like, and must be tackled as such.

Once the real nature of the problem is understood and a solution adopted, changes in the existing system become necessary. Any desirable and desired change calls for patience and acceptance of gradualism, goodwill and give and take between the language groups concerned, reliance or private initiative, no less than on governmental action, and readiness to give primacy to the interests of the masses of India. An abrupt change-over based on compulsion would create a sense of insecurity in some sections of the population. They would become unsure of their role in society, and the hostility so generated, will defeat the very purpose of the change.

II. Interrelationship between the different Languages

Competition is a healthy force. The exclusive use of any one language

is not good even for that language. This applies equally well to English, Hindi, and the regional languages. Protecting Hindi from English, for example, is likely to stunt the growth of Hindi itself; the same is true as regards protecting Tamil from Hindi or from English and so on. The interests of different languages are not as conflicting as they appear to be.

The regional languages ordinarily should be the media of education and administration at all levels. But in view of the existing unequal preparation in the various language areas in various subjects and in the various spheres of administration, the universities should immediately frame and carry out active and dynamic programme for changing over to the respective regional media under a phased scheme, differing from subject to subject, without jeopardising the standard and efficiency required.

The possibility of combined use of two languages as media of education at a given stage should be thoroughly explored, especially in the primary school instruction of the *Adivasis* or in passing from the regional language at the lower stages to English at the higher stages.

Opinion was divided on the temporary or indefinite retention of English at the level of post-graduate teaching and research.

The official language which is to serve as a link language may be called by any name, but its form must be the one as recommended by Mahatma Gandhi and as found spoken in the multilingual urban and industrial centres in the country. This link language will equip and enrich itself for this role by adopting words from the various spoken dialects and languages—Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austric, Tibeto-Burman and also from Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and English.

III. Teaching of English and Modern Indian Languages

Teaching in a language and teaching of a language are different things though there is a connection between them. Teaching Economics, for example, through English is also teaching English.

A proper atmosphere should be created by offering opportunities for learning as many languages as possible according to one's own inclination, by enlarging facilities for learning both Indian and foreign languages through modern methods.

The teaching of modern Indian languages other than Hindi outside their respective regions, has been sadly neglected. Direct contacts between neighbouring regional languages, for example, are as important as indirect contacts at the national level. Inter-regionalism is the best antidote to excessive regionalism.

The method of teaching of modern Indian languages within their respective regions also leaves much to be desired. A thorough review of the teaching of modern Indian languages at the university level is necessary.

The curricula have to be rearranged to meet the new demands.

A reasonably good standard of English should be expected of those who enter higher studies. It is desirable that this language should be taught at an early age, after the students get a command over their regional languages.

English should be declared an Associate Language in accordance with the announcement made by the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the Parliament.

Curricula in English both at the school and college levels should be re-examined with a view to making the teaching of English more effective. It may even be necessary to reorganise the machinery for the teaching of English in schools and colleges.

IV. Minority Languages and Linguistic Minorities

Inspite of Constitutional guarantees to the linguistic minorities, it is unfortunate that the Commissioner for those minorities repeatedly finds such guarantees not being given effect to. The Central Government and the state governments should provide primary education in the mother tongue of the minority groups, if they so desire.

From the point of view of defence and national solidarity the study of the Adivasi languages and their cultures (especially of the frontiers) should be promoted.

It is regretted that the speakers of Maithili, Urdu and other languages even when they are in great numbers, are not given the opportunity of studying through the mother tongue even at the primary stage.

Exigencies may exist in multilingual areas and elsewhere, when the children of linguistic minorities, the children of the Central Government employees and such others, may have to be educated through the English medium, because of the impossibility of finding institutions for each one of their mother tongue.

V. Technical and Scholarly Writings

Writing of Textbooks by Indian scholars to suit our educational requirements is of primary importance. At the same time, since translating is becoming an important activity in the present set-up, the art and science of translation should be taught and encouraged in the universities. The translation of a foreign work is most useful when that book is more than a textbook, and is a classic in its particular field. The insights of linguistics will be of great relevance in improving standards of translation.

As far as the technical terms are concerned, attempts at coining artificial terms should be avoided, and in the first instance, the international terms and the terms already popular and current, should be accepted as far as possible. The coining of suitable alternate terms in the regional languages should be left to the natural course of creative writing. In such writings it is much better

to introduce the concept first through discussion and then use the new term than to rely on the new term to explain itself.

VI. Technical Application

Immediate steps should be taken for the improvement and standardisation of stenography, keyboards of typewriters and lino-type, typography of various languages, transliteration between Nagri, Roman and other scripts, alphabetisation procedures, etc. The help of linguistic scientists and other experts should be sought in this matter.

VII. Regionalism in Perspective

It has already been pointed out that language is by no means the only factor responsible for regionalism. Moreover, the various linguistic and non-linguistic factors do not always actually coincide.

Secondly, regionalism in India is counter-balanced by factors that make for the unity of India. Even the languages belonging to different families and sub-families, have certain pan-Indian features that make it easier, for example, for a Tamil speaker to learn Hindi rather than English.

Taking all these factors into consideration, it was felt that the policy-makers of India should bear in mind:

(a) that the unity of India is not of a monolithic but of a pyramidal type. It has various levels with zones which sometimes overlap and sometimes cut across each other;

(b) that there should be a healthy balance of centripetal and centrifugal forces;

(c) that the counterweight to excesses of regionalism is provided not so much by cosmopolitanism out of touch with the grass-roots as by the encouragement of inter-regionalism; and

(d) that if canalised properly regionalism can be a constructive force.

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